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The Foreign brides’ vaccination behaviors toward their babies in Taiwan

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6. Abstract and/or full paper

**Introduction:** The number of foreign brides in Taiwan has been growing since the government put an end to 38 years of martial law in 1987. Statistics showed that, there were 444,216 foreign brides in Taiwan by the end of 2011. Approximately two-thirds of foreign brides were from China, and the remaining were from Southeast Asia, primarily from Thailand, Indonesia and Vietnam. Because many foreign brides have already been pregnant before their arrivals in Taiwan, they are immediately in need of prenatal checkups and health information.
Method: Eighty-two out of one hundred and one participants from a community hospital in central Taiwan answered all questionnaires about their demographic information and Structure Questionnaire via phone interviews. (Response rate = .81%) Structure Questionnaire includes socio-demographic personal characteristics in foreign mother, knowledge of and attitudes about vaccination. The scale has criterion validity and moderate reliability (K-R20=0.66, Cronbach α = 0.71 and test-retest r = .69, p< .01)

Result: A total of eighty-two valid questionnaires were recovered. One-way ANOVA results showed significant difference in the parity of this birth, language, time of marriage, education, residential area and the perception of vaccinations (p < .05) except vaccination attitudes. The perceptions and attitudes of Vaccination of foreign brides were not significantly correlated.

Discussion and Conclusions: Therefore, this study suggests that health care professionals can provide knowledge of relevant health education and vaccination advice pipeline for the first child and the married foreign brides with language difficulties.
Since the new millennium, interest in African Traditional Medicine (ATM) has steadily increased. The African Union has renewed its decade of African Traditional Medicine from 2011 to 2020, strengthening its efforts to control and integrate African Traditional Medicine into national healthcare structures. This has been promoted on an international level by the World Health Organization (WHO) since the late 1970s. Now that countries in sub-Saharan Africa continue to embark on the journey of official collaboration with, or even institutionalization of African Traditional Medicine and its practitioners, a critical look on what has been achieved in the past 30 years, and what have been the challenges of ATM policy formulation and implementation is essential. As it will be argued, it is especially important for countries to consider how African Traditional Medicine, which also includes traditional knowledge and practices that are not always easily understandable from a biomedical perspective, shall be officially defined.

This paper first shortly introduces international ATM policy guidelines and national ATM policies drafted or enacted in sub-Saharan Africa. Previously identified structural factors that impede national ATM policy formulation and implementation are then discussed. This is followed by a critical analysis of the articulation of ATM in the policy documents. Specifically, it will be shown why the concept of ATM that has consistently informed ATM policy might prove problematic for governments’ efforts to control and integrate ATM and its practitioners. Finally conclusions are drawn in regards to future perspectives for the ATM project of the African Union.
Title: Improvement of Regional Equity through Reduction in Water Debt

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Abstract  
This paper introduces the concept of water debt by looking beyond spatial boundary on the water-energy nexus discussions. Taking Delaware as a case, water debt is caused by importing electricity from other states to meet energy needs in Delaware. This paper shows how sustainable electricity policy improves regional equity through reduced water debt in neighboring states, where Delaware imports electricity. A way of reducing water debt is to reduce energy and water consumption within Delaware and to reduce electricity import from other neighboring states.

A quantitative analyses conducted to support the argument indicates that through supply-side and demand side management tools of RPS and EERS, respectively, Delaware has the potential to reduce its water debt by 35.8% (from 14,437 million m³ to 9,270 million m³) and reduce its water use for electricity generation by 41.2% (19.6% from EERS and 21.6% from RPS).

Introduction  
Life on earth depends on water and energy. These are important for everyday living. Electricity is the most common, convenient and fast form of energy that is consumed. Water and energy are interconnected in many ways. Core to the nexus between water and energy is demand of water for energy and demand of energy for water
The nexus between water and energy is discussed mostly in the context of energy supply-side and demand-side aspects. Main supply-side considerations are that electricity generation needs large volumes of water, and the provision of clean and safe water requires energy. Demand-side considerations to the discourse are that reduced energy consumption results in lowered water consumption, and reduced water consumption lowers energy consumption. The energy-water discussion, however, has normally been confined within a specific spatial boundary (state, local, or service area).

After discussing the nexus between water and energy, in terms of water needs for energy and energy needs for water, this paper introduces the idea of water debt, a concept which projects environmental and social injustice as a result of virtual water trading in regional electricity trading. The paper discusses water sustainability and equity gains obtainable through supply side management (SSM) and demand side management (DSM) (energy efficiency and renewable energy; principally solar photovoltaic). The paper further quantitatively analyzes the potential of water savings obtainable from Renewable Portfolio Standards and Energy Efficiency Resources Standards in the State of Delaware.

**Water for Energy and Energy for Water**

The processes of collecting, conveying, treating, and distributing water consume large amounts of energy. Approximately, 4% of all U.S. electric power generation annually is related to treating and providing water. Between 1,400 and 1,800 kilowatt-hour (kWh) is consumed in distributing every million gallons of water after treatment, and this constitutes 80 to 85% of total energy consumption for surface water treatment and supply (EPRI, 2000). Usually, treatment of surface water requires more energy compared to groundwater supply. However, due to pumping energy requirements for accessing groundwater systems, public groundwater sources require roughly 30% more electricity per unit than supply from surface water sources (EPRI, 2000).

Hydropower generation does not require water for cooling, but high volume of water is consumed via evaporation from surface of reservoirs and dams (Torcellini et al., 2003). Geothermal power plants make use of convective hydrothermal resource inside the hot rock. However, external water supply is required most often as geothermal resources do not naturally contain enough water (Clark et al., 2010). Large volumes of
water are used for cooling in thermoelectric power plants. It is estimated that, thermoelectric power accounts for 49% (210 billion gallons per day) of total water withdrawals in the United States in 2005 (USGS, 2005).

Use of open-loop cooling (also known as once-through cooling) systems by power plants often entrains aquatic wildlife, and aquatic environments are polluted when warmer water is returned (Gagnon-Turcotte & Pebblesa, 2006). Closed-loop cooling (also known as wet re-circulating) systems withdraw less water and entrain less aquatic wildlife compared to open-loop cooling systems. However, closed-loop cooling systems consume more water. Dry cooling systems withdraw and consume minimal water, but they require high capital cost and have less overall power plant efficiency compared to wet-cooling systems (Gagnon-Turcotte & Pebblesa, 2006). Water requirements for the different thermoelectric cooling systems vary significantly. Table 1 shows the water requirements of cooling systems for different plant types.

With electricity consumption projected to exceed 36 billion kWh by 2020 and 46 billion kWh by 2050 (EPRI, 2002), thermoelectric generation could be impeded by inadequate water as thermoelectric water demand would exceed usable water supply. Bio-fuels like ethanol and biodiesel emit less carbon dioxide compared to petroleum-based liquid fuels, however, large scale production of fuel crops require significant volumes of water (Elena & Esther, 2010). Renewable sources of electricity like solar photovoltaic and wind turbine require no cooling water, only minimal water for washing the panels and blades. Concentrating solar power (CSP) plants require more cooling water per unit of electricity generated compared to fossil and nuclear plants since CSP plants operate at lower temperatures with less steam efficiency. More water requirements constrain siting CSP plants in arid or semi-arid regions like the U.S. Southwest (Carter & Campbell, 2009).

Energy demand side management approaches of load management, energy efficiency, energy conservation and related activities are very important to achieving security of supply, reducing cost of energy services, and enhancing sustainability. Efficient use of energy takes place when energy inputs are reduced for a given level of service or when there is an increased or enhanced service for a given amount of energy inputs (Bengtson, A., 2012).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant Type</th>
<th>Cooling Process</th>
<th>Water Use Intensity (gal/MWh)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Steam Condensing</td>
<td>Other Uses</td>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>Consumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Withdrawal</td>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fossil/Biomass steam turbine</td>
<td>Open-loop</td>
<td>20,000 -50,000</td>
<td>~ 200 - 300</td>
<td>~ 30 - 90</td>
<td>~ 30 - 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closed-loop</td>
<td>300 – 600</td>
<td>300 -480</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dry</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear steam turbine</td>
<td>Open-loop</td>
<td>25,000 -60,000</td>
<td>~ 400</td>
<td></td>
<td>~ 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closed-loop</td>
<td>500 -1,100</td>
<td>400 - 720</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dry</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Gas Combined-Cycle</td>
<td>Open-loop</td>
<td>7,500 - 20,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closed-loop</td>
<td>~ 230</td>
<td>~ 180</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dry</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal Integrated Gasification</td>
<td>Open-loop</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined-Cycle</td>
<td>Closed-loop</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dry</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geothermal Steam</td>
<td>Closed-loop</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concentrating Solar</td>
<td>Closed-loop</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dry</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>~ 1 – 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wind and Solar Photovoltaic</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Reducing water use in electric power generation reliability and environmental considerations: Presented by Mike Hightower, Sandia National Labs at 2010 UCOWR/NIWR Conference.

By helping consumers to be energy efficient, energy providers are saved the cost of having to build or obtain new supplies to provide more energy to their customers as energy efficiency often cost less (US EPA, 2006).

**The Concept of Water Debt**

In the context of trade, virtual water refers to the water used in the production of a product or service (Hoekstra & Hung, 2002). Electricity as a commodity is bought, sold and traded through electricity market systems which extend beyond state and national boundaries. Within a region, electricity trade is usually perceived as enriching water
availability and use as electric power imports from relatively water rich states or countries is seen as a means of reducing water requirements for electricity in the importing states, freeing their scarce water resources for higher value uses (Verma et al, 2009).

Electricity from fossil fuel, natural gas and nuclear power plants constitutes about 89% of total U.S generation (Brown & Whitney, 2011). Nearly half of the United State’s electricity is generated by burning coal. Most of the coal used in the U.S. comes from three states; Kentucky, Wyoming, and West Virginia. Kentucky and Wyoming produced about 40% of total U.S. coal in 2008, shipping this to power plants in 34 states. The use of large volumes of water in thermoelectric power generation makes electric power consumption a significant portion of a consumers’ water footprint.

As “economically invisible and politically silent” as virtual water trade is (Allan, 2001), it shifts the quantity of water used (withdrawn or consumed) away from electric power importers, as well as social and environmental burdens associated with water use to the exporter. Associated with coal mining and burning for electricity are arsenic, mercury, lead, and other toxic substances contained in millions of tons of coal plant waste produced annually, and this pollute drinking water supplies. Natural gas from shale deposits, such as those found in Texas, Pennsylvania, and New York, through a process of hydraulic fracturing potentially degrades local water quality. These quantitative and qualitative impacts on water due to energy production are never or sufficiently accounted for in electricity trading as conventional economics fails to adequately capture and internalize social and environmental cost of water use for electricity generation.

These burdens perpetually impact the energy producing communities (where energy fuels are gotten and where electric power is generated), creating a kind of “water debt.” Compared to real monetary debt owed by consumers to a water utility company, the concept of water debt is wide-ranging in terms of its economic, social and environmental inequity implications. The concept of “water debt” encompasses the quantitative loss of water through use, the qualitative cost of this to the environment, the social costs of water use, and the quality degradation to a community. Understanding the effects of water debt would encourage good water stewardship as it projects the economic, social and environmental dimensions of water “indebtedness” and conjures action for
averting or reducing unsustainable water use, which results in water inequity.

**Reducing Water Debt**

Due to the links between energy and water, and the fact that electricity consumption constitutes a significant portion of consumers’ water footprint, solutions to energy problems inadvertently creates benefits for water availability and quality. In electricity production, water debt is reduced by improving water availability and quality by two significant approaches: 1.) production of electricity using less or no water that contaminates less or no water; and 2.) more efficient use of electricity. Figure 1 below outlines how energy production and consumption (supply and demand) can lead to reduction in water debt. In the U.S., renewable energy requirements known as Renewable Portfolio Standards (RPS) or Renewable Energy Standards (RES) are in 29 states in addition to Washington, DC and Puerto Rico.

**Figure 1: How electricity generation and use can reduce water debt**

Twenty-two states have energy efficiency resource standards (EERS) of which nine have efficiency goals (Federal Energy Regulation Commission, 2011). Of the states
with RPS, 16 states plus the District of Columbia have within their standards solar or distributed generation (DG) set-asides. Pursuing both energy efficiency and electricity generation from renewable energy through EERS and RPS improves equity in electricity trading as virtual water flow and pollution of water resources is curtailed.

$E^4$ (economy, environment, energy, and equity) sustainability framework (Wang, 2009; Wang et al. 2006) which exploits the synergies in water and energy policy integration leads to water debt reduction via deploying 1) deploying renewable energy technologies of solar photovoltaic and wind as supply-side energy management (SSM) tools, and 2) energy use efficiency measures as demand-side management (DSM) tools. The $E^4$ sustainability framework as conceptualized for water debt reduction is illustrated below in Figure 2.

![Water Debt Reduction from Water-Energy Integration](image)

**Figure 2: Water Debt Reduction from Water-Energy Integration**

The water debt reduction through water-energy integration positively affects economy, environment, energy, and equity (the $E^4$ dimensions) as follows:

**Economic Dimension:** Investments in renewable energy and energy efficiency support employment and boost local economy growth. It is estimated that a holistic approach to energy efficiency through stimulating demand for energy efficiency in the U.S. would result in 23% reduction in projected energy demand by 2020, which translates

**Environmental Dimension:** Reduced water debt means reduced water pollution and reduced water withdrawal and consumption. Water debt reduction enhances ecosystems and biodiversity preservation (Wang, 2009). Water debt reduction ensures adequate and quality local water supplies, as water pollutants like arsenic, mercury, lead associated with coal waste are reduced. Water debt reduction curtails groundwater mining preventing possible land subsidence as well as sea water intrusion at coastal areas (Byrne J. et al., 2011; Wang, 2009). In addition, water debt reduction leads to reduction in burning of fossil fuels, which generate greenhouse gas emissions which contribute to global warming.

**Energy:** Energy efficiency translates into reduced energy use which implies less use of water for energy provision, less degradation of water quality and hence reduction in water debt due to electricity trade. Energy efficiency for water debt reduction is therefore a self-propagating solution in which energy efficiency leads to less demand of water for energy production, less water pollution and less need of energy for water treatment (Wang, 2009).

**Equity:** Reduction in water debt through energy efficiency and solar PV technology is a means to ensuring adequate and clean local water supply in communities and beyond. Water debt reduction avails good quality water resources for equitable water distribution among various sectors. This is good for environmental and socio-economic advancement (Wang et al. 2006; Wang 2009). Water debt reduction prevents the creation of health, environmental and economic burdens and responsibilities associated with water inadequacy and degradation which otherwise is shifted away from energy importing to energy exporting communities and this improves regional equity. Water debt reduction is a means to preventing water conflicts.
Delaware’s RPS, EERS and Water Debt Reduction

In the U.S., Delaware is one of the states that have given priority to renewable distributed generation (DG) sources of energy with solar energy being the most prominent. The state of Delaware’s RPS target is 25% renewable energy by 2025 to 2026, with energy resources eligible under the RPS identified as solar thermal and photovoltaic, wind, biomass, landfill gas, ocean thermal, tidal and wave energy, and fuel cells reliant on renewable energy, hydropower (less than 30 MW), and anaerobic digestion. The State’s set-aside for solar started at 0.011% in its initial compliance year of 2008 to 2009 and is projected to gradually increase to 3.5% by 2025 to 2026. The state aims to install 300MW of customer-sited renewable energy by 2019 through its Sustainable Energy Utility (SEU1) program (SEU Task Force, 2007).

Delaware’s Energy Efficiency Resources Standards (EERS) was created in 2009 with a target of 15% reduction in the State’s electricity consumption and 10% reduction in natural gas consumption by 2015 with respect to 2007 levels. With a green financing framework in place, the State’s SEU is poised to administering these programs, and can expand its energy efficiency market share through securitized green energy saving bonds (Byrne & Allen, 2010; John Byrne et al., 2011). Delaware’s SEU focus is on transiting into energy service provision and a distributed energy infrastructure. By directly relating to residents and businesses to help them use less energy and generate their own clean energy, the State’s SEU approach of concurrent and synergistic use of energy efficiency and renewable energy is proving a viable way to reducing water debt (Byrne & Mun; 2003; Houck & Rickerson, 2009; SEU Task Force, 2007).

Research by Center for Energy and Environmental Policy (CEEP) evaluating Delaware’s EERS reduction targets and strategies indicates that it would take extremely high and unprecedented consumer participation rates to meet this target. CEEP, however, estimated that a likely electricity program savings potential could be between 6.7% and 10.0% by 2015, resulting in demand savings between 175 MW and 262 MW of electricity. CEEP’s estimated savings for natural gas by the 2015 target year is between

1 “A sustainable energy utility (SEU) is an independent entity responsible for delivering energy efficiency, energy conservation, and customer-sited renewable energy to end users. It targets all sectors and fuels, including electricity, transportation, and heating.” (Houck, J & Rickerson, W. 2009. pp 96).
2.9 and 5.0% below the 2007 baseline with a potential natural gas fall between 996 million cubic feet of natural gas (MMCF) and 1,750 MMCF (Byrne et al., 2011).

**Analysis on Water Debt Reduction in Delaware State**

As show in Table 2 below, most of the electricity generated in Delaware is from fossil fuels. Coal, oil and natural gas constitute 92.6 percent of total fuels for electricity generation in the State (EIA, 2011). Table 3 below shows the fuel distribution for electricity imported from PJM\(^2\). As shown in the column “Share” in Table 3 below, PJM power generation consists of diverse fuels with fossil fuels being the largest, 75.4 percent of total fuels (PJM, 2011). According to the U.S Energy Information Administration (EIA, 2011), Delaware imported 6,416GWh of electricity in 2009. This analysis assumes Delaware’s imported electricity was generated according to fuels “Share” (proportions) from PJM generation.

**Table 2: Electricity Generation in Delaware, 2009**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fuel</th>
<th>Electricity, MWh</th>
<th>Share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>2,848,171</td>
<td>58.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil (Petroleum)</td>
<td>258,366</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Gas</td>
<td>1,376,401</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Gases*</td>
<td>227,137</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Renewables**</td>
<td>125,611</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others***</td>
<td>5,877</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sum</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,841,563</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Other gases are blast furnace gas, propane gas, and other manufactured and waste gases derived from fossil fuels.

** Other Renewables are biogenic municipal solid waste, wood, black liquor, other wood waste, landfill gas, sludge waste, agriculture byproducts, other biomass, geothermal, solar thermal, photovoltaic energy, and wind.

***Others are non-biogenic municipal solid waste, batteries, chemicals, hydrogen, pitch, purchased steam, sulfur, tire-derived fuels and miscellaneous technologies.

From the profiles of electricity generation within Delaware and importation from JPM, water consumption is estimated for primary fuels needed for electricity production and power plant cooling (as shown in Table 4 for Delaware and Table 5 for PJM).

\(^2\) PJM, a Regional Transmission Organization (RTO) is part of the Eastern Interconnection grid in the U.S. PJM’s operations serve all parts of Delaware State as well as portions of other states.
### Table 3: Electricity Imported from PJM, 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fuel</th>
<th>Electricity, MWh</th>
<th>Share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>2,553,537</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil (Petroleum)</td>
<td>418,539</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Gas</td>
<td>1,888,556</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>1,205,797</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydro</td>
<td>300,736</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid Waste</td>
<td>25,257</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>23,792</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>6,416,215</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4: Water Consumption for Electricity Generation in Delaware

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fuel</th>
<th>Electricity, MWh</th>
<th>Electricity, MJ</th>
<th>Fuel Required, MJ</th>
<th>Water for Imported Fuels, m³</th>
<th>Water for Cooling, m³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>2,848,171</td>
<td>10,253,415,600</td>
<td>29,295,473,143</td>
<td>4,804,458</td>
<td>5,411,524,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil (Petroleum)</td>
<td>258,366</td>
<td>930,117,600</td>
<td>2,583,660,000</td>
<td>2,733,512</td>
<td>477,977,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Gas</td>
<td>1,376,401</td>
<td>4,955,043,600</td>
<td>13,764,010,000</td>
<td>1,500,277</td>
<td>2,546,341,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Gases</td>
<td>227,137</td>
<td>817,693,200</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Renewables</td>
<td>125,611</td>
<td>452,199,600</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5,877</td>
<td>21,157,200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>4,841,563</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9,038,247</td>
<td>8,435,843,850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5: Water Consumption for Electricity Imported from PJM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fuel</th>
<th>Electricity, MWh</th>
<th>Electricity, MJ</th>
<th>Fuel Required, MJ</th>
<th>Water for Fuels, m³</th>
<th>Water for Cooling, m³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>2,553,537</td>
<td>9,192,734,174</td>
<td>26,264,954,78/2</td>
<td>4,307,453</td>
<td>4,851,720,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil (Petroleum)</td>
<td>418,539</td>
<td>1,506,741,619</td>
<td>4,185,393,385</td>
<td>4,428,146</td>
<td>774,297,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Gas</td>
<td>1,888,556</td>
<td>6,798,800,213</td>
<td>18,885,556,14/7</td>
<td>2,058,526</td>
<td>3,493,827,887</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6: Summary of Water Flow for Electricity Consumption in Delaware

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation in Delaware</th>
<th>Water Consumption for Imported Fuels, m$^3$</th>
<th>9,038,247</th>
<th>0.04%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Water for Cooling, m$^3$</td>
<td>8,435,843,850</td>
<td>40.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Import from PJM</td>
<td>Water for Fuel Production, m$^3$</td>
<td>13,469,690</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Water for Cooling, m$^3$</td>
<td>12,423,488,454</td>
<td>59.49%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fuel production conversion factors published by the World Energy Council (2010) is used in the estimation of water consumption. For cooling water in electric power generation, conversion factors published by Gleick (1994) are used. Table 6 provides a summary of water flow for electricity consumption on Delaware. The data in Table 6 indicate that 40.4% of water used to generate total electricity consumption in Delaware is water from the state. The remainder (59.6%) is the result of electric power imports from other neighboring states, which constitutes the volumetric measure of Delawareans water debt.

For analytical purposes, CEEP’s estimated likely EERS program savings potential of between 6.7% and 10.0% by 2015 for the state of Delaware and the State’s RPS target fixed at 25% renewable energy by 2025 is used and considered as a policy-intervention scenario. Assuming electricity consumption increases at a rate of 1% every year compared with 2009 level,$^3$ electricity demand will reach 13,059GWh in 2025 with

---

$^3$ There are different predictions or historical data of electricity growth rate from 0.25% to 2.3%. A CEEP report (2011) wrote “Electricity … [has] increased at an average annual rate of 2.3% [between 1990 - 2008].” A State report wrote “Statewide, electricity sales grew 1% between 2003 and 2007. Sales are
Delaware’s net generation at 5,616GWh and PJM’s contribution to the State supply being 7,443GWh, this scenario is considered a business as usual (BAU).

Table 7 Comparison of Water Consumption between 2009 and 2025 BAU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2025 BAU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generation in Delaware</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for Fuel Production, m³</td>
<td>9,038,247</td>
<td>10,484,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for Cooling, m³</td>
<td>8,435,843,850</td>
<td>9,785,578,866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Import from PJM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for Fuel Production, m³</td>
<td>13,469,690</td>
<td>15,624,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for Cooling, m³</td>
<td>12,423,488,454</td>
<td>14,411,246,607</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taking fuel mix for electricity generation as not changing, the difference in water debt, comparing the two scenarios (BAU and policy-intervention) is significant. Table 7 shows water debt for the BAU scenario and Table 8 shows water debt for the policy-intervention scenario. Table 9 shows that water debt will decrease by 35.8% as a result of active policy interventions of EERS and RPS, from 14,437 million m³ to 9,270 million m³; with reduction due to EERS being 19.6% (2,825 million m³), and that from RPS being 16.2% (2,342 million m³). Additionally, Delaware State’s own water use would decrease by 41.2%; with 19.6% of it due to EERS and the rest of 21.6% due to RPS.

Table 8: Comparison of Water Consumption between 2025 BAU and 2025 with Policy Interventions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2025 (with BAU)</th>
<th>2025 (with RPS &amp; EERS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generation in Delaware</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for Fuel Production, m³</td>
<td>10,484,366</td>
<td>6,165,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for Cooling, m³</td>
<td>9,785,578,866</td>
<td>5,755,312,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Import from PJM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for Fuel Production, m³</td>
<td>15,624,840</td>
<td>9,818,589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for Cooling, m³</td>
<td>14,411,246,607</td>
<td>9,254,192,746</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

projected to grow an additional 7% by 2012.” (The Governor’s Energy Advisory Council, 2009). PJM predicted “Load Growth Rate” in Mid-Atlantic as 1.5% between 2010 and 2020 (PJM, 2011). The assumed 1% growth rate, considers both the increase of electricity demand and the improvement of energy efficiency without active policy intervention.
Table 9: Decrease of Water Consumption by EERS and RPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation in Delaware</th>
<th>2025 BAU</th>
<th>Decrease by EERS</th>
<th>Decrease by RPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water for Fuel Production, m³</td>
<td>10,484,366</td>
<td>2,052,014</td>
<td>2,267,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for Cooling, m³</td>
<td>9,785,578,866</td>
<td>1,915,227,184</td>
<td>2,115,038,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Import from PJM</td>
<td>Water for Fuel Production, m³</td>
<td>15,624,840</td>
<td>3,057,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for Cooling, m³</td>
<td>14,411,246,607</td>
<td>2,820,131,095</td>
<td>2,336,922,766</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion

With global population and economic growth set to continue, the challenges of “energy for water” and “water for energy” in the decades to come will become increasingly critical for states, countries, and regions. Using Delaware’s RPS and EERS through its SEU as a case, this paper has shown that sustainable electricity policy improves regional water equity through reduced water debt. The analyses in this paper indicate that through supply-side and demand side management tools of RPS and EERS, respectively, Delaware has the potential to reduce its water debt by 35.8% (from 14,437 million m³ to 9,270 million m³). This would avail water resources in local communities from where Delaware imports energy fuels like coal for electricity generation as well as communities from where the State’s electricity imports are generated thermoelectrically.

By Delaware’s water debt reduction, through RPS and EERS, environmental degradation and water pollution associated with energy fuels mining and drilling, ecological and human health effects in the region where PJM energy is produce is improved. This has enormous potential to improving the economic, environmental and energy and social inequity dimensions of sustainability associated with regional electricity trading. Water use for the States power generation would also reduce by 41.2% (19.6% from EERS and 21.6% from RPS).

Based on these, this paper presents the following policy suggestions. First, analysis of energy policy should include water impacts as water and energy are intricately related such that energy policies impact water with water subsequently impacting energy policy. Secondly, policy-makers need to take into consideration the environmental and socio-economic impacts of energy policies on local communities, states or countries from
where energy is imported. Last but not least, in energy policy-making for holistic sustainable, much consideration should be given to pursuing in-state renewable energy generation options, that are less water demanding and polluting for water debt reduction.

Further research is required that analyzes the relationship between electricity generation and water debt in specific regions and countries. With these analyses tracing water debt to the very specific locations, for instance coal-exporting regions, investigating the effects, such as environmental degradation, community disintegration, and public health problems, that water debt brings on these locations.

References


Frankel Proceedings Submission

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Abstract
Neighborhood reinvestment is constructed from six [6] distinct strategies, associated with sixteen [16] criteria reflecting neighborhood conditions, and representing both assets and liabilities. In essence, a redeveloper should select the neighborhood for the strategy, and vice-versa. This strategy/conditions matrix is explained through case histories and constitutes a template for neighborhood redevelopment. The association of the proper strategy for neighborhood conditions is a general postulation, with the larger purpose to frame a discussion over both neighborhood and strategy selection.

A five-step redevelopment model is constructed. Within that model are more particular strategies: [a] in mixing household incomes as the innovative means to achieve neighborhood stabilization and developer subsidies for affordable housing, [b] the specialized application for adaptively reusing downtown vacancies, and [c] the proper use of tax-increment and tax-credit financing. We demonstrate how each strategy is financially underwritten and involving sustainable financing in the form of a perpetual revolving fund; requisite subsidies are generated by the project, and, in this sense, financed by the developer.
The model presents dual objectives: [a] to utilize and leave in the project as little, if any, direct governmental subsidies, such as CDBG, HOME and NSP funds, and [b] to reinvest through instruments, such as tax credits, that do not depend on market conditions, cash flows and capital gains. These objectives become increasingly relevant in an emerging era of reduced public support for neighborhood redevelopment.

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A Sustainable Redevelopment Template for Urban Neighborhoods

Bruce Frankel, Ph.D., AICP
Professor of Urban Planning
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BIOGRAPHY BRUCE FRANKEL

Since 2002 Bruce Frankel has served at Ball State University as a Professor of Urban Planning, Department Chair, and now directs the new interdisciplinary undergraduate and graduate programs in Real Estate Development. Prior to his current engagement, Dr. Frankel taught at Rutgers University and the University of Pennsylvania, and devoted twenty-four [24] years of full-time professional practice in running a local community development program and a private, public interest land development/ redevelopment firm concentrating on suburban infill and inner-city projects.

His doctorate is in city planning/ economics from the University of Pennsylvania, where he also received the professional Masters in City Planning. Dr. Frankel has held state licensure or professional certifications in planning, real estate brokerage, historic preservation, commercial appraisal, environmental risk assessment, construction management, and specialized health care facility management.

He is engaged across the essential cities and towns of Indiana in public service and in championing Muncie’s neighborhoods. He is founder and President of the Indiana City Corporation, a statewide nonprofit entity serving the public’s interests in planning and community development, and the Muncie Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation, a redeveloper block by block of residential and commercial properties in economically impacted areas of the city. He also founded the Emily Kimbrough Neighborhood Development Committee, the only publicly-elected, city-recognized organization representing an historic district in the nation, and the new Council of Neighborhoods. He resides in the downtown Kimbrough Historic District with his wife and five children.
ABSTRACT

Neighborhood reinvestment is constructed from six [6] distinct strategies, associated with sixteen [16] criteria reflecting neighborhood conditions, and representing both assets and liabilities. In essence, a redeveloper should select the neighborhood for the strategy, and vice-versa. This strategy/conditions matrix is explained through case histories and constitutes a template for neighborhood redevelopment. The association of the proper strategy for neighborhood conditions is a general postulation, with the larger purpose to frame a discussion over both neighborhood and strategy selection.

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PREAMBLE

My professional life has been burdened by only two complaints. One, planners and community development advocates, in general, lack the knowledge of real estate development, and particularly its financing. This renders a hardship in implementing plans formulated and adopted in the public interest. Planners and these advocates either cannot serve as the developer/redeveloper of distressed neighborhoods, or cannot manage the services of a qualified developer.

The burden of this complaint is relieved by my observation that no conventional text of real estate finance adequately addresses the finance requisite to the redevelopment of the economically impacted neighborhoods attended to by the field of community development. Yes, tax credits and tax increment financing constitute a chapter of these texts, but their application is project-based, not neighborhood-based. The project works, but the neighborhood remains as it was. Lost is the essence of effective community development, eloquently stated by Alexander Garvin,¹ that sustainable private investment must be induced. Has the market, with its vast resources relative to the public economy, re-adopted your neighborhood it abandoned some time ago?

This paper is about an inducement plan. It emphasizes the smart and economically efficient deployment of both public and developer subsidies and their recapture to perpetually fund an entire neighborhood reinvestment. How one redevelops at the neighborhood level is the central means of finance, and more precisely sustainable finance.

Two, development/redevelopment is a subtle art not commonly practiced. Advanced here is a strategy of indirection, where the object of development is achieved through the determinants of that object. Economic development, traditionally pursued through supply side economics,² is better achieved through community development, which achieves results on the demand side.

Retail is induced through residential and even office development, with their functional populations, desired demographics, and resulting demand for retail goods and services. Relocation and expansion decisions of firms, as revealed through the science of location theory, depends on urban amenities, including value housing, schools and recreational amenities, to suggest a few. The psychology of corporate decision-makers attends as much or more to the quality of life as it does the cost of production.

In sum, it is more productive to both the private and public economies to improve place than to give away tax expenditures. Yet, the state-of-the-art in economic development resides on supply-side gifts having no basis in need, in closing a financing gap. The current art form is extortion made imperative by inter-city competition for jobs and income.

² Reducing the costs of production, such as through tax abatement, job re-training, free land, low-cost financing
DISTINCT SETS OF REAL ESTATE MARKETS & ASSETS

Given the metaphors of bull and bear, real estate markets and associated land uses may be grouped as expanding or contracting. Individual realty assets may perform or non-perform, and pose consequences for investor portfolio balance sheets. In general, business schools and the conventional wisdom of the industry teach that supply follows demand and for us to seek under-supplied and/or expanding markets with which to invest.

The widespread misunderstanding and neglected focus of real estate development and its financing is in the juncture of distressed assets in markets of disinvestment. By disinvestment is meant the erosion of property values, such that the essential feature of capital investment is vacated: the perception that tomorrow will be worse than today. Distressed properties are undervalued in that their market value is less than their replacement cost or their cash flows negative. In either case the return on their investment is negative. For them, the market is insufficient to attract development and the recourse is to either adaptively reuse the property to its low ”water level” [e.g., subdivide a single family home into multiple, low income apartments; a defunct big box retail becomes a church] or to demolish in concert with the failed strategy of urban renewal.

There are three distinct market conditions:

1. “Retail”, where demand and price are sufficient to invest at a range of costs; there may be cyclical fortunes made and lost, but those are attendant to a larger economy
2. Areas in need of stabilization, with the threat of turning away investors from a market with a tradition of investment; otherwise stable suburban markets where home foreclosures or the presence of a brownfield exemplify this threat, and were the attention of the Federal Neighborhood Stabilization Program
3. Areas in need of reinvestment with both the tradition and prospect of disinvestment, evident in the “gray zones” of declining small towns and inner-city neighborhoods, and with a long-standing, firmly established real estate in recession
Why are economists, financiers and developers, for the most part, so enamored with the first market, available for the second, and retreating from the third? Why are planners, historic preservationists and social entrepreneurs, many without the knowledge base of the former group, focused on areas in need of “jump start” reinvestment? Besides a token chapter on affordable housing, why do so many real estate development texts rely on methods for the “retail” marketplace as if the other two types of market conditions were irrelevant? Why is the attention on finding markets and not to creating them?

SCOPE OF DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES

How significant is the “market” of gray zones? The chart summarizes the need to rehabilitate or replace 82 billion square feet of built-up urban neighborhoods and small towns during the period 2000-2030 in order to accommodate the projected growth of various land uses. Clearly, not all of this need is found in blighted areas, but it reflects 38.5% of the projected demand and to be channeled into affordable property acquisitions suited to adaptive reuses. Additionally, the “smart growth” and sustainable cities movements are emerging and may redirect investment from cornfields to urban redevelopment.

SUFFICE that roughly a third of real estate investment in the near term shall be infill and adaptive reuse, and most of that in markets of disinvestment. This paper aims to define that opportunity for the successful redevelopment of our “gray zones.”

SUSTAINABLE REDEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Take an individual, nonperforming asset in a zone of disinvestment. There are conditions of physical deterioration of the building requiring investment for its reuse. There are conditions of the subject market expressing an inadequate demand - price point for any return on investment. Consequently, the property sits fallow, inexorably lowering its value and that of the surrounding market.

The opportunity presented is in redeveloping an undervalued asset. In place is a public infrastructure for circulation and utilities, some public and private amenities, a population base, and a private infrastructure of similar underutilized, vacant and abandoned properties. So, to assess: Supply of similar properties is abundant. Acquisition is inexpensive, albeit the assemblages of a critical mass of properties a challenge. Cost of infrastructure and amenities relatively are low. An existing set of functional populations exhibit retail leakage outside the trade area, and the
Frankel, *A Sustainable Redevelopment Template for Urban Neighborhoods*

...opportunity to significantly add to these populations would make more evident retail capacity. Missing is adequate demand for reinvestment.

Absent a resource exogenous to this market, the initial stage of reinvestment would entail losses. No one would invest in a refurbished house in a slum, or a business in an area lacking purchasing power and an agglomeration micro-economy of synergistic commercial uses. So, the developer faces the prospect of losing money in the short and perhaps middle term in order to make money in the long run. When the organization can withstand such losses and possesses an article of faith, we have cases of success. The remaining developers require an external subsidy.

If that subsidy is in the form of a tax benefit, a deduction or credit that shelters income from any source, then the realty asset and its market thankfully may be ignored. If the subsidy is in the form of tax-increment financing, then the re-structured economics of the project substitutes tax for mortgage payments. When the subsidy shifts from tax expenditures to fiscal expenditures, such as in low-cost subordinated debt or a grant, we close financing gaps as well and lower both the amortizing indebtedness of the project and its equity requirements. These are but a few of the assistance forms [see below in ensuing section], but all have limits, especially when both economic sectors are in recession.

To remove these limits a sustainable redevelopment strategy is required. Six essential principles are identified.

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Neighborhood reinvestment is constructed from six [6] distinct strategies, associated with sixteen [16] criteria reflecting neighborhood conditions, and representing both assets and liabilities. In essence, a redeveloper should select the neighborhood for the strategy, and vice-versa. This strategy/conditions matrix is explained through case histories and constitutes a template for neighborhood redevelopment. The association of the proper strategy for neighborhood conditions...
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RELATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT TO COMMUNITY REDEVELOPMENT

Sometimes we mislead ourselves into the notion that the best path to jobs and income, or economic development, is an economic development strategy. That strategy focuses on making the cost of business cheaper, thus attracting firms to start, stay [retain] or relocate [attract]. The typical measures are minimized regulation, and reducing the cost of one or more factors of production. Land can be a gift and taxes on it and its improvements reduced. The labor or work force can be retrained, and taxes on labor reduced. Capital can be made readily available and inexpensive through low-cost debt. These are supply-side strategies that ignore demand requirements for economic growth.

Second, we are fooled into thinking that the elimination of blight by itself and ignoring reinvestment is an effective redevelopment strategy. Many cities and towns have reverted to demolition as a “back to the future” strategy of eliminating blight, reminiscent of the clearance activities endemic to the urban renewal wave of the 1960’s and 70’s. These communities justify demolition as factually based on their loss of population, concomitantly with the loss of jobs, and the calculus that the cost of acquisition and rehabilitation would exceed the hypothecated market value of the property. Each argument is false and leads to a counter-productive conclusion.

Third and last, once we become committed to a community development course, often the strategy is project-based as distinct from neighborhood-based. HOPE VI is a housing project, and, as practiced, stabilizes the host neighborhood without spillover investment. As a market-based, housing affordability strategy, Section 8, with its limits on “fair market rents,” removes all rewards for reinvestment by tying their facilities to a market average. Even comprehensive projects of neighborhood redevelopment and within a broader sea of blight often are not strategically invented. They often do not pick the right
neighborhood or even starting point within, and do not match an appropriate strategy to neighborhood conditions.

The central object of community development is reinvestment and the creation of a market in the micro-economy of a neighborhood. Public stimulus, typically in the forms of capital and operating subsidies, investment guarantees, and anchor tenancies, is there solely to induce private investment. By way of its “critical mass” the public action cloaks the current and historic market of neighborhood disinvestment with the simple and game-changing expectation that tomorrow will be better than today. All markets, including securities, commodities and real estate, run on this anticipation, and that is no “bull.”

Demolishing blight by itself leads nowhere. Admittedly, getting smaller in a place of a dwindling economy and population seems to serve the interest of sustainability. However, we face the inexorable fact that supply is a determinant of demand and there is not very much demand to live or to conduct a business in a slum. Loss of jobs and people is a symptom of a failed economy and degraded quality of life, not its underlying cause. I am optimistic that “if you rebuild it, they will come.”

The aforementioned test for demolition as the investment will be “under water” to the property’s market value assumes no market impact post redevelopment and its effect is to preclude any reinvestment in an under-performing micro-economy. If the city’s community development office were a bank we could call this red-lining and a criminal violation under the Community Reinvestment Act. Appraisals ignoring market impact are fallacious, yet commonly accepted. No banker ever lost his or her job because they did not make a loan. Hence, we offer Detroit.

The indirect, but effective, path to economic development is community development, and for the following reasons:

1. The location decisions of firms depend primarily on the quality of place. Yes, the availability of the factors of production [land, labor and capital] and the factor of transportation access count, but a talented labor pool and the personal preferences of executives who make those location decisions hinges on the quality of place, revolving around the notion of a livable community. Columbus, Indiana, as sponsored by Cummins Diesel Corporation, discovered this several decades ago.

2. The untapped, undervalued assets of many economically-impacted neighborhoods and business districts of Indiana’s cities and towns are in its “private infrastructure.” We seem to find economic stimulus in rebuilding public infrastructure, but it is in rebuilding abandoned, vacant and blighted housing and commercial real estate that not only provides for jobs but livable

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3 Since 1954 with the advent of the Cummins Engine Foundation there was an investment in architectural design and civic improvement, and which intensified under the chairmanship of J. Irwin Miller in attracting public building designs by I.M. Pei, Eero Saarinen, Kevin Roche and Cesar Pelli.
communities, as mentioned above. In both senses, community redevelopment is economic development.

3. There are untapped human resources to be developed, and perhaps a derivative of my “collective action” and “community organizing” strategy, where institutions and programs become a vital part of the infrastructure of a community. My focus in this regard is upon nurturing the creative class and discussed later. Others may focus on family, for recapture from their suburban exiles, or the needs of specific groups other than this class of budding entrepreneurs, fine and performing artists, and associated NGO’s that promote their creativity. Michigan’s “cool cities” campaign is presented as an economic development strategy for its cities and towns and presents a coherent set of features for attracting the creative class.

4. Rebuilding communities represents a permanent investment. Providing subsidies to industry may prove transitory. Traditional business attraction and retention campaigns all impact the corporate balance sheet, but are either transportable or are lost if that industry should either fail or relocate to another community.²

²Commonly provided through tax abatements, tax credits, specific job training, low cost capital, and recruiting trips to the Far East and Europe. Accordingly to Professor Michael Hicks “business attraction and retention efforts account for fewer than five percent of all jobs created in Indiana…A far less visible, but far more important part of economic development in is in the creation of places where people want to live. This is harder, more time consuming, but far more fruitful and lasting than relying solely on business attraction.” Also, House Bill 1338 introduces a change to Indiana’s tax incentives, adding what is known as a “clawback” provision. This requires businesses that receive tax incentives but have not met their stated jobs or investment goals to repay all or part of these incentives.
PART A: REDEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

BIFURCATED STRATEGIES

Neighborhood reinvestment is distinguished from stabilization. Reinvestment is suited to areas of disinvestment, where the values and physical condition of properties have been declining. These are economically-impacted neighborhoods, where tomorrow is expected to be worse than today, and where reinvestment must be “jump-started.”

In contrast, neighborhood stabilization is associated with areas of traditional investment, under threat of destabilization from a blighting influence, such a locus of property foreclosures or environmental hazards. Here the “cancer,” intrusive rather than endemic, must be remedied and neighborhood health restored.

SEVEN REDEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

There are six [6] fundamental approaches to redevelopment. As usually found in combination, we add a synthetic seventh:
1. Collective Action by Stakeholders

...investors working in concert can change market perceptions, thus creating a market as all markets are created...that tomorrow will yield a brighter day and that investment is sustainable [e.g., just manage to host 400 property owners at your wine and cheese party]

2. Regulatory Impact

...another form of collective action resulting in public policies with impact on community problem-solving [e.g., NJ and affordable housing]

3. Partnerships Among Economic Sectors

...each economic sector performs a uniquely useful role in redevelopment: for-profit to raise capital and manage efficiently; public to subsidize, regulate or anchor; nonprofit to make eligible public and foundation programs and to redistribute resources in the public interest

4. Corporate Sponsorship

...corporate or its foundation underwriting of a redevelopment strategy [e.g., Judith Rodin, The University and Urban Renewal] and typical of the form of mortgage guarantees, anchor tenancy, etc.

5. Business Model

...redevelopment areas have undervalued assets that, once improved, can realize a positive return on investment [e.g., NTHP model]

6. Synergy of Investment as a "Strategy of Indirection"

..."connecting the dots" means seeing inter-relationships, as so production in one factor of redevelopment is dependent on progress in one of its key determinants, and then vice-versa [e.g., downtown retail depends on the demand side, so invest in downtown housing]

7. Synthetic Reality

...the reality is the combination of the above
1. COLLECTIVE ACTION

Collective action is political or civic. It is featured as:

1. The art of “communicative planning,” defined as the engagement of the “stakeholders” of the affected community in highly substantive political discourse in identifying area redevelopment projects and formulating a plan of action; typically this “art” embraces the “charrette” process, aiming to resolve all significant issues preliminary to plan adoption and its implementation by the legislative body of the jurisdiction. Stakeholders, including public officials, civic leaders and citizens, are presumed equal in station, but the process honors expertise and the truth, and requires honesty, commitment and project champions. Its collateral product is community organization and political mobilization, enabling plan adoption and implementation.

2. Volunteer efforts at the neighborhood level, epitomized by neighborhood and business associations, and, sometimes, incorporated as nonprofit entities.

3. Policy initiatives at the local level, such as the creation of a local historic district, business improvement district, or an allocation area [TIF district]; it impacts legislative and executive functions of local government and enjoys the support of the persons affected [stakeholders].

4. Organizing for lobbying, which is the process of inducing some other entity [intergovernmental aid, State/ Federal legislative or regulatory reform, corporate foundation giving] to assist in a local redevelopment effort.

Whatever brand of collection action results, collective action is fundamental to all strategic approaches, because it is political. I propose for consideration that it is politics that lies at the heart of the success or failure of places. Typically, this is in the form of leadership at the highest level [sound mayor and council], and supported, indeed enabled, by civic forces.

A subset of collective action is the formulation, adoption and enforcement of public policies. In the second redevelopment strategy we focus on laws and regulation.

2. REGULATORY IMPACT

As one of the co-founders of the Fair Share Housing movement in New Jersey, dating from the first Mount Laurel decision, I have appreciated the use of zoning to exact public interest development. In

5 New Jersey Supreme Court in 1975 - Southern Burlington County N.A.A.C.P. v. Mount Laurel Township (commonly called Mount Laurel I). Plaintiffs challenged the zoning ordinance of Mount Laurel Township, New Jersey, on the grounds that it operated to exclude low and moderate income persons from obtaining housing in the municipality.

New Jersey Supreme Court in 1983 - appeals in several of the cases, of which Southern Burlington County N.A.A.C.P. v. Mount Laurel Township was again the flagship case, gave the Court the opportunity to reaffirm and modify the Mount Laurel Doctrine and provide several methods or solutions to make the doctrine more effective. (Mount Laurel II). This lead the State Legislature to adopt in 1985 the Fair Share Housing statute, providing a
this case, the 1985 New Jersey Fair Share Housing Act and associated case law has accounted for the development of 55% of the State’s new construction affordable housing need and 58% of the need for affordable housing rehabilitation.\(^6\) I surmise that such regulation has proven more effective in New Jersey than the use of Federal and State expenditures in subsidizing affordable housing there.

The key to such regulation is the incentives in density bonuses and other affirmative measures for residential developer profits, and allowing for “developer subsidies” of affordable set-aside dwellings. Joining enforcement are those developers and seeking remedies through the State Council on Affordable Housing [COAH] or through the courts. Popular among developers and remaining unpopular with municipalities, in losing some measure of their home rule. This has been highly effective in pursuit of affordable housing objectives of the state.

Beyond this more dramatic example are the effects of other regulations on redevelopment:

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**Safety & Welfare-Based Land Development Codes & Enforcement**
- "Growth Management [e.g., Urban Growth Boundaries]
- Performance or Form-Based Zoning; Design Guidelines & Review; Historic Preservation ordinances
- Developer Exactions [Fees & Contributions]

**Health-Based Codes & Enforcement**
- Environmental & Public Health
- Property [construction; maintenance]
- Licensure of certain business operations

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method of allocating affordable housing obligations to each minor civil division in the State and affirmative measure in enforcement of that obligation through such means as inclusion subdivision zoning.

\(^6\) Source: New Jersey Council on Affordable Housing [COAH] report 11/23/2010: New construction 59,759 completed of a need for 109,325 dwellings; rehabilitation need of 24,998 has been satisfied partially with 14,615 completed units. There are 313 cities and towns participating in certified plans under COAH. *NJAC 5:96, 97*
PARTNERING

Witness a trend at the local level away from governmental regulation of private industry and toward partnerships among the three economic sectors: for-profit, nonprofit [NGO] and public. In Indianapolis the strength of its planning and redevelopment is through the City Department of Metropolitan Development. The City of Portland, Oregon, known for its tradition of powerful land development regulation, has shifted to partnering with developers. Although regulation provides the base, negotiation and contributing roles for each sector determine each development project. The perceived benefits of such partnerships are in the precision and efficacy of the outcome.

The partnership is formulated from the following factors that impact the feasibility and form of the development:

In a separate document I present the toolkit of such programs, and highlighted in the following discussion:
A. REGULATION

Section 1300 of the Indiana Code on Planning & Zoning [IC 36-7-4-1300] allows for local impact fees, and limited to certain prescribed infrastructure\(^8\) and the associated administrative costs. The section does not prohibit a contribution of the facility in lieu of the fee, nor does it prohibit a public subsidy to developments that serve the public interest; for example, affordable housing, artful, green or low impact design and development may be deserving of a subsidy.

Although seldom used in Indiana the impact fee imposes a development cost, which under the condition of its selective use can discourage development. Likewise development subsidies [i.e., “reverse or negative” impact fees] encourage development. As such the public sector is the gatekeeper for development.

Second, land development controls, mainly embraced by the zoning\(^9\) and subdivision\(^10\) provisions of the Indiana Code, present another gate. In my experience the irony is that local Indiana communities are demanding higher standards in concert with the interests of investors and developers. Controls, if crafted to enhance value, protect real estate investments, and, when universally applied, do not impact competitive costs.

Lastly, public policies at the state and Federal levels impacts development and redevelopment activities, and the role of local government should embrace lobbying for their reform. There are a plethora of such examples, of which a few are recited:

a. Sections 39 and 48 of the Indiana Redevelopment Code provide for a TIF and HoTIF, respectively, but qualify areas through Section 45 with at least a third vacant land area. This encourages the development of corn fields and undeveloped land, rather than the redevelopment of cities and towns, and is anti-urban in its impact. Indeed, Section 48, creating the Housing TIF, was at the bequest of the City of Fort Wayne, and is a far more potent measure for redevelopment than the TIF of Section 39.

b. Annually, the State Legislature allocates only $450,000 for Historic Tax Credits, rendering their deployment as near useless. There is presently an 11-year queue for such credits, and awaiting a stronger historic preservation lobby, essential to the recovery of Indiana’s historic cities and towns.

c. Although other states\(^11\) provide legislation for Brownfield redevelopment, Indiana does not. We have subsidies for Phase I environmental assessment through IDEM, but other states dedicate state sales and corporate income taxes from the redevelopment of Brownfield sites toward

\(^7\) Created by PL 221-1991

\(^8\) [a] sanitary sewer/ wastewater treatment facility; [b] park or recreational facility; [c] road or bridge; [d] drainage or flood control facility; [e] water treatment/ storage/ distribution facility

\(^9\) IC-36-7-4-600

\(^10\) IC-36-7-4-700

\(^11\) Principally, Michigan, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, California
remediation reimbursement, thus facilitating both the remediation and redevelopment of these contaminated sites.

d. The Federal Housing & Economic Recovery Act of 2008 [HERA] provided for HUD to operate a Neighborhood Stabilization Program in areas of high home foreclosure risk. Yet, HUD regulates neighborhood redevelopment and stabilization activities to exclude the amenities of retail and institutional uses, so essential to the objectives of the act.

B. SUBSIDIZATION

Subsidies for redevelopment present two forms: [1] operating subsidies, and [2] capital cost, or financing, subsidies. As “participation” considers the latter, let us concentrate here on subsidizing the operation of an investment, or income-producing, property. Available to the public sector are taxes. At the local level property taxes may be abated or used as a source of dedicated financing to the project or its “tax allocation district.” Tax increment financing may use the increment in taxes generated by the private improvements to improve public facilities and services, or may be capitalized to finance public bonds that build more significant improvements on either public or private property. We discuss the latter in the section below regarding participation.

There are Urban Enterprise Zones [UEZ] and the Federal and State levels, providing tax abatement to businesses located within such a district. Accordingly, the State Sales Tax of 7%, if fully abated on say a car dealership or jewelry retailer within a UEZ, would present a comparative advantage over the competition outside the UEZ.

Lastly, there are Federal and State income tax liabilities [personal and corporate] that may be reduced through special tax credit programs. The purchase of these tax credits through syndication provides a source of additional equity financing for a project, or the tax credits may accrue to the owner/developer as an incentive to invest. In mind are Federal and Indiana Historic Tax Credits [HTC] and Federal New Market Tax Credits [NMTC], and Low Income Housing Tax Credits [LIHTC]. Although the Indiana HTC uniquely provides for homesteaders of historic properties, the thrust of tax credit programs is upon the investment property.

C. PARTICIPATION

The public sector may participate in the for-profit or nonprofit enterprise as either a tenant or a lender. Anchor tenancy is a principal ingredient to project feasibility and private financing. The role I have performed for developers in cities like Trenton, New Jersey, is in securing the anchor leases from State agencies for new inner-city office space. Here I reviewed the listing of expiring leases in suburban locations from the State Office of Leasing Operations, and remind these agencies that State government has established an urban policy that would be addressed with the agency’s return to Trenton.

As a lender the public sector may provide junior, low cost loans to the redevelopment project, or issues bonds for associated infrastructure and other public improvements, such as parking garages or transit access. Indeed, the FHWA and FMTA provided the highways and transit investment largely responsible for the expansion of industry, particularly, but not exclusively the transportation industry, and both the development of the suburbs and the revitalization of several cities.
HUD in its housing programs provides both the mortgage and the rent subsidies that amortize it. HFA/VA and SBA provide credit-enhancement instruments [loan guarantees] for homeownership and small business expansion. Economic Development Authorities issue conduit bonds on behalf of private industry without such public guarantees or obligations to repay, but backed by private letters of credit and projected revenue underwriting; this beneficial financing is less expensive and more comprehensive.

Accordingly, in either role as a subordination lender, conduit lender, or surety agent, the public sector serves to close the financing gaps on economic development and redevelopment projects. Indeed, the now extinct UDAG and HoDAG programs of the 1970’s and 80’ were premised on gap financing and ran successfully as economic development and affordable housing measures.

D. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION

Both the NMTC and LIHTC programs call for nonprofit organizations. With regard to NMTC that is in the form of a qualified Community Development Entity [CDE]12 and for the housing program a Community Housing Development Organization [CHDO].

Indianapolis has Community Development Corporations for most of its neighborhoods and performing nonprofit economic and community redevelopment as well as affordable housing. They usually are part of the LISC network. The Local Initiatives Support Corporation is a national nonprofit providing technical assistance and capital13.

Commercial downtowns benefit from Business Improvement District ordinances and associations, and receive financing for capital improvements through TIF’s and member fees. For residential neighborhoods these are in the form of neighborhood associations or redevelopment corporations.

The redevelopment model I practice is through a statewide nonprofit, the Indiana City Corporation, and locally in Muncie through the Muncie Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation. The nonprofit form is essential, in that we use surpluses from the sale of market rate housing to subsidize affordably priced lower income units, and normally finding their way as the profits to for-profit developers.

Lastly, there is the overlooked role of corporate sponsorship of redevelopment projects, usually by a nonprofit community hospital or institution of higher or private education [the “Ed/Med” link] or by the nonprofit foundation arm of a for-profit company, such as the Lilly or Ball Brothers foundations.

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12 There are 22 CDE’s in Indiana by way of the following cities: Columbus, Dillsboro, East Chicago, Evansville, Gary, Indianapolis, Lafayette, Logansport, Muncie, New Albany, South Bend, Tell City, Terre Haute
13 Similarly, the Enterprise Foundation, operating from Columbia Maryland, has another network of CDC’s
4. CORPORATE SPONSORSHIP

The experience of the West Philadelphia Initiative is the central value of corporate sponsorship. Similar in size to Indianapolis’s Fall Creek Place, but instead of largely vacant lots calling for historic recreations, the architectural program was to restore [from blighted multifamily dwellings] once stately single-family homes through costly rehabilitation.

The project bordered the University of Pennsylvania, and among the six program components was a mortgage guarantee of the university for the home buyers, employees of the institution. Of the 400 guarantees not one needed to be utilized, as not one foreclosure occurred, and property values soared based on the combination of substantial, historic homes and a stable middle class residential population.

The benefits to the University were manifest in a meteoric rise in the quality of its faculty and student bodies [and ranking to #4 among all universities in North America] and the size of its endowment.\textsuperscript{14} Penn did this not to save West Philadelphia, but itself, and in the process saved

\textsuperscript{14} $4.370 billion in endowment as market value in 2004 [540\% of 1994’s $808 million]; rise in ranking from 11\textsuperscript{th} to 4\textsuperscript{th} best university according to U.S. News survey in 2004.
both. Whether motivated from self-interest or altruism, this strategy works.

Examples of corporate sponsorship are ubiquitous. Several cities were developed by corporations, including:

⇒ Columbus, Indiana and the world-class architectural contribution of Cummins Diesel

⇒ East Chicago, Indiana, a series of neighborhoods for workers, attendant to and built by their factories, and similar to the Pullman neighborhood of south Chicago

⇒ Audubon Park, New Jersey, a mutual housing corporation serving as a municipality and initiated by the Camden Shipyard

⇒ Buffalo, New York, as developed by the Holland Land Company as an historical footnote to this strategy

5. BUSINESS MODEL

INTRODUCTION

Basically, from my experience with two eminently successful cases of redevelopment and one of affordable housing has emerged a strategy for the rejuvenation of Indiana’s essential cities and towns, focusing on their mixed use downtowns. This approach I coin the “business model,” but spirited by “social entrepreneurship.”

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15 Co-Founder I. Irwin Miller of the Cummins Engine Company instituted a program in which Cummins paid the architects’ fee if the client selected a firm from a list compiled by Mr. Miller. The plan was initiated with public schools. It was so successful that Miller went on to defray the design costs of fire stations, public housing and other community structures. The high number of notable public buildings and sculptures in the Columbus area, designed by such individuals as Eero Saarinen, I.M. Pei, Robert Venturi, Cesar Pelli, Richard Meier and others have led to Columbus being referred to as the "Athens of the prairie". Six buildings, built between 1942 and 1965, are National Historic Landmarks, and 60 other buildings sustain the Bartholomew County seat’s reputation as a showcase of modern architecture.

16 Audubon Park was established as a community within Audubon in 1941 with the construction of 500 housing units for employees of New York Shipbuilding in Camden, New Jersey. This was the first of eight projects undertaken by the Mutual Ownership Defense Housing Division of the Federal Works Agency. Audubon, seeking to rid itself of the development’s Democratic voters and its public school students, pushed for and passed a referendum to form Audubon Park in 1947. All property in the borough is owned by the Mutual Housing Corporation, which rents homes to residents.

17 A consortium of six Dutch banking houses, the company had, between 1792 and 1794, purchased over five-million acres of land, 200,000 of which were in Upstate New York -- 3.3-million west of the Genesee River, including the present site of Buffalo. In 1804 the company surveyed and plotted New Amsterdam, later known as Buffalo.
The business plan is to convert an assemblage of undervalued assets into an adequate investment return to not only support the investment, but an also essential set of public purposes. Markets rely on conventional thinking, and both asset and business valuation are perceptional. The central role of a land developer/redeveloper, as should be that of a planner, is dual charge to add value and control events. Can events be so controlled for the ready supply of undervalued downtown properties to shift the perception of the market’s value, and in so doing lead to sustainable redevelopment?

At the core of this strategy is the control of enough properties, in various stages of blight, their restoration and their staged resale in a manner to impact the market, and stimulate collateral investment. If the market is convinced that investment inexorably will continue, if you will that tomorrow will be better than today, value will rise in a sustainable way.

Exemplary in this regard is the National Trust Community Investment Corporation [NTCIC], a wholly owned for profit subsidiary of the 1949 Congressionally-chartered National Trust. It pursues long-term capital gains in acquiring a critical mass of properties in historic neighborhoods and inducing the shorter-term investment with both Historic and New Market Tax Credit financing.18

Less nobly but quite enriching to these capitalists were the strategies of J.P. Morgan and John Astor. Morgan would organize a consortium of stake-holding investors to make a run on buying stock in order to inflate its value. Astor made his fortune on buying and keeping slum properties but in neighborhoods with a rising potential, then selling when the market had ripened. Of course, neither has any claim to community development.

However, the business model underwrites the ambition of urban renewal and later day land banking methods. Again land is assembled, usually through Redevelopment Authorities and enough for a critical impact on the market, and performance contracts executed with master redevelopers.

During the fifteen-year period 1979-1995, the largest and one of the most successful urban renewal projects nationally was Circle Center Mall, a critical assemblage of four city blocks, highly blighted and with vacant buildings, and the redevelopment of its 786,000 s.f., the adroit use of tax increment financing for capital improvements and the entrepreneurial work of Simon Properties, the nation’s most prominent mall developer.

The business model addresses the universal concern that not enough public resources are available to exact a bargain with the private sector, and, on which public/private partnering in redevelopment has depended. Yes, every initiative in private investment for

18 From 2003-07, NTCIC invested $183 million in equity in their residential and commercial projects with the sale of such tax credits.
economically impacted markets requires some honey, whether in the form of capital and operating cost subsidies, low cost debt, anchor tenancy, etc. But, unless such public investments are highly leveraged, and their public sources renewed and with widespread availability, their approach to redevelopment is limited...at least compared to the resources of for-profit capital markets.

The limitations of the for-profit sector are short-sightedness and its inattention to related public interests. One is the displacement of households of low and moderate incomes given rapid and significant property appreciation, commonly termed “gentrification.” In economic development the displacement is the family business.

Myopic in nature is the inattention to indirect investment in other conditions that sustain investment, and which I conveniently term “amenities.” To a residential developer the indirection is in supportive retail, institutional and public uses. To the commercial developer it is in the purchasing power of a middle class, indigenous population, or in such residential development. To the use and product-specialized developer, these investments are uncommon, even un-contemplated.

6. SYNERGY OF INVESTMENT AS A “STRATEGY OF INDIRECTION”

In seeking your objectives, whether they are downtown retail, economic development, affordable housing, pursue its determinants. The following chart summarizes several applications of this principle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOWNTOWN RETAIL SHOULD FOCUS ON DOWNTOWN RESIDENTIAL</th>
<th>HINT: ALL THE LAND AND TAX GIVEAWAYS PROVE INEFFECTIVE COMPARED TO THE DEMOGRAPHIC DRIVERS THAT TRIGGER RETAIL LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SHOULD FOCUS ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>HINT: LOCATION THEORY PRESENTS THE CENTRAL CASE FOR QUALITY OF PLACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A SUSTAINABLE AFFORDABLE HOUSING STRATEGY REQUIRES MARKET RATE HOUSING</td>
<td>HINT: RE-REGULATE [INCENTIVE OR PERFORMANCE ZONING] FOR DEVELOPER-PROVIDED AFFORDABLE HOUSING SUBSIDIES FROM EXCESS PROFITS ON MARKET HOUSING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TO FOSTER GROWTH INSIDE THE CITY, MANAGE IT OUTSIDE THE CITY</td>
<td>HINT: URBAN GROWTH BOUNDARIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF YOU SEEK MORE POWER, GIVE YOURS AWAY. [POWER IS ENHANCED THROUGH ITS SHARING]</td>
<td>HINT: BEATS ITS CONCENTRATION EVERY TIME, OR TO EFFECTUATE A CAUSE REQUIRES AN EMPOWERED CONSTITUENCY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. SYNTHETIC REALITY

In short, the seventh strategy is an amalgam of two or more of the six distinct models. Such synthesis would prove common.

SYNERGY OF INVESTMENT

The better strategies invest indirectly. A downtown “24/7” retail strategy requires an indigenous residential demographics, or purchasing power. Unless the downtown is a destination with certain “catalytic” uses, such as a minor leagues ball park, convention-related facilities, or critical mass of antique shops to attract the day traveler, conventioneer or vacationer, it will depend on the proximate residential area to sustain it. For example, retail in Muncie’s downtown is a losing game for its neglect of the requisite residential uses, and, thus, indigenous population for which shopping in the downtown is a convenience.

Likewise, a residential strategy depends on the commercial amenities of urban life. Office and other commercial, even light industrial, applications locate in or near the downtown due to its quality of life. The qualities of housing value, school value, workforce value, recreational and cultural value, and knowledge as a value drive location decisions of the firm, not just the proximity of a highway, which is experiencing a diminishing value given the restructuring of energy costs and the transformative factor of the information highway. This seems to go unrecognized by the State of Indiana.

RETURN ON INVESTMENT

Further, the strategic assault on blight, on property disinvestment, is to realize a return quickly while minimizing its capital costs. No one would question the value of HOPE VI and the transformation of the abject blight of the 1940’s style public housing projects into a TND, but it is not every day that a community secures the required Federal funds, nor can every city afford the $31 million in public funds to make Fall Creek Place in Indianapolis the awarded success that it is.

Short of such “heavenly manna” the “neighborhood revitalization strategy” of HUD is to identify and invest in an area with the expectation of a material improvement [public facilities, market value] within five years of sustained public and private efforts. This strategy that depends on limited investment seeks the marginal areas, and in progression leads to the more economically impacted ones.

What is not effective is to treat community redevelopment from an archaic public administration perspective. It is not the management of public expenditures. The abortion of community development is to plan, if you will to try, when public or private resources are present. Redevelopment calls for an investment strategy, not and expenditure strategy. Rather, it is resource-generating.

AMALGEM OF REDEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES APPLIED

To observe the synthesis of strategies is to highlight the case of Fall Creek Place in Indianapolis. This project was conducted during the 4.5-year period 2000-2005, and initiated with a Federal
Homeownership Opportunity Zone [HOZ] grant from HUD. This award-winning project\(^{19}\) represents an eminently successful redevelopment of a thoroughly blighted neighborhood northeast of the “regional center,” or downtown of Indianapolis.

There, $31 million in public funds, or approximately 20% of the redevelopment costs for 430 [400 residential] lots, was allocated to Right-of-Way [ROW] and pocket park infrastructure and thereafter to homebuyers’ down payment assistance. The relatively low leveraging reflects the doubts that this project would succeed, given the extreme conditions faced at the outset of neighborhood disinvestment and crime.

Yet, the pace of sales doubled expectations,\(^{20}\) property values for the market rate units appreciated an average of 8% per annum,\(^{21}\) and an additional 120 units were developed in the fourth phase post 2005 absent any public subsidies. In sum, the strategy, although not without flaw, was a systematic march of concentrated reinvestment that achieved a market shift.

![Image of Fall Creek Place]

Present were all of the six strategic approaches to redevelopment:

1. community organization and nonprofit CDC involvement
2. enforced design regulations on all builders [albeit by agreement and not by ordinance]
3. an elaborate partnership of Federal and City agencies with a for-profit and nonprofit development team\(^{22}\)
4. a successful pursuit of the business model, adding value to extremely “undervalued” assets
5. the indirection of generating demand for retail development from the mixed-income residential development
6. only corporate sponsorship was missing

\(^{19}\) HUD as Model Home Ownership Zone [awarded 11 cities in 2000], APA for “smart growth” urban revitalization strategy, NTHP for historic preservation
\(^{20}\) Approximately 90 units per annum were sold compared to the market study projected at only 45
\(^{21}\) From approximately $92/ s.f. to $155/ s.f. over the 4.5 years of build-out and sales
\(^{22}\) Mansur Properties as the master, for-profit developer and with, at one time, nine chosen builders; Kings Park Area Development Corporation [KPADC] as the nonprofit managing developer and primarily responsible for marketing
We select neighborhoods for the strategy and vice-versa. Identifying and analyzing correctly the problems of neighborhoods portends great significance on strategic intervention and the problem-solving process of place-based planning. Fundamentally, we first address neighborhoods calling for redevelopment rather than stabilization.

**NRSA STRATEGY**

A Neighborhood Redevelopment Strategy Area (NRSA) is defined by HUD as an area of redevelopment need that with an investment of public and private resources available can achieve a material effect and stimulate a market impact within five years. Accordingly, an area of disinvestment becomes one of investment. As a general guide the area is sixteen [16] blocks, varying by neighborhood conditions, including its identity, and the redevelopment strategy. The graphic below depicts the sequence in site selection and where to start within the chosen NRSA. The ensuing table lists sixteen [16] criteria used in selecting the NRSA and a survey sheet in evaluating each criterion. In this analysis, the McKinley neighborhood was selected as the primary NRSA.
## NRSA Evaluation Criteria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
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</table>
| 1. Need | a. predominance of poverty, property deterioration/ blight, abandonment, foreclosures  
|         | b. need to increase [choose: homeownership, rental opportunities, retail, etc.]  
|         | c. contrast with city overall                                             
|         | d. natural disaster                                                      |
| 2. Marginality | a. adjoining an investment neighborhood                                  
|         | b. manageable need                                                       
|         | c. proximity to "assets" [e.g., recreation, shopping, other urban amenities] |
| 3. Infrastructure | a. public [acceptable or better]                                         
|         | b. private [buildings as vacant, underutilized, but can work with]        |
| 4. Undervalued Assets | a. replacement cost > market value; potential for property appreciation and capital gains |
| 5. Visibility | a. on a "gateway" with high ADT's                                        |
| 6. Land Uses | a. primarily residential, but posing a role for mixed uses               |
| 7. Community | a. sense of identity, or potential for its creation                      |
| 8. Organization | a. practical politics at neighborhood level                              
|         | b. CHDO, CDE, CDC [nonprofits requisite to certain public programs]      
|         | c. partnerships [in place or potential]                                   |
| 9. Resources | a. neighborhood assets                                                   
|         | b. other public investments made or pledged                               
<p>|         | c. eligibility/ commitment for intergovernmental/ corporate sponsorship [e.g., qualify for NMTC, CDBG/HOME, TIF or HoTIF, etc.] |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section: PART B: Neighborhood Conditions Strategic to Redevelopment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10. Economy</th>
<th>a. realistic opportunity to create jobs in support of physical improvements, homeownership, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. Equity</td>
<td>a. compensation for neglect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Efficiency</td>
<td>a. cost-effective strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Politics</td>
<td>a. readiness by the polity; local, HUD, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. site control; legal access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. regulatory approval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. End User</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Redevelopment Plan</td>
<td>a. in place; adopted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Data</td>
<td>a. availability of documenting data</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Scale 1-5 [low – high]**

**NRSA SCORING**

Refer to ensuing page for our chart. The option remains to weight each of the 16 factors, such that an average score is competently reflective of conditions and their significance.
## Neighbourhood CRITERIA

### Need
- Marginality
- Infrastructure
- Undervalued
- Visibility
- Land Uses
- Community
- Organization
- Resources
- Economy [Jobs]
- Equity
- Efficiency
- Politics
- Readiness
- Redevelopment Plan
- Data
- Composite Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighbourhood</th>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>CT 1</th>
<th>CT 2</th>
<th>CT 3</th>
<th>CT 4</th>
<th>CT 6</th>
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<tr>
<td>Commerical Core</td>
<td>BG 1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.63</td>
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<tr>
<td>McKinley/Gilbert</td>
<td>BG 1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kirby HD</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kimbrough HD</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Industry</td>
<td>BG 1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Industry</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Park</td>
<td>BG 1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old West End North</td>
<td>BG 1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>BG 1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old West End West</td>
<td>BG 1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>BG 1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is a loss in simplification, and associating strategic intervention based on specific neighborhood conditions is complex. Further, the conditions whether key, primary or secondary, are either present or need to be created. For example, a sense of community and role of organization are keys to collective action, but they can be created. I offer the following abstraction, not in defining the concept, but in facilitating its discussion.

### NRSA Criteria

<table>
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<td>3. Infrastructure</td>
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<td>4. Undervalued Assets</td>
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<td>5. Visibility</td>
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<td>6. Land Uses</td>
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<td>7. Community</td>
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<td>8. Organization</td>
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<td>9. Resources</td>
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<td>11. Equity</td>
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<td>12. Efficiency</td>
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<td>13. Politics</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Readiness</td>
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<td>15. Redevelopment Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Data</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Legend*: Particular & Key → Primary → Secondary

The chart on the ensuing page highlights the “particular and key” conditions associated with each strategic response.
Frankel, *A Sustainable Redevelopment Template for Urban Neighborhoods*

**PART C: A Matrix: Relating Neighborhood Strategy to Conditions**

1. Collective Action
2. Regulation
3. Public-Private
4. Corporate Sponsorship
5. Business Model
6. Indirection

1. Need
2. Marginality
3. Undervalued Assets
4. Visibility
5. Land Uses
6. Readiness
7. Community
8. Organization
9. Resources
10. Economy
11. Equity
12. Efficiency
13. Politics
14. Redevelopment Plan
15. Redevelopment Plan
PART D: THE REDEVELOPMENT MODEL

THEMATICAL TRADITION

SUSTAINABLE MARKET SHIFT

To reiterate, the central theme of the redevelopment authority under various state codes and of the tradition of community development is to deploy various intervention strategies in order to create a market. Once a market has been established, private investment sustains the subject redevelopment area.

The proximate perception that a sustainable strategy has been achieved is in appreciating real estate values. Indirectly, rising values in retail and other commercial applications, educational quality, social and civic fabric, historic preservation, among an array of quality of life factors, becomes evident. These improvements may be the precursor to rising property values or a consequence. The refrain of the realtor that it is “location, stupid,” holds true in that the residential marketing strategy is in selling not the house, but the neighborhood. Thus, rising home values reflect rising and/or sustained confidence in the neighborhood.

Regrettably less obvious, is an understanding of how market value is created and destroyed. Value is a perception. Stock market prices, the commodities market, large consumer purchases, the price of money itself [e.g., interest rates] reflect the simple perception that tomorrow these values will either rise or fall\(^ {23} \). As an investment the central measure is Return on Investment [ROI] and as consumption may be tagged as “smart shopping” [buying low within a reasonable time frame of the consumption need]. Our focus in downtown revitalization is on investment.

Accordingly, change the perception that tomorrow’s values will rise, and an acceptable ROI will be realized, and investment will take hold. Every investor knows this, the State Code and Federal housing and community development statutes and regulations recognize this, and successful downtown or other neighborhood strategies have utilized it.

STRATEGIC CHOICES

In areas experiencing disinvestment or, at least not sustainable investment, the strategic choice is to generate a critical mass of investment, public and private, and hopefully coordinated, to create the perception that values are rising and that this trend is sustainable. Such “critical mass” does not necessitate that the strategy involves every property, but enough investment is concentrated over an adequately designated redevelopment area and in a strategic range of investment products to create the market.

\(^ {23} \) J.P. Morgan, John Astor understood this. Morgan would organize a consortium of stake-holding investors to make a run on buying stock in order to inflate its value. Astor made his fortune on buying and keeping slum properties but in neighborhoods with a rising potential, then selling when the market had ripened. Of course, neither has any claim to community development.
The critical mass to “create a market” considers among six [6] fundamental approaches to market intervention. It may entail collective action, an organizing of stakeholders. The regulatory approach realizes a minimum of public resources, focused on administration and monitoring/enforcement, and costs a level playing field for investors. It may depend on public/private partnerships where private capital and development is in concert with public land assemblage, public subsidies, and public improvements. It may also be structured on the business model either involving corporate sponsorship of indirect benefits or the traditions of the direct returns of capital gains and tax sheltered cash flows, both yielding a higher than normal Internal Rate of Return [IRR] given the risk.

Although each of these fundamental approaches is conceptually different, an assessment of investment conditions would promote a combination of strategic resources, and varying in their emphasis. For example, where the “architectural fabric” and latent demand suggested that properties, albeit in slum condition, were a “bargain,” or technically an “undervalued asset,” then the business model might receive emphasis. Absent either, then a public/private partnership with subsidies on the supply or demand end might be required. Organization of stakeholders would transcend either situation.

THE LOGIC OF A NEIGHBORHOOD REDEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

FIVE-STEP MODEL

The chart below outlines a disciplined model for neighborhood redevelopment, and which is discussed step-by-step in this section.

---

24 This is an empowering concept that embraces community organizing and public regulatory measures; one example is historic preservation. It is apparent that if collectively neighbors improved their properties there would be market impact, and be a rational strategy for individual asset gain.
25 Ultimately, this may entail a declaration of blight and the use of eminent domain through a Redevelopment Authority.
26 The variety of subsidies includes cost write-downs [subordinated, low cost debt, the sale of tax credits, etc.], revenue enhancements [e.g., Section 8 rental supplements], and credit enhancement instruments, such as loan guarantees.
27 This is most common in Tax Increment Financing [TIF] projects.
28 This embraces market performance indicators, such as interest rates, and underlying factors, such as reflected in demographic demand and the physical condition of properties.
Among the strategic responses we discuss the following:

A. Mixed-Income Solution [Developer-subsidized Housing]
B. Model Sustainable Financing [Perpetual Revolving Fund]
C. Vacant Mixed-Use Neighborhood Solution
D. Innovative Use of Tax-Increment & Tax-Credit Financing
Neighborhood selection and the redevelopment path through it are illustrated by the graphic below and as repeated here from the section above:

**STEPS 1 & 2: NRSA SELECTION & PATH OF REDEVELOPMENT**

**Worst Area[s] of the City based on Need**
- Census Tracts /Block Groups with best assets
  - Greatest market potential AND
  - Greatest market impact
  - Preponderance of available properties for above

**Lots**
- Every lot
- Make habitable the vacant
- Exterior and cost-effective systems for occupied
- Infill construction or pocket park, etc.

**Blocks**
- Remove cancer OR
- Proximate market impact AND
- Available properties AND
- Logical path from marginal to intractible obstacles

E.g., In Chicago: Cabrini-Greene adjoining Lincoln Park, Old Town Historic District, Gold Coast
STEP 3: BLOCK BY BLOCK

The redeveloper ought not to demolish or rehabilitate houses. It should redevelop neighborhoods and the smallest unit we consider is the block, defined as both sides of a street, one block long. Every property on that block is evaluated as to the need for demolition and reconstruction [we don’t demolish and then leave, for we are committed to redevelopment], new construction on empty lots [“missing teeth”], and rehabilitation [both vacant and occupied buildings]. We endeavor to leave a block with every property appropriately improved, and to thus create a market of investment. Neighborhoods are then rebuilt in the continuity of one block at a time. The strategy of selecting neighborhoods and their blocks to start is outlined and summarized from sixteen criteria under “Site Selection Strategy.”

The graphic and analysis below depicts blocks in two neighborhood redevelopment strategy areas of Muncie City, and presents the property by property and block by block approach. Each property that is either vacant or occupied but deteriorating is designated for redevelopment action and included in the redevelopment budget. The redevelopment plan should also include streetscape and front yard improvements.
Frankel, *A Sustainable Redevelopment Template for Urban Neighborhoods*

The following depicts an entire neighborhood redevelopment strategy in Anderson City.

Example planning and strategy diagrams identifying target properties in selected census tracts at a city scale. And then breakdown of those individual properties values along with recommended strategies for utilization.
**STEP 4: APPLY STRATEGIC RESPONSES TO CONDITIONS**

**STRATEGY A: MIXED-INCOME SOLUTION**

The following set of charts demonstrates a sustainable, revolving fund strategy based on the mixed-income solution. The reader should note that by including middle-income housing the nonprofit redeveloper can provide a “developer subsidy” for affordable housing to low and moderate income buyers.

**SIMPLIFIED EXAMPLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>50% AMI</th>
<th>80% AMI</th>
<th>120% AMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cost</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sold Price</strong></td>
<td><strong>Net Proceeds</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000</td>
<td>$120,000</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$80,000</td>
<td>$120,000</td>
<td>$180,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Market Price</strong></th>
<th><strong>Cost</strong></th>
<th><strong>Affordable Price</strong></th>
<th><strong>Surplus [Subsidy]</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$110,000</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
<td>$80,000</td>
<td>$(20,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$130,000</td>
<td>$120,000</td>
<td>$120,000</td>
<td>$ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$170,000</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td>$180,000</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bold** represents sold price

[lesser of affordable and market prices]

$370,000 $370,000 $ -
## Actual Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct Costs and Revenues</th>
<th>Average per Property</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dwellings</td>
<td>1.20</td>
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<td>Bedrooms</td>
<td>3.02</td>
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<td>Assessed Value</td>
<td>$25,482</td>
<td>$1,274,100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proposed Acquisition Value @ 85% Assessed</td>
<td>$21,660</td>
<td>$1,082,985</td>
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<tr>
<td>Demolition Cost</td>
<td>$7,732</td>
<td>$61,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Construction Cost</td>
<td>$160,521</td>
<td>$2,889,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation Cost</td>
<td>$90,119</td>
<td>$2,883,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Direct Cost of Acquisition &amp; Development</td>
<td>$138,360</td>
<td>$6,918,016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue from Sales</td>
<td>$170,200</td>
<td>$8,510,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surplus [Deficit] before indirect costs and administration</td>
<td>$31,840</td>
<td>$1,591,984</td>
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### ACTUAL EXAMPLES

#### Single Family Detached New Construction

<table>
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<th>2-BR</th>
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<th>4-BR</th>
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<td>s.f.</td>
<td>1,650</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost/s.f.</td>
<td>$80</td>
<td>$75</td>
<td>$70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acquisition</td>
<td>$5,500</td>
<td>$7,000</td>
<td>$8,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>A&amp;D Cost</td>
<td>$137,500</td>
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<td><strong>Affordable Home Price:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>@ 50% AMI</td>
<td>$81,299</td>
<td>$90,549</td>
<td>$103,279</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surplus [Subsidy]</td>
<td>($56,201)</td>
<td>($51,451)</td>
<td>($41,721)</td>
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<td>@ 80% AMI</td>
<td>$130,176</td>
<td>$141,528</td>
<td>$164,053</td>
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<td>Surplus [Subsidy]</td>
<td>($7,324)</td>
<td>($472)</td>
<td>$19,053</td>
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<tr>
<td>@ 120% AMI</td>
<td>$195,263</td>
<td>$212,292</td>
<td>$246,080</td>
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<td>Surplus [Subsidy]</td>
<td>$57,763</td>
<td>$70,292</td>
<td>$101,080</td>
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<td><strong>Net Surplus [Deficit and need for Subsidy] with homebuyer income mix:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>% average sale price</td>
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<tr>
<td>50% + 80% AMI</td>
<td>($22,668)</td>
<td>-17.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>50% + 80% + 120% AMI</td>
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#### Single Family Detached Rehabilitation

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<td>s.f.</td>
<td>1,650</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,950</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cost/s.f.</td>
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<td>$14,500</td>
<td>$16,000</td>
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<td>A&amp;D Cost</td>
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<td>$118,375</td>
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<td><strong>Affordable Home Price:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>@ 50% AMI</td>
<td>$81,299</td>
<td>$90,549</td>
<td>$103,279</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surplus [Subsidy]</td>
<td>($30,701)</td>
<td>($25,201)</td>
<td>($15,096)</td>
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<tr>
<td>@ 80% AMI</td>
<td>$130,176</td>
<td>$141,528</td>
<td>$164,053</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surplus [Subsidy]</td>
<td>$18,176</td>
<td>$25,778</td>
<td>$45,676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@ 120% AMI</td>
<td>$195,263</td>
<td>$212,292</td>
<td>$246,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus [Subsidy]</td>
<td>$83,263</td>
<td>$96,542</td>
<td>$127,705</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Net Surplus [Deficit and need for Subsidy] with homebuyer income mix:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% average sale price</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50% + 80% AMI</td>
<td>$30,582</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50% + 80% + 120% AMI</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Summary Tables**
Frankel, *A Sustainable Redevelopment Template for Urban Neighborhoods*

**Project Cost**

**Set for Affordability**

Subsidies needed at 50% AMI

Surplus (Subsidy) @ 120% AMI

Subsidies provided at 80% & 120% AMI

Typical A&D Cost by Construction
- Condominiums New Construction
- Single Family Detached New Construction
- Single Family Detached Rehabilitation

Affordable Housing Prices
- Affordable Home Price @ 50% AMI
- Affordable Home Price @ 80% AMI
- Affordable Home Price @ 120% AMI

Subsidies needed at 50% AMI
- ($70,000)
- ($60,000)
- ($50,000)
- ($40,000)
- ($30,000)
- ($20,000)
- ($10,000)
- $0

Affordable Home Price @ 80% AMI
- Affordable Home Price @ 120% AMI

Surplus (Subsidy) @ 50% AMI
- Condominiums New Construction
- Single Family Detached New Construction
- Single Family Detached Rehabilitation

Surplus (Subsidy) @ 80% AMI
- Condominiums New Construction
- Single Family Detached New Construction
- Single Family Detached Rehabilitation

Surplus (Subsidy) @ 120% AMI
- Condominiums New Construction
- Single Family Detached New Construction
- Single Family Detached Rehabilitation

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Section: PART D: The Redevelopment Model
Frankel, A Sustainable Redevelopment Template for Urban Neighborhoods

Section: PART D: The Redevelopment Model

Surplus (Subsidy) @ 50% AMI

- Condominiums New Construction
- Single Family Detached New Construction
- Single Family Detached Rehabilitation

Surplus (Subsidy) @ 80% AMI

- Condominiums New Construction
- Single Family Detached New Construction
- Single Family Detached Rehabilitation
STRATEGY B: MODEL OF SUSTAINABLE FINANCING

The financially sustainable model is structured around the revolving fund [loan or grant]. There are strategic choices toward achieving the objective of a sustainable, or perpetual, loan. The determining variables are presented in the ensuing chart:
**Affordability Test**
- Underwrite at affordability levels [homeowners; renters]
- Mitigate defaults; maximize economy

**Select Inexpensively**
- Smaller houses to rehabilitate
- Rehab may be less costly than new construction
- Depreciable assets permits greater tax credit and increment financing

** Redistribution**
- A large enough pool of both A&D interim loans and permanent mortgage funds whereby surplus net proceeds of less needy homebuyer sales provides the requisite affordability subsidies to more needy sales
- An adequate income mix of buyers to achieve the above

** Social Redeveloper**
- Require the role of a public or private, nonprofit master developer [but, a “socially conscious” for-profit is possible]
- Can JV with property owners; need not acquire

** Role of Investment**
- Recapture secondary mortgage investment upon buyer’s resale
- A public A&D loan would require no ROI [return on investment];
- A private A&D loan would function as a line of credit where interest carried would be structured into each transaction
- The larger funds and attendant redevelopment activities engenders private investment sooner in the target area

**STRATEGY C: FOR VACANT MIXED USE DOWNTOWN**

Property owners of the downtown buildings would enter into a redevelopment agreement with the Redevelopment Corporation, a community development nonprofit.
First, each floor of the building would be vertically subdivided as a condominium, with the building owner retaining title to each. Second, the consortium of owners would decide on the redevelopment of these vacant floors, their marketing to users, and their property management.

Reimbursed under the agreement [funded from proceeds of sale or refinance], the redeveloper would rehabilitate these vacant floors consistent with the proposed adaptive reuse. For example: apartments or residential condominiums, which could be age-restricted; live/ work for artists, craft-persons, emerging entrepreneurs; for other non-residential uses, such as an inn, cultural and entertainment use, expanded retail and office, then CDBG, Development Fund or other sources would be utilized.

The reuse with the CNRF must be residential, and with other funds can a mixed use, supportive of residential; the residents must be those earning no greater than 120% of County median income and their rent or sale price must be affordable. Each owner then has three options to [a] rent the space, [b] sell to the user, or [c] sell to another investor [could be the consortium of selling owners].

The logic of such collective action is that a market can be created for this vast unused private infrastructure of the heart of the city, and with less risk and greater return than by acting as individual owners. This strategy is graphically presented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condominiumize</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Owner retains title to each unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Enters redevelopment agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ICC as a nonprofit redevelops upper floors with a take-out commitment by mortgagee of owner or sale to end user or investor- see below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consortium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Condo owners may organize to market and manage all the upper floors [e.g., rental apartments, residential condo association, live/work]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End User</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Qualifying [&lt; 120% AMI] for residential loft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Area-wide benefit for non-residential use [negatively impacted by ARRA 2-17-09]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3 Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Owner leases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Owner sells to end user</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Owner sells to investor [landlord for upper floors, including consortium above]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Condominiumize**

- Owner retains title to each unit
- Enters redevelopment agreement
- ICC as a nonprofit redevelops upper floors with a take-out commitment by mortgagee of owner or sale to end user or investor - see below

**Consortium**

- Condo owners may organize to market and manage all the upper floors [e.g., rental apartments, residential condo association, live/work]

**End User**

- Qualifying [< 120% AMI] for residential loft
- Area-wide benefit for non-residential use [negatively impacted by ARRA 2-17-09]

**3 Options**

- Owner leases
- Owner sells to end user
- Owner sells to investor [landlord for upper floors, including consortium above]
STRATEGY D: INNOVATIVE TAX-INCREMNT & TAX CREDIT FINANCING

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

For apartments and commercial properties we go to capital markets in the sale of tax credits, and the bond market to provide funds underwritten through Housing Tax Increment Financing [HoTIF]. The tax credits include those for historic properties, as well as for low income apartments, and those in targeted areas where New Market Tax Credits apply. These financial methods make the unfeasible workable, and when applied together can result in a financial surplus which is dedicated to other neighborhood projects. The graphic below in this section summarizes these methods.

The chart of “Selective Tax Credit Programs & Their Capital Yields” is presented in the final section. These various tax credit programs, which through syndication can yield the estimated capital yields, commonly place little to no demands on the owner for either cash flow or capital gains, and thus serve as a source of gift equity.
STRATEGIC USE OF FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS

The key financial instruments useful in areas of disinvestment involve returns independent of conventional market valuation. The market is a primary barrier to investment, and so inducement must be in the form of tax credits and the innovative use of state and local taxes.

TAX INCREMENT & TAX CREDIT FINANCING

Beyond the array of intergovernmental and corporate foundation support in the forms grants and junior loans [deferred payment, low cost subordinated debt], there are Federal and Indiana programs that would raise capital in equity markets, and the innovative use of taxes to finance private and public capital improvements. I identify several, yet briefly and reserving a future opportunity to explain each adequately:

❖ The Indiana Housing Tax Increment Financing [HoTIF] is a much more powerful instrument for both residential and commercial redevelopment than the original TIF [e.g., Muncie has 3 TIF districts, but no HoTIF], and can be used to raise 25-75% of the value of the private investment through self-liquidating public bonds. The Illinois TIF has performed this function for some time, and is widely used in Chicago neighborhoods.

❖ Private capital markets will buy tax credits, with proceeds subsidizing residential and commercial “investment property” improvements as much as 50%. Again, Muncie, and many other places are without any organized deployment of either Historic or New Market Tax Credits.

❖ Some developers do include Low Income Housing Tax Credits to subsidize rental housing for households at or below 60% of County median income. But, the aforementioned tax credit programs can also deliver affordable housing, and for a wider range of household incomes, including the middle class. The programs I propose can be cumulative, resulting in little or no mortgages and even achieving “over-financed” projects, and for which surpluses may be used for other public purposes.

DEDICATION OF STATE TAXES

In another paper I will describe [a] Urban Enterprise Zones [UEZ] that can suspend the sales tax, [b] Brownfield Redevelopment programs that can reimburse environmental remediation through the dedication of State taxes from the site’s redevelopment, and [c] Community Revitalization Enhancement District [CReED] and Certified Technology Parks [CTP] that can pass through a substantial tax credit to merchants and other tenants in our commercial downtown [or any location with a CTP] from property improvements.

SMARTER INVESTMENTS

Intergovernmental grants tend to be spent rather than invested. A “smarter” public investment in housing and commercial properties has three features: [1] mortgages underwritten for affordability to mitigate defaults and maximize economy, [2] broad income mix of buyers, whereby “over-financing” of the least needy can subsidize the more needy, and [3] subsidies recaptured at the point of the buyer’s
resale. Such a revolving loan to acquire, redevelop and sell becomes as efficient as to approach a perpetual investment.

**SUSTAINABLE STRATEGY**

The combined use of State taxes, tax credit and increment programs, and the revolving loan presents a sustainable redevelopment strategy. They rely on the resources of the for-profit capital markets and maximize the deployment of public resources. Yes, both government and capitalism can be directed to serve the needs of poorer communities. A declining city’s untapped resources applied to its poverty and blight can qualify it for an unprecedented recovery. The greater challenge lies in appreciating these concepts and initiating this process.

---

**STEP 5: COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION & QUALITY CONTROL**

Planners, at the outset and throughout, must solicit and engage citizens in both the planning and development processes. Do not envision a conventional public hearing, but democracy in action, where stakeholders, regardless of their station in the community, are invited to participate in an open process of meaningful discourse. The process assures participants of their ownership of the redevelopment plan and quality control of its implementation.

An intentional by-product of this is stronger community organization and “leads” to market our products. The process of reporting monthly to neighborhood stakeholders in the implementation of the plan also invites funding sources to join us in this quality control. The graphic below in this section depicts this process.
PART E: REVEALING THE NUANCES OF REDEVELOPMENT FINANCING

CONCEPT OF TAX INCENTIVE FINANCING

*Tax incentive financing* may involve tax abatement [local property, sales, income, etc.] or the use of tax increment and tax credit financing to raise private capital in funding both private and public improvements in the redevelopment area. With the presentation of sustainable, or perpetual, funding above, we present two additional innovative redevelopment financing concepts:

- **Illinois TIF/Indiana HoTIF**
  - Powerful subsidy for private investment
  - and affordability

- **NMTC, HTC**
  - Finance/Over-finance
  - For surplus/mitigate role of mortgage

TAX INCREMENT FINANCING

Tax Increment Financing is authorized by Section 39 of the State’s Redevelopment Code, and the Housing TIF by Section 48. Both treat the increment in assessed property valuation from construction and the tax increment thereof placed in a trust account to be invested within or for the benefit of the “tax allocation area” [TIF District].

They differ in many respects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>TIF</th>
<th>HoTIF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tax Trust Account</strong></td>
<td>Only on the tax increment attributable from the private construction improvements.</td>
<td>May also include the base tax pre-improvement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Investment of Tax Trust</strong></td>
<td>Only on public improvements and services that benefit the TIF District</td>
<td>May also be spent on private property improvements</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
POWERS OF THE ILLINOIS TIF AND INDIANA HOTIF

The State has areas that qualify for a Housing TIF [HoTIF], a much more powerful instrument for both residential and commercial redevelopment than the original TIF, but without parsel application statewide.

In an area of disinvestment, the HoTIF can be used to raise 15-86% [refer to chart below] of the value of the private investment within the district through self-liquidating public revenue bonds, with the incremental tax serving to underwrite the issue and repay the bond purchasers. The wide ranges reflects various land uses and whether the bonds are taxable or tax-exempt; for the purpose of this illustration let us presume these bonds raise a third of the total investment. The HoTIF is substantially greater for nonresidential commercial properties and for apartments than for owner-occupied properties under this year’s tax reform, but there remains no legal restriction on redistributing such resources for the desired impact.

The public bonds are then invested in continued private property improvements, and conducted in a neighborhood-wide manner likely would raise every property value. Local government would gain revenue on this appreciation in contrast to losing revenue from deteriorating property values, as is the historic and current case. It would mitigate the costs of demolition, code enforcement and the less tangible ones of embarrassment and despair.

TIF UNDER ILLINOIS MUNICIPAL CODE

The Illinois TIF is cited CHAPTER 65, ARTICLE 11, DIVISION 74.4.: TAX INCREMENT ALLOCATION REDEVELOPMENT ACT. Its eligible uses:

- Rehabilitation or renovation of existing public or **private buildings**
- Property acquisition
- Construction of public works or improvements
- Job training
- Relocation
- Financing costs, including interest assistance
- Studies, surveys and plans
- Marketing sites within the TIF
- Professional services
- Demolition and site preparation
We reviewed a report of the Civic Federation researching the trend of property tax rates as reported on August 23, 2010 for the period 2006-2008. That disclosed the average rates [annual property tax as % of market value] by land use, as follows:

- 1.3% Homesteads
- 2.4% Commercial
- Apartments/ Rental Housing
- Retail
- Office

**TIF AS FINANCING PRIVATE IMPROVEMENTS**

The State of Indiana has areas that qualify for a Housing TIF [HoTIF], a much more powerful instrument for both residential and commercial redevelopment than the original TIF, but without parse application statewide. Illinois, and especially Chicago, has used this instrument of redevelopment for some time, and yet not to its fullest value.

In an area of disinvestment, the Illinois TIF can be used to raise 25-38% [refer to chart below] of the value of the total investment [33-60% of the private investment] within the district through self-liquidating public revenue bonds, with the incremental tax serving to underwrite the issue and repay the bond purchasers. In Indiana, the HoTIF can be used to raise 15-86% of the private investment. The wide ranges reflects various land uses and whether the bonds are taxable or tax-exempt; for the purpose of this illustration let us presume these bonds raise a third of the total investment. In both states the TIF/
HoTIF is substantially greater for nonresidential commercial properties and for apartments than for owner-occupied properties under this year’s tax reform, but there remains no legal restriction on redistributing such resources for the desired impact.

The public bonds are then invested in continued private property improvements, and conducted in a neighborhood-wide manner likely would raise every property value. Local government would gain revenue on this appreciation in contrast to losing revenue from deteriorating property values, as is the historic and current case. It would mitigate the costs of demolition, code enforcement and the less tangible ones of embarrassment and despair.

For illustration and in Chicago, we take a property, residential or commercial, but in this illustration a defunct apartment building, worth, conceptually, $10,000. The investor finances $100,000 in improvements through a private lender [a local bank, credit union, or mortgage-backed security] and an additional $60,000 completing the gut rehabilitation through the public bonds described above.

The private lender is satisfied with a loan to cost ratio of just 60% [$100,000/ $170,000]; the public lender is assured of its repayment through the owner’s tax payments.

If we presume, in a concerted, neighborhood-wide redevelopment, that property values will appreciate at the same annual rate as Fall Creek Place in Indianapolis [worse at the start than most any neighborhood in the State] of 8%, then another $80,000 in value will be realized within five years, yielding $1,920 on this multifamily home, and deposited for the school district and other units of local government. This tax increment for general and special purpose local governments is 800% of the pre-redevelopment tax of $2400 on a $10,000 property. Although we have heard the popular view that TIF’s rob us of taxes, and indeed they do when applied improperly, we challenge anyone to explain how they would in the strategy just presented for a neighborhood of disinvestment.

We then apply the same method to homesteads, substituting Chicago’s tax to value ratio of 1.3% instead of the 2.4% on investment properties. These results are indicated in the second chart below:
TIF APPLIED TO CHICAGO TAX STRUCTURE

Concept 1: TIF as Investment
Multifamily Housing or Commercial Uses

- General Fund $1,920 [800%]
- TIF capitalized (MC=6%) & re-invested private property
- Underwrite TIF $2,400
- Property Appreciation 5 Years @ 8% $80,000
- Public Bonds $60,000 38% subsidy
- Private Investment $100,000
- Post Development Value = $170,000
- 5 Years = $250,000
- Total tax incr = $3,600
- Tax = $240

Frankel, A Sustainable Redevelopment Template for Urban Neighborhoods

Section: PART E: Revealing the Nuances of Redevelopment Financing
ILLINOIS TIF AS THE SOLE REQUISITE SUBSIDY FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING

The charts below demonstrate how the simplified use of HoTIF financing for the owner-occupied single-family dwelling can be made affordable. We calculate an affordable purchase price for a four [4] bedroom dwelling at $120,900. Affordability is based on an average for low and moderate income households and FHA/FNMA “front end” underwriting standards. The example above is that the dwelling has a capital investment of $142,500.

The results, absent any other developer or external subsidies, is a housing payment monthly of $858, or $65 less than the household and HUD costs to rent under the Section 8 program.

29 5% down payment, current APR’s, hazard insurance at $3.25 per $1,000, and property taxes as previously quoted as 1.3% of the home price.
## Affordable Housing

### 4-BR Dwelling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Need</th>
<th>Affordability Pricing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Income for household of 6 = $31,050</td>
<td>$94,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Income for household of 6 = $49,680</td>
<td>$147,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Low/Moderate =</td>
<td><strong>$120,900</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2008 Data

## HoTIF as Affordable Housing Subsidy

- **Acquisition & Redevelopment Cost (Purchase Price)**: $142,500
- **Less HoTIF (Homeowner pays taxes, city trust pays second mortgage)**: -$32,500
- **Equals Conventionally Financed Price**: $110,000
- **Less Buyer Down Payment (6%)**: -$669
- **Equals Amortizing Mortgage (LTV = 77%)**: $110,000

- **Monthly Mortgage Payment (AMC = 0.075/12 months)**: $669
- **Monthly Tax Payment (annual = 1.3% [assumes homestead deduction])**: $150
- **Monthly Hazard Insurance (annual = 0.325% to replace)**: $39
- **Total Monthly Housing Payment**: $855
- **Compare to Section 8 FMR (2007)**: $923

1. Owner saves $65 over total cost [household + subsidy] to rent same unit
2. $110,000 of conventionally financed price < $120,900 average affordable price
Post Indiana’s 2008 tax reform, the local property tax appears as the most stable for of revenue, and thus suitable for the underwriting of self-liquidating public revenue bonds [Redevelopment Commission as the authority for bond issuance]. The table and diagram below summarize the net proceeds of either taxable or tax-exempt bonds on $1.0 million in private property improvements and alternately for our homestead, apartment building, and nonresidential property.
INDIANA TIF AS THE SOLE REQUISITE SUBSIDY FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING

### Affordable Housing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4-BR Dwelling Household Need</th>
<th>4-BR Dwelling Affordable Pricing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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</tbody>
</table>

2008 Data

### HoTIF as Affordable Housing Subsidy

- Acquisition & Redevelopment Cost [Purchase Price] $143,000
- Less HoTIF [Homeowner pays taxes, City Trust pays second mortgage] -$25,000
- Less Developer Subsidy [0.0%, but an option] -50
- Equals Conventionally Financed Price $118,000
- Less Buyer Down Payment [8%] [IHICDA provides $15,000 subsidy] -$7,150
- Equals Amortizing Mortgage [LTV = 77.5%] $110,850
- Monthly Mortgage Payment [AMC = 0.073] $674
- Monthly Tax Payment [annual = 1.0%] $119
- Monthly Hazard Insurance [annual = 0.325% to replace] $39
- Total Monthly Housing Payment $832
- Compare to Section 8 FMR [2007] $923

1. Owner saves $91 over total cost (household + subsidy) to rent same unit
2. $118,000 of conventionally financed price < $120,900 average affordable price
TAX CREDIT FINANCING

For illustration, one proposal is a self-help effort, neighborhood by neighborhood, that marries the unique roles of nonprofit with for-profit entities, and calls upon the public sector to cooperate. It treats a community’s apparent liabilities and weaknesses as assets for recovery, in that our Federal and State governments have established programs for the recovery of distressed places on the qualifications of our own impoverished neighborhoods and economy of disinvestment. If done expertly, this strategy generates substantial net revenues for both public and private sectors, and would transform both the physical [blight] and economic [investment and income] environment.

Beyond the array of intergovernmental and corporate foundation support in the forms grants and low cost loans, there are Federal and Indiana programs that abet the raising of capital in equity markets, and the innovative use of taxes to finance mortgaged debt. We identify several:

Second, there are Federal and Indiana tax credits for owners that improve their properties. You may be one of 72 cities [refer to featured list] with neighborhoods that qualify for New Market Tax Credits [NMTC]. By selling such credits in established capital markets, 30% of project costs could be raised.

For local historic districts or properties on the State and Federal Historic Registers, another 30% of historic renovation costs could be contributed by investors utilizing the 20% Federal and 20% Indiana credit [HTC]. The latter we discount by the multi-year delay in receiving the credit due to the severe under-allocation of this credit by the State Legislature [$5 million to remedy the waiting list and $1.5 million in tax allocation to fund at current demand]. These may a call for “collective action,” as previously described.
The HoTIF and all of these tax credits [NMTC, HTC] may be cumulative, and in my tally of capital that can be raised equals 93% of the cost of the improvements, and could as well readily “over-finance” these projects. All unnecessary financing would be treated as surplus for investment in public properties and services, or as supplemental subsidies for groups with special needs. I also can envision a neighborhood-based college scholarship program, financial incentives for anchor and incubator businesses in commercial areas, and the proliferation of Habitat production as a counter to subprime lending’s exit.

If the property is rented to households falling within 60% of the County’s median income, then Low Income Housing Tax Credits are available and can raise from 28% to 62% of the qualified basis of the property improvements depending on whether it is rehabilitation or new construction and the Federal involvement in the financing, if at all.

There is a perfect fit. These investors care about the tax credits and the stability of these properties over the period of tax recapture [5-10 years for the above programs]. They are “investment blind” as to any other investment value, as they do not participate in either rental cash flows or capital gains upon sale, both of which accrue to the property owner.

All of these references to tax credits and capital yields are presented in the chart at the end.

---

**CHRONOLOGY OF TAX CREDIT PROGRAMS**

- **1976: Enactment of Federal Historic Tax Credit (rehabilitation tax credit)**
  - Use for all income-producing (depreciable) property
  - Certified historic rehabilitation of certified historic building (20%)
  - Rehabilitation of older (pre-1936) non-historic and non-residential building (10%)

- **1986: Enactment of Low-Income Housing Tax Credit**
  - Create construction and rehabilitation of affordable rental housing

- **2000: Enactment of New Markets Tax Credit**
  - Apply to qualified businesses (real estate investments), excludes most housing
  - Can combine with the Rehabilitation Tax Credit, but not with the LIHTC
  - 2003 – First Allocation of NMTCs to CDEs

- **Enactment of State Historic Tax Credits**
  - Enacted at various dates, but in all 50 states
  - Rules generally parallel federal historic tax credit
  - Indiana can combine with Federal HTC [40%] + owner-occupied housing eligible for Indiana Residential Historic Rehabilitation Credit [RHRC] – refer to Indiana
CUMULATIVE RESULTS

There are restrictions on the use of Low Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC) in combination with other Federal programs.\(^{30}\) However, the combinations of NMTC, HTC, HoTIF, and tax-exempt revenue bonds remain unrestricted. Thus, it is possible to severely reduce or eliminate mortgaged debt, or even to “over-finance” a project when these instruments are jointly deployed. The over-finance\(^{31}\) when managed by a public or private nonprofit master redeveloper becomes useful in financing other projects with a public purpose, and perhaps with no source of revenue. For illustration: single family homesteads and historic preservation subsidies, neighborhood pocket parks, social/manpower/health care services, educational and cultural programs. The chart below assumes a modest accumulation of these programs.

\(^{30}\) The annual tax credit is reduced from 9.0% to 4.0% when tax-exempt bond or any Federally-subsidized debt financing is used, or exempts from qualified basis any portions of projects costs financed with any Federal grant or tax credit program. Structuring this is an art unto itself.

\(^{31}\) Either no private financing, or with some conventional private financing, to achieve a surplus of funds over the application of funds.
### Chart of Selective Tax Credit Programs & Their Capital Yields

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data Inputs and Calculations</th>
<th>LIHTC</th>
<th>NMTC</th>
<th>HTC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Constr. + &lt; 50% Tax Exempt Bonds</strong></td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Constr. + &gt; 50% tax exempt bonds</strong></td>
<td>$5,000,000</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rehab + Taxable Bonds</strong></td>
<td>$5,000,000</td>
<td>$5,000,000</td>
<td>$5,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Federal Historic Register Rehab</strong></td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Federal &lt; 1936 Rehab</strong></td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indiana Historic Register Rehab</strong></td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Combine Fed/State HRTC</strong></td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Project Cost</strong></td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Improvement Cost</strong></td>
<td>$9,000,000</td>
<td>$9,000,000</td>
<td>$9,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Acquisition Cost</strong></td>
<td>$1,000,000</td>
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<td>$1,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Disqualified Costs</strong></td>
<td>$100,000</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eligible Basis</strong></td>
<td>$8,900,000</td>
<td>$8,900,000</td>
<td>$8,900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Applicable Fraction</strong></td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qualified Basis</strong></td>
<td>$5,340,000</td>
<td>$5,340,000</td>
<td>$5,340,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Credit by Building Type</strong></td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average Annual Credit</strong></td>
<td>$480,600</td>
<td>$213,600</td>
<td>$577,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Years Placed in Service</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Value of Credit over Service</strong></td>
<td>$4,806,000</td>
<td>$2,136,000</td>
<td>$1,188,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROI Requirement</strong></td>
<td>69.2%</td>
<td>69.2%</td>
<td>69.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Equity Induced</strong></td>
<td>$3,326,233</td>
<td>$1,478,326</td>
<td>$1,478,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOI</strong></td>
<td>$750,000</td>
<td>$750,000</td>
<td>$750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cap Rate</strong></td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capitalized Value</strong></td>
<td>$7,500,000</td>
<td>$7,500,000</td>
<td>$7,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LTV</strong></td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maximum Mortgage</strong></td>
<td>$5,625,000</td>
<td>$5,625,000</td>
<td>$5,625,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Project Cost</strong></td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mortgage</strong></td>
<td>$5,625,000</td>
<td>$5,625,000</td>
<td>$5,625,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Equity</strong></td>
<td>$3,326,233</td>
<td>$1,478,326</td>
<td>$1,478,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financing Gap [surplus]</strong></td>
<td>$1,048,767</td>
<td>$2,896,674</td>
<td>$3,552,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proportionate Gap [surplus]</strong></td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: Blue is a calculator; Black is an input; Red is a likely market or regulatory input
Part F: Capacity-Building Action Agenda

Lastly and most importantly, there is the local capacity that we must build to utilize these strategies and to avail the tools, of which this presentation reflects a suggestive, not exhaustive, list.

My students have applied this to the Bronzeville neighborhood; this suggests the most important approach to community building. The frame of reference is on the neighborhood, not an isolated project. They have selected Bronzeville among various neighborhood redevelopment prospects, based on strategic conditions, and their path of redevelopment functions to expand an existing market of investment block by block into an adjoining area of disinvestment. They have utilized all six [6] redevelopment strategies and in various combinations on ten [10] project sites. Lastly, my students have analytically underwritten each project as to enjoy both market and financial feasibility, enabling the actions of their action plan.

We attend in this final section to steps in developing a local capacity for neighborhood redevelopment.

Organize

First, organize and mobilize at the neighborhood level; you already should know the people in the room, and you are all incorrigibly committed for the long-term, and will develop a managerial skill in driving your agenda. There are techniques for organizing stakeholders, identifying projects and their champions, and mobilizing around an action agenda, but the subject of another report.

The advantages to local elected officials in such a grass-roots organizing campaign is several: One, as the public discourse is inclusive and highly substantive, issues become resolved, and the contentions are removed before they appear before the legislative body and the executive. Two, if elective officials facilitate this endeavor, they then may be in a position to count on the same organized effort in their re-election. Third, although popular plans [refer to section below] are sometimes viewed as restricting the discretion of elected officials, they also empower all and make effective the efforts of those officials.

Which neighborhoods? The State Code terms these “redevelopment areas.” They present residents of economically impacted neighborhoods. Depending on the program, there is a corporate form, typically a nonprofit Community Development Entity [CDE] as a master redeveloper and coordinating for-profit entities on discernible projects.

Knowledge, Strategic Planning, Leadership

Second, acquire expertise. This typically requires seed money, and the community may look to public universities in Indiana or various private consultants for support.

Third, each neighborhood will need a strategic business plan for the financial and market underwriting, and may also opt for a community development plan, identifying neighborhood needs, setting a vision, and prioritizing objectives and actions. These plans direct and then sell your projects, and are indispensable. Remember, do not think small, for there is greater risk to improving a single property than 400 properties. We outline the formulation of such a strategic business plan below.
Finally, our elected officials should cooperate, if not lead this effort. At a minimum is the need for some ordinances and resolutions. But, I have yet to meet a case study where political leadership was not a requirement. I remember the Austin, TX, bumper sticker... “if the people lead the leaders will follow.”

END GAME

We return to the underlying values of planning as well as public interest real estate development: Control events and add to the value of place. The planning process commits to civic engagement between elections in furtherance of democratic values, as does the campaign process during election season. Yet, it does so more substantively.

FORUMULATION OF A LOCAL REDEVELOPMENT STRATEGIC PLAN

For a local redevelopment strategic plan I consider its process [“plan” as a verb], its strategy [“plan” as a noun], and a new set of tools in its implementation [capacity to act]. Such a plan should be in two parts, directed toward the public and its leadership, and another suited to an audience of realty investors and their support professionals.

PROCESS

Process is primary to product. The process of planning is political action, and should serves a citizenry to organize, take ownership of the plan [participation is based on the expectation of influence], and then act. The form I have been practicing with other Indiana communities aggressively solicits stakeholders, who participate as equals regardless of station, commit to a meaningful discourse, and determine the outcome. It is a deliberate form that resolves contentious issues and fosters consensus, a useful, if unique, political product. It is genuine democracy as rarely practiced, the democracy between elections, and how we ought to be governed. I say this not from some theoretical construct, but from my experience and continued amazement.

The process is conducted in open public forums, several in a series, both real and online “virtual”, escaping from the boundaries of three-minute time limits and fostering actual conversations. It structures the discussion by planning elements [issues], leading to projects and identifying their champions. It mirrors the strategy addressed below in organizing by the building blocks of a community’s neighborhoods and where participants have a heightened stake.

The beneficial product is community organization and empowerment. By sharing power public officials gain power, for this is not a zero-sum game. Elected officials never lose any authority in adopting the plan, but are relieved of the fractious outcomes of such decision-making, and gain a mandate to act effectively.

STRATEGY

NEIGHBORHOOD-BASED

We pursue a logical thread. The purpose of planning is to solve problems of place. We start with the place where you live or have a business. The neighborhood focus then leads to a project-based plan.
Frankel, A Sustainable Redevelopment Template for Urban Neighborhoods

No project has a place in the plan without a champion, a shepherd who is accountable. Also identified are Neighborhood Redevelopment Strategy Areas, selected for and with the strategy to generate a market response and materially improve conditions in say five years.

**HOLISTIC**

Focused on problem-solving projects, we invite government and corporate sponsors to act non-bureaucratically, but, rather, holistically. Government is structured to deliver services. What if it operated to solve problems, and with services so coordinated? The coordination would embrace line departments, authorities and commissions, be inter-governmental, and utilize citizen volunteers. Ombudsmen assigned [read “reassigned,” as we look not to expand government] to each neighborhood and working with its stakeholders presents a new, exciting “reinvention of government.”

**INDIRECT**

We promote a “strategy of indirection,” meaning to work rather on the determinant of what we want. Downtown retail should focus on downtown housing, expanding the resident population with enough purchasing power to generate retail demand; conversely, such retail amenities nurture downtown living. Economic and community development are complimentary, as the location decision of firms depends on the quality of life here, and vice-versa. Fundamentally effectuate redevelopment and escape the costly politics of annexation through the County’s management of growth inward, halting sprawl. Indirection and integration presents a frontal assault on our frustration when attempts in one arena fail.

**BUSINESS PLAN**

The strategic plan envisions these community development action plans and each project presents its financial, market and political feasibility. This plan provides for the resources and strategic actions by champions to implement each project. All business plans do this, and mistakenly almost all public plans do not.

**CORPORATE SPONSORS**

Why not attract corporate sponsorship, appealing not just to their eleemosynary instincts, but their self-interests? Ball State is an underutilized, under-challenged resource. Its various programs study Muncie, even providing applied research and plans. But, is there institutional investment beyond the campus, so evident in some of our leading universities [see Judith Rodin, The University & Urban Renewal]?

A city’s several major employers [e.g., education, medical care] don’t pay local taxes, and might be adverse to a “payment-in-lieu-of-taxes” for services the city renders. Alternately, they could provide corporate sponsorship: employer-sponsored housing; anchor the downtown revival with a facility, such as medical arts or clinic, live/work business incubator, class studios, even dormitory, and begin to fill the floor areas of vacancies; anchor a residential neighborhood by awakening an empty school. Improving the built environment would lead to better employees [at an area university, better faculty and student bodies], and generate more economic development than do most junkets to Asia and tax abatements locally.

**IMPACTFUL STRATEGY**

The present and foreseeable market context is deep recession. There are a plethora of Chicago neighborhoods and mid-west small cities and towns enjoying an underlying strategic position as the
affordable bargain, and with resources for entrepreneurship and the arts particularly attractive to the “creative class.” Yet, with moderate qualification these economically impacted Chicago neighborhoods and small town core downtown neighborhoods appear abandoned by the market.

Redevelopment is all about changing market perception, and that is induced through overwhelming, concerted actions [read “surge”], rather than unrelated, piecemeal ones. In our neighborhoods of disinvestment, virtually no one is investing in a single property, but would if they were more certain of the area’s redevelopment, and, consequently, of their return-on-investment. Rehabilitating one house is much riskier and less feasible than 400 lots in a neighborhood. How would collective action unleash the vast resources of the private economy?

CAPABILITY

In preface, “we have abundant resources and sufficient tools for redevelopment, and lack only the knowledge for their effective use.”

I identify below neglected, indeed unknown, resources. Their application falls within the rubric of “enterprise planning” [my own term, but others embrace “social capitalism”] which places demands on the spirit and knowledge of entrepreneurship to advance the public interest in community and economic development.

FRAMEWORK

A city’s traditional excuse is in lacking the resources required to solve problems; given the recent condition of both our public and private economies there appears no dissent to this position. I dissent. The plan should make us more resourceful by demonstrating how to acquire and then apply these resources.

The liabilities of economically impacted neighborhoods include poverty and blight. But, these conditions when skillfully presented induce a flood of intergovernmental and, more significantly, private resources. The principals in this enterprise constitute a marriage of nonprofit and for-profit entities, while the role of the local government is to authorize certain “marital” activities.

Central is a City-wide, neighborhood-oriented, nonprofit as the master redeveloper and with staff experience/expertise to conduct a complex set of actions. How does a strategy generate substantial net revenues for both public and private sectors, and transform both the physical [blight] and economic [investment and income] environment?

TAX INCREMENT & TAX CREDIT FINANCING

Beyond the array of intergovernmental and corporate foundation support in the forms grants and junior loans [deferred payment, low cost subordinated debt], there are Federal and Indiana programs that would raise capital in equity markets, and the innovative use of taxes to finance private and public capital improvements. I identify several, yet briefly and reserving a future opportunity to explain each adequately:
Chicago’s TIF and Indiana’s HoTIF represent a much more powerful instrument for both residential and commercial redevelopment than the original TIF, and can be used to raise 25-75% of the value of the private investment through self-liquidating public bonds.

Private capital markets will buy tax credits, with proceeds subsidizing residential and commercial “investment property” improvements as much as 50%. Again, most Indiana cities and towns are without any organized deployment of either Historic or New Market Tax Credits despite widespread eligibility.

Some developers do include Low Income Housing Tax Credits to subsidize rental housing for households at or below 60% of County median income. But, the aforementioned tax credit programs can also deliver affordable housing, and for a wider range of household incomes, including the middle class. The programs I propose can be cumulative, resulting in little or no mortgages and even achieving “over-financed” projects, and for which surpluses may be used for other public purposes.

DEDICATION OF STATE TAXES

Another day I will describe [a] Urban Enterprise Zones [UEZ] that can suspend the sales tax, [b] Brownfield Redevelopment programs that can reimburse environmental remediation through the dedication of State taxes from the site’s redevelopment, and [c] Community Revitalization Enhancement District [CReED] and Certified Technology Parks [CTP] that can pass through a substantial tax credit to merchants and other tenants in our commercial downtown [or any location with a CTP] from property improvements.

SMARTER INVESTMENTS

Intergovernmental grants tend to be spent rather than invested. A “smarter” public investment in housing and commercial properties has three features: [1] mortgages underwritten for affordability to mitigate defaults and maximize economy, [2] broad income mix of buyers, whereby “over-financing” of the least needy can subsidize the more needy, and [3] subsidies recaptured at the point of the buyer’s resale. Such a revolving loan to acquire, redevelop and sell becomes as efficient as to approach a perpetual investment.

SUSTAINABLE STRATEGY

The combined use of State taxes, tax credit and increment programs, and the revolving loan presents a sustainable redevelopment strategy. They rely on the resources of the for-profit capital markets and maximize the deployment of public resources. Yes, both government and capitalism can be directed to serve the needs of poorer communities. A declining city’s untapped resources applied to its poverty and blight can qualify it for an unprecedented recovery. The greater challenge lies in appreciating these concepts and initiating this process.
Simply, we summarize the principles presented in this paper:

**CREATE A MARKET**

Start by understanding the end game. The public sector is capable of financing one or more projects as public works or HOPE VI, etc. It lacks the capacity to redevelop a neighborhood and then to maintain that reinvestment sustainably. The end game to is create a shift in market investment through the simple perception that tomorrow will yield higher realty values than today. That perception is not conveyed through the “mirrors” and “magic show” of the real estate market bubbles of the last decade, but through tangible improvements in the quality of place. It represents the turning of a neighborhood that presents the dichotomy as a good location and bad address, into a desired address. Capitalism, founded on the principle of “buy low, sell high” is receptive to this end game.

**SELECT NRSA WISELY**

In identifying neighborhood redevelopment strategy areas, we must select intelligently. The proximity of an area to disinvestment, declining property values and including property abandonment, to one of investment presents the objective. Block by block investment spreads from a stable to an unstable neighborhood, induced by any one of our six [6] strategies, and usually in their combination. Despite its blight, the economically impacted neighborhood may convey several useful, yet unappreciated, assets, such as proximity to a commercial core or a park, historic/ architecturally significant buildings, and neighborhood identity and organization.

Second, NRSA’s are chosen for their impact. They are on a corridor leading to the downtown, and, thus, convey visibility. They have the highest rates of housing abandonment and deterioration, and, thus, present the prospect for dramatic improvement. If they are the worst neighborhood, their redevelopment demonstrates to any other neighborhood that redevelopment is doable.

**A TEMPLATE: APPLY STRATEGY TO MATCH CONDITIONS**

We identify and then apply six [6] distinct redevelopment strategies to sixteen [16] neighborhood conditions. The process of matching is more significant than any prescription here of appropriate matches. This is our neighborhood template, a paradigm for practicing redevelopment.

**BUILD & DEPLOY CAPACITY CREATIVELY**

Lastly, the convention of a community development plan is to end with an action plan. Planning education and the practice of planning must engage in the actions of such action plans. Community organization, the functions of a master redeveloper, smarter financial instruments and public policies, and the creative and effective use of those instruments and policies are central examples of the requisite actions. These actions require knowledge, above and beyond that found in the traditional
schools of business, planning, and public administration. They elevate to the skills of the “enterprise planner.”
Consumer Participatory Digital Content Creation: Value Co-creation or Interference?

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ABSTRACT:

With the prevalence of user-generated content in the era of Web 2.0, consumer participatory co-creation has attracted attention from academia and industries alike. Whether and how consumer-producer co-creation relations may be established and maintained in the animation industry is of interest in this study. By conducting a case study on a 3D animation company, this paper explores the scheme of co-creation in the digital content product development cycle.

Research findings indicate that consumer participatory co-creation may be best applicable at early stages of the product development cycle, because producers of animated films appreciate the value of originality and require countless creative ideas. Producers willingly embrace opportunities to co-create stories with potential consumers in a relatively closed network at pre-production stages. It is recommended that engaging consumers in relatively open co-creation platforms at the post-production stages may facilitate marketing campaigns for the animated film.

KEYWORDS: Consumer co-creation, Digital content creation, Animation industry
APPLICATION OF LAW OF CONTRACT IN PAKISTAN

A Research Article

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ABSTRACT

This article will trace that how the contract law is being applied in Pakistani courts; what are the ramifications which it entails; and what are the remedial measures which can be taken to overcome the problems which are being encountered by the litigants. In this article the focus will be primarily on the civil suits regarding contracts. The application of Law of Contract in Pakistan has significantly plummeted in the current scenario. It does not mean that the cases related to Contract Law have dwindled but the people are loath to approach courts on matters related to measly amount. To approach the court is fraught with multi thronged problems: the civil litigation related to Contract matters takes interminable delay on the part of the courts; the populace has to splurge money in the form of the professional fee of lawyers; the people have to attend the courts frequently; the plaintiffs have to produce corroborating evidence etc.

Therefore, the masses prefer to settle the matters of law of Contract in amenable manner and sometimes in inimical manner rather than knocking at the door of the courts. Law of Contract in Pakistan is governed by Contract Act 1872 and Specific Relief Act 1877. Law of Contract seems to be being replaced by other laws like Writ Petitions etc.

KEY WORDS:

Contract Law, Specific Relief, corroborating evidence, plaintiff, Empiricism, Constitution.
INTRODUCTION

We stand at the verge of a new era of empiricism. In this world of empiricism, the application and applicability of law of contract sounds like an anachronism. In most of the countries like India, China, the United Kingdom etc. the application of law of contract has dwindled, specifically in Pakistan. John O. McGinnis has pontificated that the contract law has much to do with morality; morality and law of contract are intertwined. 1 If we separate these things then we have to go to the courts of law to get the matters settled. But in Pakistan the people have had morality, now no more, but since the number of cases relating to contracts have dwindled. Here we will discuss this issue in detail.2

An agreement between two or more persons which is enforceable by law is a contract. It is based upon one Latin phrase *pacta sunt servanda* which can be roughly translated as “agreements must be kept’. Origin of contract can also be traced from one of the verse from the Holy Quran: *ya hayu allazina aimo aafu bil aqoode* (Surah Al-Maida), the English rendition of this verse is “O’ Believers keep your promises”. Contract entails further process to get completed.

First of all, there is offer from one side and acceptance from the other side; there is consideration; and contract has to be for legal consideration. But here we are only concerned with the application of contract law in Pakistan. The common laws which were prevalent in the sub-continent before bifurcation of India and Pakistan were adopted by both the states after independence – some laws were not adopted. The constitution of Pakistan was formed in 1956 by the Constituent Assembly but other laws and acts which were applied by the courts were of British Era.

APPLICATION OF LAW OF CONTRACT:

All Pakistani Courts – Civil Courts, District Courts, High Courts and the Supreme Court – started to apply Contract Act 1872 to handle the matters related to agreements. It was averred by the Pakistani junta that the British laws will be soon replaced by Pakistani and Islamic laws but more than sixty three years are down the line but nothing has been done except replacement of few laws. From the very inception of Pakistan, when Pakistan was at its fledgling state the populace used to approach the courts regarding their contract matters to get the matters get settled and to get the decree from the court and later on filed execution of the decree.


Let us dilate upon the fact that why the people preferred filing of civil suits in the courts for disputes relating to contracts in the early years. There were conglomerate of reasons. The first reason was that the lawyers or counsels of the petitioners did not charge hefty amount for filing of the suit from the plaintiffs. The second reason was that the court fee was nominal and was within the reach of common masses. The judges have empathy and commiseration for the penury stricken people. The courts were in the position to issue decree within the short span of time. The courts were not prone to procrastination. The courts were not awash with corruption and graft. The courts used to issue decree approximately within 5 years after filling of the suit. ³

But the trend for approaching the courts for contract matters took a sudden turn. And number of pending civil suits for contracts started dwindling gradually. What were the circumstances which led to sudden shift in the thinking of the people regarding filing of civil suits for contractual matters? The populace of Pakistan being aware of the fact that to approach the courts for measly matters is being fraught with multi thronged problems started to minimize their proclivity to approach the courts.

The Plaintiffs have to splurge a huge amount of money to get the decree. Albeit, The Code of Civil Procedure 1908 envisages that the costs of the cases will be recovered from the judgment debtor, but that has not been usually done. The decree holder has to bear the brunt altogether. The process for civil suits is significantly lethargic and time consuming for the plaintiff. Sometimes it happens that the plaintiff kicks the bucket but the case has not been disposed of by the court. Most of the lawyers usually charge huge amount from the plaintiff along with court fees.

The stenographers, readers and other staff of the court also endeavor to extract money form the plaintiffs and defendants in the form of corruption. There is no regular hearing on day to day basis or week to week basis, the case are usually adjourned for more than one month. First of all the court will frame the issues which will take one month to be framed afterwards the court will ask for documentary and other evidence which will be recorded by following the Quanoon-e-Shahadat Order 1984, that will also take two years to be completed. The court process is so enigmatic for the plaintiffs and the defendants that it seems to them that they have been embattled in a mesh where there is no way out.

The Supreme Court of Pakistan in its National Judicial Policy of 2009 underscored these points and stressed that the cases of all natures whether they pertain to civil matters or criminal matters have to be disposed of within six months. The National Judicial Policy also mentioned the number of cases pending in the courts, which are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Supreme Court, Islamabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Baluchistan High Court, Quetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Lahore High Court, Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Peshawar High Court, Peshawar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sindh High Court, Sindh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Federal Shariat Court, Islamabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Punjab Lower (Subordinate) Judiciary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Khyber Pakhtunkhawa Subordinate Judiciary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Baluchistan Lower (Subordinate) Judiciary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Sindh Lower (Subordinate) Judiciary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The aforementioned table clearly highlights the no. of cases pending in the courts and no of filing of the cases is mushrooming significantly. It is easy to render the raison d'être, that why the backlog of the cases is increasing considerably.

There are also other significant problems which exist regarding procrastination in the disposal of the civil cases and regarding the piling up of the backlog. One of these reasons is that the number of Judicial Officers across the country is far less and is not compatible with the number of cases pending in the courts. This problem needs to be redressed with zeal. The other similar problem which persists on is that the Judicial Officers are not paid hefty salary.

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\[4\] National Judicial Policy 2009, Islamabad, Pakistan
so that they can stave off any corrupt practice which is offered in the form of bribe. The salary of Judicial Officers is lowing just because of paucity in the budget allocation by the concerned Provincial Government and Federal Government.

Judicial Crisis of 2007 has brought a change in the red-tapism which exists in the judicial process from top to toe which includes corrupt practices embedded in the dispensation of justice. Albeit this change is of measly relevance to the entire process, but still considerable. The current Honourable Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr. Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary has vehemently stressed that there would be no corruption in the whole judicial hierarchy, if there would be then it will be dealt with iron hands.

The main problem which hampers the dispensation of justice to the people is lengthy the process involves in the disposal of the case. If the case relating to contractual matter is disposed of within time i.e. 5 years in such case the judgement debtor got plenty of remedies. The judgement debtor can file review petition in the same court; the judgement debtor can prefer appeal in the Court of District Judge. Against the decision of the District Court the appeal can be preferred in the High Court and against the decision of the High Court the Supreme Court forum is still open to aggrieved party, in this way the contract cases take more than 20 years for final disposal.

Being distraught from this labyrinth of the court process the people have relinquish to approach the courts on contract matters. Only the companies and the departments approach the courts for contractual matters. The people intend to settle the matters amicably on measly amounts. Truculent and pugnacious persons try to settle the contractual matters in an inimical fashion by entering in affray or tiffs. These affrays have also resulted in murders as well, sometimes not always.5

For these reasons Contract Act 1872 and Specific Relief Act 1877 seem to be replaced by other specific and particular laws as that has been put by Nathan B. Oman in the Georgetown Journal: “Since the end of the nineteenth century contract law has been shrinking as specialized bodies of law such as labor law or employment law are created to govern particular kinds of transactions. The trend is not an accident. Many contract theorists see the generality of contract law as a historical accident born of a formalism whose basis was ultimately more aesthetic than functional.”

The Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) Sayings are bristled with stress on the fulfillment of the contracts in amenable manner by producing witnesses which will swear upon oath for their respective rights. The Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) emphasized on the fulfillment of the contracts by saying: *La Din a Leman La Abida Lah*, that can be translated as “The one who does not keep promises is like the one who has no religion or faith.

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5 Posner, *Economic Analysis of Contract Law after Three Decades: Success or Failure?*
To get the matters resolved regarding the contracts or agreements we need to assimilate the contracts with our morality or moral values, as it is being done in developed states like the United States, Germany, France and Japan etc. if the matters will be resolved in amicable matters regarding the contracts it will accelerate the economy of Pakistan which is already wobbling.

CONCLUSION:

The people being reluctant to approach the court, the application of law of contract in Pakistan is at verge of extinction, it needs to be revived by developing the trust of the people on the courts and the process of the courts. Instead of replacing the Contract laws the existing laws need to be implemented with letter and spirit. A trend has to be developed among the people that they start approaching the courts. The cases have to be decided sans any delay. Hefty court fees need to be waived off.

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Animal spirits of competitive market economy and long-run growth

Kenji Miyazaki∗†

January 17, 2012

Abstract

This paper uses a simple model with an endogenous discount rate and linear technology to investigate whether a competitive equilibrium has a higher balanced growth path (BGP) than the social planning solution and whether the BGP is determinate or indeterminate. The implications are as follows. To start with, people with an instinct to compare themselves with others have an endogenous discount rate. In turn, this instinct affects the economic growth rate in a competitive market economy. The competitive market economy also sometimes achieves higher economic growth than a central planning economy. However, market economy outcomes occasionally fluctuate because of the self-fulfilling prophecy or animal spirits.

Keywords: animal spirits, sunspot equilibrium, endogenous time preference, endogenous growth

JEL classifications: O10, O40, P10

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1 Introduction

This paper uses a simple model with an endogenous discount rate and linear technology to investigate whether a competitive equilibrium has a higher balanced growth path (BGP) than the social planning solution, whether the equilibrium achieves higher level of welfare, and whether the equilibrium is indeterminate. Indeterminacy is important, as a determinate BGP is stable in an economic sense, whereas an indeterminate BGP can generate multiple or sunspot equilibriums, in which random fluctuations unrelated to economic fundamentals emerge only because people believe in them. This is the so-called self-fulfilling prophecy or animal spirits found in the literature (Cass and Shell, 1983).¹

To distinguish competitive market economy from social planning economy, this paper assumes the discount rate in this paper to be a function of relative consumption and capital. Relative consumption (resp. capital) is referred to as the ratio of individual to aggregate consumption (resp. capital). When the discount rate is increasing in relative consumption, people who consume more than average become more impatient. In contrast, when the discount rate is decreasing in relative capital, people with above average capital become more patient. This comparison with others matters in a competitive market economy, but not in a central planning economy.

This paper is not the first to employ a model with an endogenous discount rate and linear technology. For instance, Palivos et al. (1997) investigated the relationship between the BGP and functional form, and discovered that the elasticity of intertemporal substitution should be constant, and that the discount rate should be constant or homogeneous of degree zero. Alternatively, Drugeon (1998) and Meng (2006) examined the relationship between impatience and indeterminacy: Drugeon (1998) considered a discount rate determined by individual and aggregate consumption, while Meng (2006) allowed for a rate determined by aggregate consumption and capital. As a point of comparison, relative consumption and capital determine the discount rate in this paper.

Citing the classics of the economic giants including Karl Marx, Zou (1994) and Futagami and Shibata (1998) considered the essence of the market economy as the capitalist spirits. Zou expressed the capital spirits using capital stock in the utility function,² and showed that agents with different degree of the capitalsit spirits have different endogenous growth rates in the long run. Futagami and Shibata (1998) regarded the capitalist spirit as keeping one step ahead of the Joneses, and incorporated the relative capital into the utility function, and demonstrated that

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¹Although most literature deal with sunspot equilibriums in a discrete time setting, Benhabib et al. (2008) applied the sunspot equilibriums to the continuous time environment.
²The utility function is essentially the same as that Kurz (1968).
there exists a unique BGP even if the subjective discount rates differ across agents. Both of them were not interested in the comparison between the market economy and social planning economy and in the possibility of animal spirits in the market economy. Furthermore, they assumed that the discount rate is constant although many empirical studies surveyed by Becker and Mulligan (1997), have supported a nonconstant rate of time preference.

In addition to empirical plausibility, relative consumption and capital in the discount rate function have some merits compared to in the utility. First, we can specify the role of relative consumption and capital. When relative consumption and capital are in utility function, it is ambiguous why increasing such variables make people happy. Our model indicates that increasing these variable affects the rate of time preference or the degree of impatience. Second, our framework can generates sunspot equilibrium even in the case of exogenous labor decision. Liu an Turnovski (2005) have already demonstrated that consumption externalities in the utility function do not contribute to indeterminancy when the labor supply is exogenous. On the other hand, this paper as well as Drugeon (1998) suggest a possibility of indeterminancy.

Our findings are as follows. First, when the discount rate is constant, the social planner solution and the competitive equilibrium are the same, and the BGP is always determinate. Second, when the discount rate depends only on relative consumption, the BGP is sometimes indeterminate, but it is always the same as the BGP under a constant discount rate. Third, when the discount rate is increasing in relative capital, increased degree of marginal impatience raises the BGP above the social planning solution. The BGP, however, cannot be indeterminate. Fourth, when both relative consumption and capital affect the discount rate, there exists a competitive equilibrium having a higher BGP than the social planning solution, and the equilibrium is sometimes indeterminate or may generate sunspot equilibriums.

The reminder of the paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we describe the model economy, define competitive equilibrium, and discuss the relation between competitive equilibrium and the social planning allocation. In section 3, we examine the properties of our economy by comparing a competitive equilibrium to the social planner’s allocation. Section 4 provides a simple numerical example and Section 5 concludes.

2 Model Economy

This section describes the model economy, defines competitive equilibrium, and discusses the relation between competitive equilibrium and the social planning allocation.
Consider an economy with no population growth and no stochastic fundamentals. The economy consists of households and a single firm. All the households have the same preference, the same initial capital stock \( k_0 > 0 \), the same budget constraint and the same infinity horizon of living, and are therefore represented as a single agent. The representative agent with \( k_0 > 0 \) has the following lifetime-utility:

\[
\int_0^\infty u(c_t) \exp(-\Delta_t) dt, \tag{1}
\]

where \( c_t \) is consumption, \( u(c_t) \) represents felicity, and \( \Delta_t \) represents the cumulative discounting rate.

The felicity is determined by:

\[
u(c) = \frac{c^{1-\sigma}}{1-\sigma}.
\]

This functional form is known to have a constant relative risk aversion \(-cu''/u' = \sigma\). We assume \( \sigma > 1 \), leading to \( u < 0 \), \( u' > 0 \), and \( u'' < 0 \).

The cumulative discount rate is determined by:

\[
\dot{\Delta}_t = \rho(\bar{c}_t/c_t, \bar{k}_t/k_t).
\]

and \( \Delta_0 = 1 \), where \( k_t \) is capital. A variable with a upperbar represents an economy-wide aggregate variable, which an economic agent takes as given. We refer to relative consumption (resp. capital) as the ratio of individual to aggregate consumption (resp. capital). The first derivative with respect to relative consumption (resp. capital) denotes \( \rho_1 \) (resp. \( \rho_2 \)).

The discounting rate \( \rho > 0 \) represents the degree of impatience, and is a function of relative consumption and capital. When \( \rho_1 < 0 \) or the discount rate is decreasing in relative consumption, people who consume more than average is more patient. In contrast, when \( \rho_2 > 0 \) or the discount rate is increasing in relative capital, consumers with above average capital is more impatient. This comparison with others matters in a competitive market economy, but not in a central planning economy. We assume that \( \rho \) is concave function.\(^4\)

Let \( r_t \) denote the rate of interests. The budget constraint is:

\[
k_t = r_t k_t - c_t.
\]

The consumer’s problem is choosing \( c_t \) and \( k_t \) to maximize (1) subject to the budget constraints, and initial capital, which is presented in the appendix. The first order conditions using the Hamiltonian are also presented in the appendix.

\(^3\)This is required for the concave Hamiltonian, which is discussed in the appendix.

\(^4\)This is required for the concave Hamiltonian, which is discussed in the appendix.
Now we turn to the firm’s decision making. The production technology is linear: \( A\bar{k}_t \), where \( A > \rho > 0 \) are exogenous constant parameters, and \( \bar{k}_t \) denotes aggregate capital. The firm only faces an intratemporal decision to maximize profits:
\[
\max_{\bar{k}_t} A\bar{k}_t - r_t\bar{k}_t.
\]
The problem has a solution if and only if \( r_t = A \).

A competitive equilibrium is a set of \( \{c_t, k_t\} \), which solves the problems of the households and the firm and satisfies the aggregate consistency conditions: \( c_t = \bar{c}_t \) and \( k_t = \bar{k}_t \). With some algebra, a competitive equilibrium describes the following dynamics:
\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{\dot{c}}{c} &= \frac{A - \rho}{\sigma} + \frac{h(c/k)}{\sigma} \left( \frac{\dot{c}}{c} - \frac{\dot{k}}{k} \right) - \frac{\xi_k}{\sigma} \left\{ \frac{\sigma c/k + (1 - \sigma)A}{(1 - \sigma) - \xi_c} \right\} \\
\frac{\dot{k}}{k} &= A - \frac{c}{\bar{c}}. 
\end{align*}
\]
where \( \xi_c = \rho_1 / \rho, \xi_k = \rho_2 / \rho \), and
\[
\frac{h(c/k)}{\xi_c} = \frac{A\xi_c}{A\xi_c + (1 - \xi_c)c/k}. \tag{4}
\]

Note that \( \rho, \xi_c, \) and \( \xi_k \) are all constant on equilibrium.

When \( \xi_c = 0 \) and \( \xi_k = 0 \), then \( \rho \) is a constant parameter, and a competitive equilibrium is the same as the social planer’s allocation. The social planner chooses \( c_t \) and \( k_t \) to maximize (1) subject to \( k_0 > 0, \bar{c} = c, \bar{k} = k, \) and \( \dot{k} = Ak - c \). Unlike the consumer’s problem, the discount rate in the objective function (1) is constant, because people do not compare with others to affect their degree of impatience.

### 3 Comparing to the social planner’s allocations

This section examines the properties of our economy by comparing a competitive equilibrium to the social planer’s allocation. First, we defines the balanced growth path (BGP) on competitive equilibrium, and discusses conditions for the existence of the BGP. Second, we investigates whether increasing economic growth always involves increasing the level of welfare. Third, we demonstrate a condition for indeterminacy of the BGP. Finally, we summarize this section by offering one proposition.

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5 The assumption \( A > \rho \) is often used for a positive economic growth under a constant time preference.
The non-degenerating balanced growth path (BGP) is a competitive equilibrium such that the growth rates of $c$ and $k$ are positive and identical. Let $\gamma = \dot{c}/c = \dot{k}/k$ and $\omega = c/k$. From (2) and (3), it follows that $\gamma$ and $\omega$ are determined by

$$\frac{\dot{\omega}}{\omega} = \frac{\{1 - \sigma - \xi_k(1 - \sigma)/[1 - \sigma - \xi_c]\}A - \rho}{\sigma - h(\omega)} + \frac{1 - \xi_k/(1 - \sigma - \xi_c)}{\sigma - h(\omega)} \omega \omega = \{1 - \sigma - \xi_k(1 - \sigma)/[1 - \sigma - \xi_c]\}A - \rho \sigma - h(\omega) + \frac{\xi_k\rho}{\sigma(\xi_c + \xi_k + \sigma - 1)}, \quad \omega = \frac{1 - \xi_k/(1 - \sigma - \xi_c)}{\sigma - h(\omega)}$$

and $\gamma = A - \omega$. When $\dot{\omega} = 0$, then $\gamma$ and $\omega$ on the BGP, denoted by $\omega^*$ and $\gamma^*$, are:

$$\omega^* = \frac{(\sigma - 1)A + \rho - \xi_k\rho}{\sigma(\xi_c + \xi_k + \sigma - 1)}, \quad \gamma^* = \frac{A - \rho}{\sigma} + \frac{\xi_k\rho}{\sigma(\xi_c + \xi_k + \sigma - 1)}.$$  

In the case of the social planner's allocation, the ratio of consumption to capital and the rate of economic growth on the BGP, denoted by $\omega_0^*$ and $\gamma_0^*$, are:

$$\omega_0^* = \frac{(\sigma - 1)A + \rho}{\sigma}, \quad \gamma_0^* = \frac{A - \rho}{\sigma}.$$  

We consider conditions for $0 < \omega^* < A$ and $0 < \gamma^* < A$. Since we have assumed $A > 0$ and $A - \rho > 0$, then it is easy to show that $0 < \omega_0^* < A$ and $0 < \gamma_0^* < A$. In general, by (6) and (7), we have to assume

$$\xi_c + \xi_k + \sigma - 1 > 0 \quad (8)$$

$$(A - \rho)(\xi_c + \xi_k + \sigma - 1) + \xi_k\rho > 0 \quad (9)$$

$$\{(\sigma - 1)A + \rho\}(\xi_c + \xi_k + \sigma - 1) + \xi_k\rho > 0 \quad (10).$$

Note that when $\xi_k > 0$, (8) is a sufficient condition for (9) and (10).

Furthermore, as discussed in the appendix, the shadow price of capital at the BGP with $\dot{\omega} = 0$ is:

$$\lambda^* = \frac{1 - \xi_c/(1 - \sigma)}{1 + \xi_c\gamma^*/\omega^*} c^{-\sigma}.$$  

in the case of market allocations, while $\lambda_0^* = c^{-\sigma}$ in the case of social planner's allocation. We additionally need to assume condition for $\lambda^* > 0$. When $\xi_c \geq 1 - \sigma$ and $\sigma > 1$, then $\lambda^* > 0$. Even when $\xi_c < 1 - \sigma$, when the denominator and the numerator in (11) take negative values, $\lambda^*$ is still positive. The condition for $\lambda^* > 0$ with $\xi_c < 1 - \sigma$ is $\omega^* + \xi_c\gamma^* < 0$ or

$$A + (\xi_c - 1)\gamma^* < 0$$  

(12)
from (6) and (7). This condition is more likely to establish as $\gamma$ is getting larger.

Let us compare $\gamma_0^*$ with $\gamma^*$ with $\xi_c \neq 0$ and $\xi_k \neq 0$. Equations (6) and (7) imply that when $\xi_k > 0$, market economy enhances the rate of economic growth by reducing the ratio of consumption to capital.\(^6\) When $\xi_c > 0$, it accelerates the rate. Interestingly, as long as $\xi_c$ is zero, $\xi_c$ plays no role in the engine of economic growth.

Then, we examine the relation between the economic growth and the level of welfare. Given $k_0$, the indirect utility with $\bar{\omega} = 0$ is:

$$W = \int_0^\infty \frac{c^{1-\sigma}}{1-\sigma} e^{-\Delta t} dt = \frac{(k_0 \omega^*)^{1-\sigma}}{(1-\sigma)(\rho + (\sigma - 1)\gamma^*)}$$

on the BGP. Note when $\xi_k = 0$,

$$W_0 = \frac{k_0^{1-\sigma}}{1-\sigma} \left( \frac{(\sigma - 1)A + \rho}{\sigma} \right)^{-\sigma},$$

which is also the welfare level under the social planning allocation. It is hard to compare between $W$ and $W_0$ directly. Instead, we use a linear approximation. Let $y = \xi_k \rho / \{ (\sigma (\xi_c + \xi_k + \sigma - 1)) \}. \quad \text{Since } \omega^* = \omega_0^* - y \text{ and } \gamma^* = \gamma_0^* + y$,

$$W \approx W_0 - \frac{k_0 (k_0 \omega_0^*)^{-\sigma}}{\rho + (\sigma - 1)\gamma_0^*} y + \frac{(k_0 \omega_0^*)^{1-\sigma}}{(\rho + (\sigma - 1)\gamma_0^*)^2} y.$$

Because of $\omega_0^* = \rho + (\sigma - 1)\gamma_0^*$, $W$ is approximately equal to $W_0$. That is, increased rate of endogenous growth does not necessarily make people in market economy happier than in planning economy.

Next, we investigate whether the BGP is determinate or indeterminant. In our model, there exist one jump variable (consumption) and one state variable (capital). Therefore, on the BGP, the ratio of consumption to capital should be jump variable. In order for the dynamics to be stable in an economic sense, the differential equation (5) should have a positive eigenvalue. In the case of a positive eigenvalue, we call the dynamics deterministic. On the other hand, in the case of a negative eigenvalue, the dynamics is indeterministic.

When $\xi_c = \xi_k = 0$, (5) reduces to

$$\frac{\dot{\omega}}{\omega} = \frac{(1-\sigma)A - \rho}{\sigma} + \omega,$$

and therefore the social planning allocation is always deterministic.

\(^6\)Remember that we have already assumed $\xi_c + \xi_k > 1 - \sigma$
The BGP is indeterminate if
\[ \frac{1 - \xi_k/(1 - \sigma - \xi_c)}{\sigma - h(\omega)} < 0 \] (14)
at \omega = \omega^*. Generally, condition for indeterminacy is complicated. Consider the case with \( \xi_c > 1 - \sigma \). In this case, since we have assumed \( \xi_c + \xi_k > 1 - \sigma \), the BGP is indeterminate if \( h(\omega) > \sigma \) or \( A\xi_c/(A\xi_c + (1 - \xi_c)\omega^*) > \sigma \). For indeterminacy, \( \xi_c \) plays an important role. When we additionally assume \( \xi_k = 0 \), (14) is equivalent to
\[ \xi_c > 1 + (\sigma - 1)A/\rho. \]
When both \( \xi_c \) is getting larger or \( \sigma \) is getting smaller, it is more plausible that the equilibrium is indeterminate.

Note that even when \( \xi_c < 1 - \sigma \), the BGP is indeterminate if \( h(\omega) < \sigma \) or \( A\xi_c/(A\xi_c + (1 - \xi_c)\omega^*) > \sigma \). The denominator of the left-handed side of the inequality is written as \( A + (\xi_c - 1)\gamma^* \), which is the same as the left-handed side of (12). Thus, with a negative value of \( \xi_c < 1 - \sigma \), a sufficient large \( \xi_k > 0 \) raising \( \gamma^* \) might make the BGP indeterminate. This phenomenon will be confirmed numerically in the next section.

Let us summarize the properties of the competitive economy as the proposition:

**Proposition:** On the BGP, the ratio of consumption to capital \( \omega^* \) and the endogenous growth \( \gamma^* \) are respectively determined by (6) and (7). Both values are greater than zero and less than \( A \) when (8), (9), and (10) are satisfied. The shadow price of capital \( \lambda^* \) is positive either if \( \xi_c \geq 1 - \sigma \) or if \( \xi_c < 1 - \sigma \) and (12). The economic growth rate is higher in the competitive equilibrium than in the social planning allocation if and only if \( \xi_k > 0 \). However, for any \( \xi_k \), the level of welfare are approximately equal in the market economy and in the planning economy. Whereas the BGP is always deterministic in the social planning allocation, it is indeterministic if (14) is satisfied.

## 4 Numerical Example

This section provides numerical examples to confirm the proposition presented in the previous section. We set \( A = 0.3 \) and \( \rho(1,1) = 0.1 \). We investigate whether the BGP is indeterminate in a combination of \( \xi_c \), \( \xi_k \), and \( \sigma \). Remember we assume \( \sigma > 1 \).

Figure 1 investigates indeterminacy with any combination of \( \sigma \) and \( \xi_c \) under \( \xi_k = 0 \). Remember that \( \xi_c \) does not change the endogenous growth rate. As long as
\[ \xi_c + \max[\xi_k A/(A - \rho), \xi_k] > 1 - \sigma = \xi_c > 1 - \sigma, \text{ there exist the positive growth rate and the ratio of consumption to capital under the BGP. The BGP is indeterminate when } \xi_c > 1 + (\sigma - 1)A/\rho = 1 + 3(\sigma - 1). \] That is the animal spirits emerge only when the degree of the slope of the discount rate function is sufficiently large. As the inverse of intertemporal elasticity is getting larger, the needed degree of the slope is getting higher.

Setting \( \xi_c = 0 \), Figure 2 examines indeterminacy with any combination of \( \sigma \) and \( \xi_k \). As shown in the previous section, there exist \( \gamma' \) and \( \omega' \) when \( \xi_k A/(A - \rho) = 1.5\xi_k > 1 - \sigma \). When \( \xi_k > 0 \), then \( 0 < \gamma' < A \) is always guaranteed for any \( \sigma > 0 \). When \( \xi_k < 0 \), the condition \( 1.5\xi_k > 1 - \sigma \) is needed. As \( \sigma \) is getting larger, the range of the existence of the BGP under a negative \( \xi_k \) is widened. Note that as long as \( \xi_c = 0 \), the BGP is always deterministic, so there is no room for generating sunspot equilibriums.

Fixing the value of \( \sigma \), Figures 3 and 4 detect indeterminacy with any combination of \( \xi_c \) and \( \xi_k \). Figure 3 considers the case with \( \sigma = 1.5 \). As shown in Figure 1, the indeterminacy of the BGP required \( \xi_c > 1 + 3(\sigma - 1) = 2.5 \) under \( \xi_k = 0 \). When \( \xi_k \) takes a negative values that the possibility of indeterminacy becomes high. Even in the cases with some combinations \( \xi_c < 0 \) and \( \xi_k > 0 \), the BGP is indeterminate. On the other hand, Figure 4 consider a higher values of \( \sigma = 3 \). Although the area of the existence of the BGP is getting larger, one area of the indeterminacy, \( \xi_c > 1 + 3(\sigma - 1) = 7.5 \) is getting smaller, and is not demonstrated in the figure. Still interestingly, there exist the other area of indeterminacy under the negative slope of discount rate function with respect to consumption and the positive slope with respect to capital stock.

This section presents the numerical exercises to examine the area of indeterminacy. In particular, the indeterministic case with \( \xi_k > 0 \) and \( \xi_c < 0 \) is quite interesting. Since \( \xi_k > 0 \), the competitive market economy achieves higher economic growth than the social planning allocation but generates animal spirits or sunspot equilibriums. When people have above average consumption and below averge capital, they become patience and save more.

5 Concluding Remarks

This paper have exploited a simple model with an endogenous discount rate and linear technology to investigate whether a competitive equilibrium has a higher balanced growth path (BGP) than the social planning solution and whether the BGP is determinate or indeterminate. Our analytical analysis and a numerical example have obtained the following findings. First, when the discount rate is constant, the social planner solution and the competitive equilibrium are the same, and the BGP
is always determinate. Second, when the discount rate depends only on relative consumption, the BGP is sometimes indeterminate, but it is always the same as the BGP under a constant discount rate. Third, when the discount rate is increasing in relative capital, increased degree of marginal impatience raises the BGP above the social planning solution. The BGP, however, cannot be indeterminate. Fourth, when both relative consumption and capital affect the discount rate, there exists a competitive equilibrium having a higher BGP than the social planning solution, and the equilibrium is sometimes indeterminate or may generate sunspot equilibriums.

The implications of these findings are as follows. To start with, people with an instinct to compare themselves with others have an endogenous discount rate. In turn, this instinct affects the economic growth rate in a competitive market economy. The competitive market economy also sometimes achieves higher economic growth than a central planning economy. However, market economy outcomes occasionally fluctuate because of the self-fulfilling prophecy or animal spirits.

This paper shed new light on comparing the social planning economy with the market economy. Our numerical exercise has presented the case in which the competitive market allocation has a higher economic growth but generates animal spirits. The area of indeterminacy is still narrow in our result. About this point, we are optimistic. Linear technology with no externality is generally deterministic with a constant time preference rate. If we add to our model some factors generating sunspot equilibrium, surveyed by Benhabib and Farmer (1999), then we will be able to broaden the area of indeterminacy.

Appendix

The appendix firstly provides the necessary and sufficient conditions for optimization, in which the economic agent maximizes subject to and the initial conditions

(1) subject to $\dot{k} - r k - c$ and $k_0 > 0$ and $r$, and then equations (2) and (3) follow.

The present-value Hamiltonian is

$$H(t) = \exp(-\Delta)\{u(c) + \lambda(rk - c) - \phi c/\bar{c}, k/\bar{k})\}, \tag{15}$$

where $\lambda$ and $\phi$ are the costate variable for $\dot{k}$ and $\dot{\Delta}$, respectively. As shown in the next paragraph, $\lambda$ is negative.

The first order conditions yields:

$$\dot{\lambda} = u'(c) - \phi_1/\bar{c} \tag{16}$$

$$\dot{\lambda}/\lambda = \rho - r + \phi_2/(\bar{k}\lambda) \tag{17}$$

$$\dot{\phi} = -u + \phi \tag{18}$$
\[ \dot{k} = rk - c, \text{ and } \Delta/\Delta = \rho, \text{ and the transversality conditions is} \]

\[ \lim_{t \to \infty} H(t) = 0. \] (19)

This type of the transversality condition is proposed by Michel (1982). Note that the differential equation has the solution (1), leading to \( \phi < 0 \) when \( u < 0 \).

For a sufficient condition for the maximization problem, we should assume that the Hamiltonian is concave with respect to \( c, k, \) and \( \Delta \) for any \( \tilde{\lambda} > 0, \tilde{\phi}, \) where \( \tilde{\lambda} = \exp(-\Delta)\lambda \) and \( \tilde{\phi} = \exp(-\Delta)\phi. \) A sufficient condition for concavity is that \( \exp(-\Delta)u(c) \) and \( \rho(c) \) are concave. The concavity of \( \exp(-\Delta)u(c) \) holds when \( u < 0, u' < 0 \) and \( uu'' - (u')^2 > 0 \) for all \( c. \) When \( u(c) = c^{1-\sigma}/(1 - \sigma) \) and \( \sigma > 1, \) then these conditions are satisfied.

It follows from (15) and (19) that

\[ \phi = \frac{1}{\rho} \{ u(c) + \lambda(rk - c) \}. \] (20)

Remembering \( u(c) = c^{1-\sigma}/(1 - \sigma) \) and substituting (20) into (16) yield:

\[ \lambda = \frac{1 - (c/\bar{c})(\rho_1/\rho)}{1 + (k/\bar{c})(\rho_1/\rho)} c^{-\sigma} \] (21)

Under a competitive equilibrium, \( \bar{c} = c, \bar{k} = k, \) and \( r = A. \) Using the time difference of (21) and (17) to cancel out \( \lambda, \) we can obtain:

\[ \frac{\dot{c}}{c} = \frac{r - \rho}{\sigma} + \frac{h(c/k)}{\sigma} \left( \frac{\dot{c}}{c} - \frac{\dot{k}}{k} \right) - \frac{\xi_k}{\sigma} \left\{ \frac{\sigma c/k + (1 - \sigma)r}{(1 - \sigma) - \xi_e} \right\} \]

where \( \xi_c = \rho_1/\rho, \xi_k = \rho_2/\rho \) and \( h(k/c) = r\xi_c/\{r\xi_c + (1 - \xi_e)c/k\}. \) Replacing \( r \) with \( A \) yields (2) and (3).

References


Figure 1: Indeterminate BGP with $\rho_c \neq 0$ and $\rho_k = 0$

Note: A non-shade area represent the case where no proper BGP exists. A lightly heavy area depicts the case of indeterminate, whereas a heavily shade area draws the case of determinate.
Figure 2: Indeterminate BGP with $\rho_c = 0$ and $\rho_k \neq 0$

Note: A non-shade area represent the case where no proper BGP exists. A lightly heavy area depicts the case of indeterminate, whereas a heavily shade area draws the case of determinate.
Figure 3: Comparison between competitive and social planning BGPs with $\rho_c \neq 0$, $\rho_k \neq 0$, and $\sigma = 1.5$

Note: A non-shade area represent the case where no proper BGP exists. A lightly heavy area depicts the case of indeterminate, whereas a heavily shade area draws the case of determinate.
Figure 4: Indeterminate BGP with $\rho_c \neq 0$, $\rho_k \neq 0$, and $\sigma = 3.0$

Note: A non-shade area represent the case where no proper BGP exists. A lightly heavy area depicts the case of indeterminate, whereas a heavily shade area draws the case of determinate.
Building Red Innovation: Cultural Politics of China’s High-technology Development

Abstract

China is rapidly transforming into one of the world’s most powerful economies, and the state encourages technological innovation to ensure that this trend continues. In particular, the state entices its citizens to receive education abroad and then return home to apply particular expertise to their homeland’s continued development. Are these efforts helping Chinese technologies to become innovative and competitive in the global market? This paper examines this question, focusing on how technological innovation is being re-defined and produced by the Chinese government as well as by transnational Chinese professionals within the context of the global economy. Through my one-year fieldwork in China, I have reviewed government reports and media productions, conducted participant observation in two Internet companies and interviewed government officials, company executives, engineers, journalists, and venture capitalists in Beijing.

This paper is an anthropological study of the cultural politics of China’s innovation development, which suggests the following conclusions. First, technological innovation goes beyond the economically instrumental production and commercialization of technological creativity. Innovation in China is an open question subjected to culturally-specific conditions. Second, building innovation is utilized as a political strategy for the Chinese state to cultivate nationalism, consolidate transnational resources, and govern expertise as well as skilled population. Third, developing innovation is also an entrepreneurial agenda for transnational Chinese professionals. On the one hand, they find themselves uniquely situated to identify innovative markets. On the other, they need to develop socially creative practices to manage Chinese employees and promote their products. In sum, innovation development in China is focused on political and economic value instead of technological creativity in the nation-building agenda. Innovation does not just reside in the technological value of products but in the culturally specific understanding and practices of producing technologies. My research can diversify ways to conceptualize innovation and provide evidence to address the politically and culturally embedded conditions of high-technology development in non-Western societies.
New Gravitation Law of Livings
Psychophysical Gravitation Law

Introduction to Psychophysical Gravitation System of the Earth

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Abstract

Majority of both classical and modern laws of Physics (for example, gravitation and mechanical laws) may not be applied to livings (human, animals). Such scientific approach doesn’t reflect the reality. The reason is that livings may not act completely under physical and mechanical laws. Certainly, livings are also physical beings. However, they differ fully to other nonliving physical beings.

The basic postulates:

1. The Universal Law of Gravitation may not be applied to livings (human and animals) and the Universal Law of Gravitation doesn’t have the gravitation processes and functions necessary for livings.

2. Livings have specific Psychophysical Gravitation System in the Earth.
1. Introduction

Introduction to Psychophysical Gravitation System of the Earth

Majority of both classical and modern laws of Physics (for example, gravitation and mechanical laws) may not be applied to livings (human, animals). Such scientific approach doesn’t reflect the reality. The reason is that livings may not act completely under physical and mechanical laws. Certainly, livings are also physical beings. However, they differ fully to other nonliving physical beings. Let, enumerate these differences.

First, livings differ completely to nonliving for their being forms and the positions they hold in the Globe.

Second, livings differ completely to nonliving for their internal components. This difference is based on biological and chemical processes.

Third, this is neurological difference. Livings have nervous system and nervous cell. Non-livings don’t have neurological bases and specifications.

Forth, this is motion and action difference. The Globe, the Moon rotating around it and other physical creatures are gravitated and gravitate. However, neither of them have regulable logical motion and action nature as livings have.

Fifth difference is related to existence natures of gravitation processes. In differ to the Universal law of Gravitation, we may feel and see partially the Gravitation Law of Livings Universal in organisms and mutual relations of livings. Thus, the gravitation process of livings is more transparent and real.

Certainly, the beings with such fundamental differences may not act and may not be managed under such types of physical laws. In no case, livings may have the same type of the Gravitation Force and the Gravitation Waves together with nonliving. For example, human may not gravitate or be gravitated as stone does. Of course, it is impossible.

If livings don’t have specific gravitation processes, then they would also be gravitated by the earth as nonliving items are gravitated on rough and primitive manner. However, livings act and move freely in the Globe. It means that livings must absolutely have specific Gravitation Law in order to regulate their logical actions and living nature. Livings may not have primitive physical gravitation processes.
Thus, we need to find answers for the **following questions**:

May livings (human, animals) have special gravitation law? May nonliving physical item-stone be gravitated with the same physical processes or gravity force of livings? How nonliving item can be gravitated with the same gravity force of living from the Earth? In general, may livings and non-livings (physical beings, things) have the same different gravity systems and different gravity forces?

Certainly, livings have specific Laws of Gravitation and Motion, as well as other psychophysical laws which tie the livings to Space, Nature and Earth. Below, “**Gravitation Law of Livings**” is presented to you.
2. Gravitation Law of Livings

2.1 The basic postulates

3. The Universal Law of Gravitation may not be applied to livings (human and animals) and the Universal Law of Gravitation doesn’t have the gravitation processes and functions necessary for livings.

4. Livings have specific Psychophysical Gravitation System in the Earth.

2.2 Psychophysical Laws

I Psychophysical Law

All living (human, animals) organisms have specific gravitation processes, gravitational activity processes and functions. Each living organism is Psychophysical Gravitation Structure.

Explanation:
The Universal Law of Gravitation may not be applied to livings (human and animals). The Universal Law of Gravitation doesn’t have the gravitation processes and functions necessary for livings. Livings may not be gravitated or gravitate themselves as non-living do. The reason is that livings differ completely to non-living for their all existence natures. Livings may be subordinated by the Universal Law of Gravitation, if only they are dead (For further information, please see “Introduction” - differences).

II Psychophysical Law

All livings (human and animals) have specific law of Gravitation and specific Gravitation Force. This gravitation law is called as “Psycho Gravitation Law” or “Psychophysical Gravitation Law” and this gravitation force is called as “Psychophysical Gravitation Force”.
Explanation:
It’s found out that livings have Psycho Gravitation Law reflecting specific gravitation processes, gravitational activity processes and functions. Those who are able to act (livings - human and animals) may not have the same type and the same nature of gravitation processes of those which are not able to act (physical beings, things) in the Globe. That is why, livings have specific Gravitation Law.

Livings may act and move freely due to these gravitation processes in nature and space.

III Psychophysical Law

Psychophysical Gravitation processes and Psychophysical Gravitation force are created in the Psychophysical Field covering living organism. Each living has Psychophysical Field.

Explanation:
The Gravitation Force and other Psycho gravitation processes of livings are created in Psychophysical Field. Psycho Gravitation Field belongs to known being and all mutual gravitation processes between living and external world and earth occur there.

Psychophysical field is a universal field. Psychophysical field has universal functions - psychical, gravitational, biological, electromagnetic and other psychophysical interaction functions.

Thus, it’s found out that each living (human, animals) has Psychophysical Field. Please see: Figure 1.
IV Psychophysical Law

The Earth has specific Psychophysical Gravitation Force. All livings are gravitated by the Earth through this specific Gravitation Force. This gravitation force is called as “Psychophysical Gravitation Force of the Earth”. All livings are gravitated by the Earth through the Psychophysical Gravitation Force of the Earth. The Earth have also Psychophysical Field for Livings.

Explanation:
The Psycho (Psychophysical) Gravitation Force of the Earth cover the psychophysical and physical processes specified for livings only. The Psycho Gravitation Force of the Earth is available in all ground and stone parts of the Earth. Each living on the Earth is subject to gravitation through the Psycho Gravitation Force of the Earth.

Certainly, the Psycho Gravitation processes of livings are weaker than the Psycho Gravitation force of the Earth. That is why all livings now and then fall into the earth by gravitating from the earth. This is gravitational phenomenon of the Globe.

Please see: Figure 2.
V Psychophysical Law

Psychophysical Gravitation Force and other Psycho Gravitation processes are created due to Psychophysical Gravitation Waves and psychophysical gravitons (particles of psychophysical field). Psychophysical Gravitation Waves of Living and psychophysical gravitons are located within the Psychophysical Field. The Earth (ground) and the Space have also Psychophysical Gravitation waves.

Explanation:
Psycho (psychophysical) Gravitation Waves and psychophysical gravitons are received and transferred by livings. Psycho Gravitation Waves are not mixed with other gravitation waves and are not interrelated with them in the space. It means that Psychophysical Gravitation Waves are independent waves existing separately.
Psycho Gravitation Waves are located in the Earth, Space and Living organisms. Livings gravitate themselves and are gravitated through mutual Psycho Gravitation Waves. Please see: Figure 2, Figure 3.

![Psychophysical Field](image)

**Figure 3. Psychophysical Gravitation Waves of Human**

VI Psychophysical Law

All livings gravitate themselves and are gravitated through the Psycho Gravitation Force they have.

**Explanation:**
Such mutual gravitation specifications of livings are fundamental mutual psychophysical processes. **Fundamental mutual psychophysical processes** regulate interactions and activities of livings within the Globe. It means that livings build mutual relations and develop interconnection between them as a result of these Gravitation processes. Please see: Figure 4.
Psychophysical gravitation processes of Livings are permanent movable and changeable gravitation processes. **Gravitation processes of Livings have manageable and regulated complex nature.**

Certainly, **Psycho Gravitation Processes of Livings** don’t occur in unplanned manner as occur in non-living. Livings regulate their motions and actions due to these gravitation processes, and they adjust these gravitation processes to their living nature.

Gravitation processes of Livings are the most complex and the most logical Gravitation Processes which are regulated within the **Earth** and have special functions.
What motivates mass opinions toward foreign aid in donor country publics? Many advocates of boosting development assistance blame the alleged shortfall in aid on racial resentment among donor publics and, in particular, the purported mass belief that the non-white, foreign recipients of aid are wasteful and undeserving. In contrast, aid skeptics claim that overly generous donor commitments are driven by widespread racial paternalism, whereby the poor recipients of aid are seen as unable to develop without the assistance of white, Western providers. We use a survey experiment of American whites that manipulates the purported race of aid recipients to explore whether either of these contradictory charges is true. We find that American whites are actually more supportive of aid to black Africans than they are to white Eastern Europeans, even when objective need of the recipients is equivalent across the two treatment groups. We show that a prejudicial racial paternalism that underestimates the economic agency of black Africans drives this surprising pattern of behavior. Our findings are some of the first in political science to show that mass racial prejudice may manifest as a seemingly generous paternalism, rather than a strictly uncharitable resentment.

Racial Paternalism and Mass Support for Foreign Aid

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“The African has largely remained a child type, with a child psychology and outlook. A child-like human cannot be a bad human, for are we not in spiritual matters bidden to be like unto little children?”

--Jan Smuts, South African Prime Minister (1919-1924, 1938-1948)

In recent years, a number of public intellectuals, politicians, and even pop culture icons have waged an increasingly visible debate on the merits of foreign aid. Aid advocates want to increase funding for development assistance in order to “make poverty history,” while aid critics bemoan wasted tax dollars and even counterproductive outcomes in the fight against underdevelopment (Easterly 2006; Moyo 2009; Sachs 2005). In the throes of this Great Aid Debate, contenders often levy accusations of racial prejudice, attributing problems in the aid regime to chauvinisms of varying kinds. Many aid proponents blame the alleged shortfall in Western funding on racial resentment and, in particular, the widely held mass belief that the non-white, foreign recipients of aid are undeserving (Sachs 2005). In contrast, aid skeptics claim that bloated donor commitments are driven by widespread racial paternalism, whereby recipients are seen as unable to develop without the assistance of white, Western providers (Easterly 2006; Moyo 2009). Overall, it seems that donor country publics are damned if they do and damned if they don’t.

These contradictory accusations touch on debates that exist within the literature on the psychology of racial prejudice, but ultimately neither side invokes empirical evidence to substantiate its allegations. Their charges thus raise important unanswered questions about the mass psychology of prejudice and redistributive policy preferences. Specifically, does prejudice, of either the paternalistic or resentment variety, shape the way people reason about foreign aid?

Scholarship in mass political psychology, the sociology of race, and behavioral economics has produced no evidence regarding the directional impact, if any, of prejudice on mass attitudes toward government assistance for impoverished foreigners. More broadly, existing scholarship cannot predict when mass publics will exhibit prejudice as paternalism toward an outgroup and when they will exhibit prejudice as an uncharitable resentment. Most notably, the aid skeptics’ assertion that racism may manifest itself as a seemingly generous but ultimately dehumanizing paternalism, rather than a resentful stinginess, has received scant attention among scholars of mass opinion and prejudice.

In this paper, we test hypotheses related to claims that foreign aid support is shaped by racial prejudices. We use experimental data from a survey conducted on a nationally representative sample of the U.S. public. We find that racial paternalism is a powerful driver of Americans’ willingness to devote resources to the foreign poor. In particular, our respondents were more supportive of aid to black African recipients than to white Eastern Europeans. Mediation analysis reveals that this disproportionate generosity toward black Africans is rooted in paternalistic biases that downplay their agency and ability to shape their economic fate without foreign assistance.

Our study contributes to existing scholarship in four main ways. First, it places rare emphasis on the idea that prejudice-as-paternalism can shape individuals’ policy preferences. Political scientists have levied accusations of racial paternalism in policy and institutional configurations (Soss et al 2011; VanDeVeer 1986), and small literatures examining the phenomenon of out-group paternalism exist in psychology (e.g. Fiske et al. 2002) and sociology (e.g. Jackman 1994). However, this existing work reveals little about when individuals are likely to hold prejudices as paternalism and when they hold prejudice as resentment. Moreover, studies
of mass stereotyping as a charitable but prejudicial paternalism are nearly non-existent in political science; scholarly thinking about mass bigotry has been dominated by the prejudice-as-uncharitable-resentment paradigm. We view this as a serious handicap to our discipline’s efforts to account for people’s attitudes toward “others.” By focusing so heavily on resentment, political scientists miss the opportunity to develop a fuller appreciation for the multidimensionality of prejudice and how it shapes policy views.

Second, our study moves the literature on how race shapes mass support for redistribution into the international sphere. To date, research in political psychology and the sociology of race has overwhelmingly focused on the effects of racial bias on support for domestic government assistance programs (e.g. Gilens 1999; Sniderman and Piazza 1993). An experimental study that manipulates the race of the foreign recipients of government assistance is thus long overdue and has an important theoretical payoff. By shifting the focus to a non-domestic recipient arena, we can isolate the impact of racial prejudice when inter-group contact and status competition are removed from the equation. Revealingly, we find that when these factors are absent, prejudice manifests itself in paternalistic ways, not in resentful ways.

Third, we advance the theoretical literature on the causes of foreign aid attitudes by introducing race-of-recipient as an exogenous influence on mass support for development assistance. To date, research has largely pointed to citizens’ ideologies or foreign policy worldviews as the primary source of aid attitudes (Holsti 2004; Hurwitz and Peffley 1987; Kull and Destler 1999), yet these factors are potentially endogenous themselves—both to aid attitudes and important omitted variables. Efforts to identify exogenous influences have revealed a surprisingly short list that includes factors such as information levels (Gilens 2001), religiosity
(Paxton and Knack 2008), and aid delivery processes (Milner and Tingley 2011). We add race-of-recipient as an important exogenous factor and use experimental methods to test its effects. Finally, our findings help account for some as of yet unexplained empirical patterns. For example, our theory helps to explain the history of European paternalism toward Africa. It also can explain why the modern foreign aid regime is so much more paternalistic than most domestic programs for economic redistribution. Finally, our finding could also help answer some of the following questions: Do private donors give more to black-majority countries that suffer a natural disaster than to other types of countries? Do aid agencies seeking to raise private contributions from mass publics speak to paternalistic sentiments in how they appeal to potential donors? Due to the huge volume of private overseas aid donations from Americans (Adelman 2003), the predictors of such giving are incredibly important to understand. Our study provides some preliminary answers to questions about how private aid organizations can most effectively appeal to potential donors.

**Race, Redistribution, and Uncharitable Resentment**

Prejudice-as-resentment has been the dominant framework in scholarly work on mass prejudice toward compatriot racial outgroups. Allport’s classic study of racial prejudice defines prejudice as “an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization…toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group” ([1954] 1979: 9). In keeping with this perspective, the vast majority of studies on inter-group relations in racially heterogeneous societies center on overt conflict.² For example, a large subsequent literature on the U.S. and other cases documents this antipathy toward racial (and ethnic) out-groups with

both observational data (Gilliam and Iyengar 2000; Kinder and Sears 1981; Peffley and Hurwitz 2007) and experimental data (Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens 1997; Mendelberg 2001).

This prejudice-as-resentment framework has significantly shaped research on how racial attitudes relate to mass attitudes on domestic government redistribution within diverse societies. The overriding paradigm is one that paints racial attitudes as carrying a heavy dose of “uncharitable resentment.” Because resentment across racial lines is strong, groups—and especially economically dominant ones—oppose government efforts to redistribute and to provide public goods. Cross-nationally, the correlation between racial diversity and the extent of government redistribution is negative and strong (Alesina, Glaeser, and Sacerdote 2001), and one scholar uses this finding to conclude that “racial and ethnic diversity in the United States … has contributed to the failure of the welfare state” (Sachs 2008: 265). The negative correlation between cultural heterogeneity and public goods provision is also a strong one, with some scholars calling it “one of the most powerful hypotheses in political economy” (Banarjee, Iyer, and Somanathan 2005: 639; see also Alesina, Baqir, and Easterly 1999). Research in public opinion largely confirms that individuals are less willing to have their tax dollars and contributions redistributed to racial out-group members than to in-group members (Fong and Luttmer 2009; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Bobo and Kleugel 1993; Gilens 1999; Feldman and Huddy 2005).³

³ We know of only one published study that shows a greater willingness among whites (and even then it is just among some whites) to offer government assistance to African-Americans than to whites (Sniderman and Piazza 1993). We suspect their finding is due to survey instrumentation. In particular, their experimental manipulation changed the race of a single potential recipient and thus focused on an identifiable and humanized recipient. Research suggests that group stereotypes are much less likely to be invoked when individuals think about an individually identified person than when they think about an entire, amorphous group (Huddy and Feldman 2009: 437-438).
To date, there has been no direct research on whether racial prejudice drives development assistance policy or mass attitudes about foreign aid in donor countries, but some scholars working on foreign aid have made ready use of the prevailing uncharitable resentment paradigm. Most notably, the aid activist community’s leading intellect, Jeffrey Sachs, attributes what he sees as a shortfall in aid funding to “an amazing reservoir of deep prejudices” toward Africans that has “become accepted as truths by the broad public” (Sachs 2005: 310, 309). Sachs mimics this alleged “conventional rich-world wisdom about Africa” with the following:

… if we actually gave [Africa more] aid, where would it go? Right down the drain, if the past is any guide. … Africa is corrupt and riddled with authoritarianism. It lacks modern values and the institutions of a free market economy needed to achieve success. In fact, Africa’s morals are so broken down that it is no surprise AIDS has run out of control (page 309).

A small body of research within the uncharitable resentment paradigm has added the insight that attitudes about race and redistribution can occasionally be tinted with a “disciplinary paternalism,” whereby stinginess is justified on paternalist grounds. For example, advocates of welfare state retrenchment often claim that the poor are better off without transfer payments, since it ends their dependency on the state and forces them into the greater profitability and fulfillment of work (Jackman 1994; Mead 1997). The forced exposure to the market is seen to discipline behavior in a beneficial way. Similarly, Soss, Fording, and Schramm (2011) identify elements of disciplinary paternalism in the new American welfare state, a concept they label “neoliberal paternalism.” In neoliberal paternalism, the dominant white majority begrudgingly allows redistribution to occur but attaches rules, such as work compliance regulations and single-parent penalties, to guide recipients’ behavior and make receipt of benefits more difficult. A resentful form of paternalism was also used by whites and Europeans to justify extreme forms of uncharitableness, namely the violence and rights-denial inherent to slavery and colonialism.
Both, according to the captors, could provide their captives with salvation and civilization (Alston and Ferrie 1985; Johnson 1957).

To sum, scholarly thinking on public opinion, race and redistribution is grounded in the presumption of resentment and miserliness, even in instances when these sentiments seemingly have a veneer of benevolence in that the uncharitable-ness is good for the outgroup. However, completely missing from the political psychology literature is any notion that racial prejudice can lead to sentiments of redistributive generosity and charitableness. We argue that mass beliefs about foreign aid are just such a case.

**Racial Paternalism and Mass Attitudes toward Foreign Aid**

We propose a definition of racial paternalism that helps to clarify when outgroup prejudice and paternalism are associated with stinginess and when they are linked with generosity. We define racial paternalism as the belief that a racial outgroup either exercises bad agency or entirely lacks agency in shaping its own fate and, in turn, requires guidance from the presumed superior resources and/or morality of the ingroup. This draws on various staples from existing definitions. The notion of attempting to guide behavior as in a parent-child relationship--whether through coercion, incentivization, or persuasion--is central to all conceptions of paternalism (Dworkin 1971: 210; Thaler and Sunstein 2008; VanDeVeer 1986: 12). Moreover, the idea that paternalism may be driven by the outgroup’s perceived “bad agency” draws on notions of “superior moral competence” that appear in many definitions (Jackman 1994: 13; VanDeVeer 1986: 423). Paternalists believe that the outgroup would engage in self-harming behaviors (i.e., exercise bad agency) without their interference.
That said, we depart from standard definitions in two important ways. First, many definitions of paternalism consider benevolence toward the outgroup to be a definitive characteristic. However, the existence of the disciplinary paternalist strain, as exemplified by slavery, colonialism, and neoliberal paternalism of the new American welfare state, belies this claim. Despite their conflation in other literatures, our definition thus clearly distinguishes paternalism from what other authors have termed “benevolent prejudice” (e.g., “Jews are good at business,” “women are nurturing,” and “blacks are better athletes”) (Fiske et al 2002; Fiske, Xu and Cuddy 1999; Fiske, Cuddy and Glick 2006; Fitzgerald 2011; Katz and Hass 1988; Ramasubramanian and Oliver 2007). Ultimately, it is not benevolence but a perception of bad or no agency and a desire to guide outgroup behavior that is constitutive of paternalism.

Second and (for our purposes) more important, previous definitions ignore the possibility that paternalism can be exercised when outgroup agency is believed to be non-existent. Paternalist sentiments may be invoked not just when outgroup agency is deemed to be deficient or morally inferior, but also when outgroup agency is deemed to be impossible. Stated differently, paternalism can stem from the underestimation of a group’s ability to be an active participant in determining its own lot.

We suspect that uncharitable resentment should exist when outgroup agency is recognized but viewed as morally deficient and incompetent. Resenters actually view an outgroup as having high agency, but they view it as exercising it poorly. When this view of an outgroup’s agency is coupled with a desire to guide or control its behavior, it will manifest as a disciplinary paternalism. Indeed, as we reviewed above, this is largely what the literature on domestic redistribution across racial lines has found: widespread uncharitable resentment with, on occasion, disciplinary paternalism.
In contrast, a more charitable version of racial paternalism, which we label “enabling paternalism,” should hold when outgroup agency is viewed as limited or completely non-existent, and we suspect this to be the case in attitudes about foreign aid. Enabling paternalism keys on the italicized portion of the definition of paternalism given above—that the outgroup entirely lacks agency and thus needs enabling, as would a helpless child or “motionless patient”, instead of disciplining or moral direction (Sen 1999, 137). We argue that whites in wealthy societies are likely to dismiss entirely the possibility of agency on the part of the foreign poor of color. As a result, mass attitudes among whites in donor countries about foreign aid to racial others should be shaped more by a charitable, enabling paternalism than by a miserly resentfulness.

Crucial to our argument are the following assertions. Wealthy-country whites underestimate the ability of the foreign poor—and especially the foreign non-white poor--to be agents of change in their own economic lives. And wealthy-country whites are less resentful toward the foreign non-white poor than they are toward compatriot non-whites. Why might these assertions be true?

First, existing research suggests that wealthy-country whites should be more familiar with the narrative that racial others are helpless victims of discriminatory circumstances when thinking about non-white foreigners than when thinking about non-white compatriots. For instance, media and elite characterizations of the non-white domestic poor in the US depict persons who make questionable decisions: from having too many children to spending money on frivolous things to not participating in job training programs (Clawson and Trice 2000; Neubeck and Cazenave 2001). Relatedly, Americans are known to value individualism and personal initiative, particularly in the domestic economic arena (Hartz 1955; Feldman 1984; Kinder and
Mendelberg 2000). And media content in the US tends to represent the poor as individuals rather than present poverty as a large-scale collective phenomenon (Iyengar 1990). The US is viewed by many Americans as the land of opportunity as compared to the rest of the world where initiative is not so easily translated into rewards. As a result of these framing and ideological factors, arguments that poor foreign countries and persons are paralyzed by their global surroundings and unable to self-improve are potentially more convincing to donor-country whites. For example, in a survey of white Americans (conducted by ourselves and described below), just 20% of respondents agreed that “If people in poor countries would only try harder, they could be just as well off as the United States.” In contrast, in a 1986 survey, almost 60% of white Americans agreed that “if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites” (Kinder and Sanders 1996, 107).

In contrast, the plight of the foreign poor is typically framed in terms of structural conditions related to geography, large-scale conflict and poor governance. Content analysis from several UK newspapers shows that less than one percent of articles on foreign poverty point to individual roots of poverty; significantly more common evoked causal themes linked to national and international contexts (van Heerde and Hudson 2010). And public opinion studies in the United Kingdom show that mass publics are more likely to attribute third world poverty to factors such as bad government, climate or exploitation by wealthy countries than to blame the individuals’ choices such as having large families, or their faults such as laziness or unintelligence (Harper 2003).

Finally, a non-hostile form of stereotyping exists in the absence of competition, threat, and contact: “paternalistic stereotypes portray out-groups that are neither inclined nor capable to harm members of the in-group” (Fiske et al 2002: 879; see also Cottrell and Neuberg 2005).
Because these three factors are largely absent in relations between donors and the foreign poor, we expect paternalism, rather than resentment or hostility, will shape attitudes toward foreign aid. Technically speaking, foreign aid *does* feature economic conflict over public expenditures, but in reality this is limited because foreign aid is such a small share of government expenditure.\(^4\) (Also, maybe lack of contact and familiarity leads to ignorance of agentic capacities?)

We thus take the view, *contra* Sachs, that foreign aid attitudes are tainted more by racial paternalism, and specifically an enabling paternalism, than by uncharitable resentment. In this sense, we side with the aid skeptics’ frequent but empirically unsupported accusations of racial paternalism in the modern aid regime. For example, William Easterly, Sachs’s intellectual archrival, levels the paternalist epithet rather liberally. The title of his book, the *locus classicus* of aid skepticism, is *The White Man’s Burden*. It thereby evokes Kipling’s classic caricature of the racial paternalism behind U.S. imperialism and foreign policy. In it, Easterly asserts the following: “The most infuriating thing … is how patronizing they are (usually unconsciously). Here’s a secret: anytime you hear a Western politician or activist say ‘we,’ they mean ‘we whites’—today’s version of the White Man’s Burden” (Easterly 2006: 26). Many other aid skeptics besides Easterly, including some African intellectuals, point out the paternalistic attitudes and practices underlying foreign aid (Beran 2008; Mamdani 2009; Moyo 2009; Wainaina 2005).

\(^4\) In our experiment, we attempt to limit these concerns by informing our respondents of how miniscule US foreign aid spending is.
Hypotheses and Research Design

We expect to find that an enabling paternalism—one grounded in racial prejudices about Africans’ inability to determine their own economic destiny—drives rich-country whites’ attitudes toward foreign aid and aid recipients of color. We posit several observable implications of these claims. First, whites in donor countries should be more supportive of foreign aid toward black African countries than toward white Eastern European countries, even when the material deprivation and needs across the two contexts are equivalent. Second, differential perceptions of recipient agency should be the causal mechanism behind this race-of-recipient causal effect. In particular, whites in donor countries will view black Africans as having less capacity than white Eastern Europeans to help and materially improve themselves. This sentiment will in turn lead whites to support more foreign aid for black recipients than for white recipients.

The heart of our empirical inquiry is a survey experiment that manipulated via random assignment the race of some exemplary recipients of foreign aid and then measured respondents’ attitudes about foreign development assistance. The survey was conducted over the internet by Knowledge Networks to a nationally representative sample of white, non-Latino Americans in April and May of 2011.\(^5\) A total of 2,031 respondents completed our short online questionnaire.

\(^5\) Knowledge Networks (KN) uses probability-based sampling that selects thousands of potential respondents, called panel members, via random digit dialing and addressed based sampling. KN invited 3,031 of its panel members (chosen randomly) to participate in our survey, and 2,031 did so for a response rate of 67%. All analyses are conducted with survey weights that were provided by KN to correct for a variety of deviations from random selection into the final sample, including panel attrition, non-response, and oversampling of minorities. More information about
The survey questionnaire began with a sentence that defined foreign aid and then gave an example of a country or type of country to which American aid is distributed. The race-of-recipient experimental manipulation lay in the country mentioned. One treatment mentioned the African country of Cameroon and the other the East European nation of Moldova. The prompt informed respondents of the race of each country’s citizens by showing a photograph of a poor Cameroonian or Moldovan family and referring to the family in the text by its nationality.6 We chose to work with these specific countries—rather than, say, with two other countries or with Africa or Eastern Europe in general—for two important reasons. First, both countries are surely unknown to the vast majority of our respondents, so any experimental effect we observe should be shaped strictly by racial or continental stereotypes and not by respondents’ private information about the politics or economics of either country. Second, fixing on these two countries allowed us to hold objective need constant. Moldova is the poorest white-majority country in the world, and Cameroon has a roughly similar GDP per capita. Our prompts thus (truthfully) described the average family in each country as “surviving on the US equivalent of $5 per day.” Again, this means that if respondents impute greater or lesser material need to one of the two countries, it is because of their own racial or continental stereotypes and not because of real-world income differences.

KN’s methodology can be found at http://www.knowledgenetworks.com/knpanel/KNPanel-Design-Summary.html

6 Pictures were photo-shopped so that only heads and skin color differed. Clothing, family size, and housing background were the same for both families (Mutz 2011, pp. 62-3). We pretested the experiment with the photos extensively to ensure they were evoking poverty and to make sure respondents could not detect the photo-shopping.
There was also a control group that received no mention of a specific country (and no photo) but was still told to think about aid to countries where the average person survives on $5 per day. All told, the opening prompt for the two racial treatment groups plus the control group read as follows:

Foreign aid is money that the U.S. government sends to poor countries to help them fight poverty. A lot of the aid money that we send overseas goes to poor [poor African countries like Cameroon / poor Eastern European countries like Moldova / poor countries], where the average person survives on the US equivalent of $5 per day. (That would be like living on $1,800 per year in the US.) The aid money is often used by [poor Cameroonian families like the one pictures above / poor Moldovan families like the one picture above / poor families].

The experiment was administered according to a randomized block design with the seven-point ideological self-placement scale (which runs from extreme liberal to extreme conservative) as the

There was a second experimental dimension (perfectly orthogonal to the race dimension) that added a sentence at the end of this text. This dimension manipulated whether recipients’ use of aid was dictated by an “American aid expert.” Our purpose with this manipulation was to try to tap the “guidance” element of our paternalism definition in a second way, aside from the aid itself. This manipulation allowed us to test whether guidance by a white Westerner boosted support for aid, and, if it did so, whether it boosted support more for the African treatment than for the East European treatment.

This dimension had three treatments. For the “positive guidance frame” treatment groups, respondents read an extra sentence after the text given above that said “an American aid expert is often on hand to tell the poor how to use the aid to improve their lives.” This experimental treatment was reinforced by doctoring the photo of the family so that a smiling and friendly-looking white man in casual dress stood aside the family. The “negative guidance frame” treatment group instead read “an American aid expert is often on hand to instruct but sometimes limits the choices that poor recipients of aid can make.” This statement was reinforced by showing a stern, more professionally dressed white man next to the family. The third group, a “no guidance frame” treatment, received no mention of an aid expert’s presence and saw a photo of just the family.

Counter to our expectations, the positive guidance frame had no statistically significant effect on support for aid. We think we got this null effect because our respondents were reacting against our depiction of guidance as too interventionist, controlling, and even costly to the American taxpayer. Indeed, the negative guidance frame did have a statistically significant and negative effect on support for aid. Just as politicians must use racial cues in a subtle way, we suspect paternalist cues must also be more subtle to yield a positive effect on generosity (Mendelberg 2001). We are implementing a second survey experiment with more subtle operationalizations of guidance to further explore this possibility.
blocking variable. In other words, randomization of the treatments occurred within each ideological category. Blocking on a variable that is expected to be highly correlated with the dependent variable of interest can dramatically boost statistical efficiency.

The experimentally manipulated opening text and (when applicable) photo were then followed by a dozen questions that gauged the outcome variable—support for foreign aid—and some variables that we hypothesized to be mediators between race-of-recipient and support for aid. To measure our dependent variable of interest, public opinion about foreign development assistance, we create an Index of Support for Foreign Aid that is the shared variation of three variables. The first is Preferred aid amount per American and gauges how much per American per year the respondent thinks the US government should devote to foreign aid. Respondents chose dollar figure ranges (e.g., $20 to $39) arrayed on a seven-point ordinal scale after being told that the actual average is $40. For analysis, we converted each ordinal response to dollar figures using the midpoint of each interval. The second is Preferred aid amount in treatment country(ies), a seven-category variables that measures whether respondents believed aid should increase, decrease (and by how much), or stay the same in the country or countries of their treatment group (Cameroon, Moldova, or poor countries where the average person’s income is $5). The final is US has moral obligation to aid, a five-category variable that gauges agreement with the following statement: “The US has a moral obligation to help foreign poor countries.” Our index is the first component from a principal components analysis calculated from the polychoric correlations among the three variables. The three items have a Cronbach’s alpha of .87.
Results

Causal Effect Estimates

What is the impact of the purported race of recipients? Recall that our experiment had three different race-of-recipient treatments: black Cameroonians, white Moldovans, and a control group in which no specific country or racial group is mentioned. One observable implication, if racial paternalism of the charitable and enabling variety holds sway, is that our respondents were more positively inclined toward aid when prompted to think about black Cameroonians than when prompted to think about white Moldovans or when not prompted to think of any country in particular. Our results show that this was indeed the case.

Figure 2 shows the simple causal effects (with 95% confidence intervals) of race-of-recipient. These are calculated from regression analyses that control for all experimental conditions (both the race treatments and the frames) as well as the ideology blocking variable (which is parsed out into six dummy variables). Aside from that, there are no control variables, and indeed no control variables are needed because the main X’s of interest are truly fixed; one need not be concerned about omitted variables in an experiment (Mutz 2011, pp. 123-126). The reference category in the figure, corresponding to the horizontal line at 0, is the Moldovan treatment group. Confidence intervals that span this line correspond to an experimental group whose mean is not statistically distinguishable from the mean for the Moldovan treatment group.

Panel A of Figure 3 shows the causal effect of race on the index of support for foreign aid. The results show a strong race-of-recipient effect, and one that is different from anything that has been found in most experimental studies of racial attitudes. Respondents were substantially and statistically significantly more supportive of boosting aid when the introductory text invoked Cameroon than when it invoked Moldova (or, for that matter, when it invoked no
specific country at all). The Cameroonian treatment created a statistically significant effect on support for foreign aid while the control condition did not. The effect size is about .25 for a variable whose standard deviation is 1.4, so the effect is almost one-fifth of a standard deviation. Recall that two of the three questions in the index do not even refer to the exemplified country (Cameroon/Moldova) at all, so these impacts are mostly on general aid attitudes.

To give a slightly more intuitive sense of the substantive impact of race-of-recipient on general aid attitudes, we report the causal effect sizes in a slightly different way. Panel B of Figure 3 reports the causal effect size when the dependent variable is the preferred aid amount per American, allowing us to report the substantive impact of race-of-recipient as an actual dollar figure. The effect is less precise, owing to the fact that this dependent variable is not an index, but the effect of the Cameroonian treatment is still statistically non-zero. The mean impact is $2.67 per American, which amounts to a 10% difference in desired aid outflows over respondents in the Moldovan treatment. Stated differently, respondents in the Moldovan treatment preferred, on average, aid outflows of $27.75 per American per year, while those in the Cameroonian treatment group preferred, on average, aid outflows of $30.42 per American per year. The actual amount that the U.S. government spends, respondents were truthfully told, is $40, so white Americans were feeling stingier even than their government in spring of 2011. They want to cut aid by almost a third more when they think about East Europeans than when they think about Africans.

Potential Mediators

Why does this race-of-recipient effect, one that is different from most observed in experiments on racial attitudes toward compatriot others, exist? We explore three possible causal
channels through which race-of-recipient might affect opinions about foreign aid. First, we test whether a perception of no agency is the causal mediator. If so, then we will conclude that enabling paternalism is indeed at work. We asked three survey questions to tap this. The first two items tap perceptions of agency among the foreign poor. The Circumstances mean the poor can't help themselves variable measures agreement with this statement: “Because of difficult economic circumstances, people in poor countries are unable to help themselves get richer.” A closely related item, Poor can do little themselves, gauges support for the following statement: “There is little that people in poor countries can do by themselves to improve their livelihoods.” We call the third item the Big push variable. The “Big Push” reflects a view among some development experts, including Sachs, that Third World countries are stuck in a poverty trap and can only escape this trap with infusions of foreign capital and aid (Sachs 2005). Many popular conceptions concur: aid activist Bono claims “it’s up to us.” As noted above, critics of this idea allege that it is based on a presumption that only white Westerners and their money can develop the Third World. Ultimately, the Big Push notion and our question wording taps into sentiments about guidance and agency: “The only way poor countries could grow richer is with financial help from rich countries.” Respondents registered their opinion of the three statements by choosing for each one of the following options: (1) disagreed strongly, (2) disagreed somewhat, (3) neither agreed nor disagreed, (4) agreed somewhat, or (5) agreed strongly.

Figure 3 shows the marginal distribution of each one to convey how prevalent these perceptions of non-agency among the global poor are. The darkened bars represent positive responses, namely those who agree that the foreign poor lack agency. The percent agreeing ranges from 25 to 45, with the percent disagreeing falling into a similar range. They have high inter-item correlations and a Cronbach’s alpha of .79, so we created a No agency index from the
shared variation among the three items. We conclude from these univariate and multivariate distributions that our questions are reliable and that there is something real to these attitudes: a severe underestimation of the agency of the foreign poor to shape their economic fate is a widespread sentiment among American whites. Given our theoretical argument, we expect this index to be the primary mediator between race-of-recipient and aid attitudes.

[Figure 3 here]

Second, we test for a mediating effect of resentment-related variables that are typically associated with perceptions of bad agency. We took two questions from a standard battery of items used to capture racial resentment in the U.S. context and tweaked their wordings so as to apply to the foreign poor. We also created a new question wording about the wastefulness of aid. Our items capture whether respondents attribute agency of low quality to the foreign poor, as they are questions about whether respondents blame global poverty on the poor themselves. The first item gauged agreement with a statement that the Foreign poor are lazy: “It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough. If people in poor countries would only try harder, they could be just as well off as the United States.” The second item gauged agreement with a statement that global Poverty is due to foreign exploitation by wealthy countries: “Generations of colonialism and economic exploitation by rich countries have kept poor countries from becoming richer.” Respondents registered their opinion of these two statements on the same five-point scale.

8 The first two items are adaptations from the American National Election Studies battery of racial resentment toward African-Americans. The original items are “It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.” and “Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.” (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995).
scale introduced above (from 1 = disagreed strongly to 5 = agreed strongly), although in all analyses below the coding of the second variable is flipped so that higher values indicate greater resentment. The third variable is *Amount of aid that is used well*, and it gauges on a five-point scale the share of aid (all, most, half, a little, none) that respondents think is not wasted and is used well. We create a *Bad agency index* from a polychoric principal components analysis of these three variables. Their Cronbach’s alpha is .39.

Despite the focus on resentment in the existing literature, a look at the marginal distribution of these variables shows that resentment-related sentiments of bad agency are not more widespread than perceptions of non-agency. They may even be less widespread. Figure 4 shows the marginal distributions, again darkening in the resentful responses, and the percent of respondents registering these responses range from 20 to 40%. It is also important to add that there is a logical consistency behind our respondents’ thinking in that the two indices correlate at -.56. American whites are not likely to hold perceptions of no agency and bad agency at the same time: they choose one or the other.

[Figure 4 here]

It is important to note that the findings from these two indices say nothing about race or racial attitudes. They merely point out the prevalence of sentiments about agency among the foreign poor regardless of their race, since these survey items were stripped of racial content. We could have been more explicit about race in these questions, but surely answers to such questions would have subject to social desirability bias. To identify whether *racial* paternalism and *racial* resentment are present, we instead consider whether these factors mediate the experimental effect of race-of-recipient on support for foreign aid.
The third and final mediator we consider is *Perceived living standards*. Americans may think that Cameroonian are on average poorer than Moldovans and thus more deserving of foreign aid. In reality, the two have similar GDP per capita, and our respondents were even told this. However, Moldovans clearly sit in a richer world region and are of a race that tends to be much better off. Stereotypes about racial and continental wealth may be the mediating factor. We asked respondents to guess the percent of citizens in their treatment country(ies) that had at least two meals per day and indoor plumbing. The mean of these two percentages is our perceived living standards variable.

**Mediation Analysis**

We posit the following causal model of foreign aid attitudes among U.S. whites:

\[ T \rightarrow M \rightarrow Y, \]

(1)

where \( T \) is *Cameroonian treatment*, \( Y \) is *Index of support for foreign aid*, and \( M \) is the *No agency index*, the mediator variable. In other words, we expect to find that paternalistic sentiments of non-agency mediate the relationship between race-of-recipient and foreign aid attitudes: Being prompted to think about black Africans makes American whites underestimate the ability of the foreign poor to improve themselves, which in turn boosts their support for foreign aid. If true, then at least two conditions will hold. First, the Cameroonian treatment will have produced a positive and statistically significant impact on the no agency index among our respondents. This can be tested by running the equation \( M = f(T) \), which corresponds to the first arrow in equation 1—that is, a regression in which the left-hand-side variable is \( M \) (paternalistic attitudes) and the right-hand-side contains \( T \) (the Cameroonian treatment dummy) plus some control variables. Second, the effect of the Cameroonian treatment \( T \) on \( Y \) (foreign aid attitudes) will be smaller
when controlling for $M$—in the equation $Y = f(T, M)$—than when not controlling for $M$—in the equation $Y = f(T)$. The total causal effect of $T$ on $Y$ is about .25 and was reported in figure 2. This can be thought of as the coefficient on $T$ when not controlling for $M$. When introducing $M$ into the equation, however, the coefficient on $T$ will decline if part of its effect on $Y$ is mediated through the variable $M$.

We run a mediation analysis that parses the “total effect” (.25) of $T$ on $Y$ into two parts: the “mediated effect” of $T$ that runs through $M$, and the “direct effect” of $T$ that does not run through $M$. Using simulations techniques, we generate an estimate of the size of each of these and calculate a confidence interval for the mediated effect to see if it is statistically distinguishable from zero$^9$ (Imai, Keele, Tingley, and Yamamoto 2011). Table 1 reports the mediated effect as the “average causal mediation effect (ACME)” (averages over 1000 simulations). It also reports the results of equations $M = f(T)$ in columns headed by (a) and $Y = f(T, M)$ in columns headed by (b). The shaded entries in the table are those that would be equal to the total effect (.25) if the proposed mediator is not doing any mediating whatsoever. To test alternative hypotheses, the table reports mediation analyses for (1) the no agency index as the mediator, (2) the bad agency index as the mediator, and (3) perceived living standards as the mediator.

[Table 1 here]

Column 1a considers the first condition for our enabling paternalism argument to hold: whether our respondents in the Cameroonian treatment group were more dismissive of the foreign poor’s agency than those in the Moldovan treatment group. Indeed they were, as evidenced by the statistically significant coefficient on $T$ in column 1a. In turn, the coefficient on

$^9$ We used Hicks and Tingley’s “Causal Mediation Analysis” software for Stata.
In column 1b, when controlling for the paternalism mediator, is a good deal smaller than the total causal effect of .25. The last row of column one shows that the estimated effect of the race-of-recipient treatment that is mediated through paternalist attitudes (the ACME) is a statistically significant .077, nearly one-third the total treatment effect.

In contrast, the mediation analysis shows unequivocally that resentment—that is, sentiments that the poor exercise bad agency—does not mediate the treatment effect. In column 2a, the coefficient on $T$ is not statistically significant, so this variable does not even pass the first test for playing a mediating role: it is not influenced by race-of-recipient. Counter to the accusations of Sachs, prompts about Cameroonians induced our respondents to be less resentful than prompts about whites, but the coefficient is not statistically significant. The ACME reported at the bottom of column 2 is also not statistically significant, demonstrating that virtually none of the race-of-recipient treatment effect is attributable to resentment attitudes.

The test of perceived living standards as a mediating variable also fails. It does pass the first test: our respondents in the Cameroonian treatment graded living standards much lower than did those in the Moldovan treatment. Respondents did apply a stereotype about poverty in black Africa relative to white Eastern Europe. On average, respondents thought that Cameroon featured nine percent fewer households eating two meals per day and having indoor plumbing than Moldova. This was so despite their having been told the average incomes in each country, which are equivalent. Nonetheless, this discrepancy does not account for the race-of-recipient treatment effect. The ACME is actually negative, and the effect of $T$ when controlling for $M$ actually increases. In the end, it is the perceived lack of agency on the part of black Africans to help themselves that best explains the treatment effect. It is thus an enabling racial paternalism, and not uncharitable resentment, that explain American whites’ attitudes toward foreign aid.
Counterarguments

One potential objection to our argument is as follows: the perception that the foreign poor of color lack agency is not racial prejudice but rather an accurate diagnosis of the source of their poverty. In particular, Africans face and have historically faced a global context that makes it impossible for them to bring about positive economic change for themselves. Indeed, part of the very definition of human underdevelopment is a lack of choice and agency to determine one’s fate (Sen 1999).

We do not disagree with, nor does our argument hinge on, the claim that historical circumstances (such as colonialism and slavery) as well as current ones (such as the global trading system) have hindered economic development in Africa (Nunn 2008). What is prejudicial and potentially dehumanizing, however, is the extreme view that African peoples and states have no ability to progress and grow (and its paternalist corollary that their development is “up to us”). For example, despite the historical headwinds, sub-Saharan African countries like Botswana, Gabon, and Mauritius have grown rapidly over the last several decades and have GDP per capita well above the world’s average. Similarly, despite media portrayals that generally support Tony Blair’s famous statement that Africa is “a scar on the conscience of the world,” many of the continent’s countries have grown briskly over the last decade and a half (Radelet 2010). After apartheid, South Africa’s black-led government strung together 15 consecutive years of positive GDP growth rates, the longest such stretch in the country’s recorded history. In short, the notion that Africans are too paralyzed by history and international context to grow is simply false.

Moreover, any argument that the peoples and countries of the former Soviet Union, like Moldova, have been less disadvantaged by historical circumstances, granting them greater
agency in shaping their economic destiny, is surely highly contrived and potentially prejudicial. Soviet annexation was much more totalizing and economically distorting than European colonization of Africa,\textsuperscript{10} and it ended far more recently. In sum, the view that Africans are less capable of self-advancement than other poor parts of the world can only be seen as prejudicial.

**Further Implications**

Our experimental finding that white Westerners exhibit a prejudicial, albeit charitable, paternalism toward Africa helps to explain a number of empirical patterns in anecdotal and observational data. For starters, paternalism by whites toward Africans has a long history. Hegel referred to Africa as the “land of childhood” (Hegel 1837/2007: 91). Albert Schweitzer, although a renowned humanitarian to Africa, believed “the negro” to be “a child.”\textsuperscript{11} Paternalistic considerations were used to justify colonialism: “…the paternalistic conceit of the colonial authorities [was] breathtaking. Africa was looked upon as the neglected child of the modern world, who must be nurtured and ‘civilized’ as a child is reared to adulthood” (Reader 1997: 611).

More currently, the modern system for international economic redistribution is seemingly far more paternalistic in practice than the various domestic welfare states of the OECD, even after recent trends in neoliberal paternalism. For example, direct cash payments have always been an important part of means-tested support and unemployment insurance in rich-world welfare states. They have even become an important part of welfare states in the Third World, as

\textsuperscript{10} Indeed, the British version of African colonization is often described as “indirect rule” because of how few European administrators were on the ground.

\textsuperscript{11} “The negro is a child, and with children nothing can be done without the use of authority” (quote by Schweitzer in Brabazon 2000: 254).
evidenced by the proliferation of conditional cash transfer programs. In contrast, the foreign aid regime is based on the premise that “poor people should be enticed to do what we … think is good for them” (Banerjee and Duflo 2011: 9). “Most foreign aid is conditional,” either in restricting how recipients spend/use it or in tying aid to changes in recipients’ subsequent behavior. Examples abound. The World Bank only funds in-kind projects that are typically concocted in Washington, D.C. The International Monetary Fund is notorious for imposing austere policy conditionalities on borrowing governments. Bilateral aid is mostly channeled to recipient-country governments, not to the poor themselves. All of this is the case despite the vast amount of resources that are expended to control how aid is channeled and despite evidence that the foreign poor typically put cash grants to important productive or consumptive use (Farrington and Slater 2006; Riddell 2007, 407; Karlan and Appel 2011, chapter 4). Indeed, “economists often argue against aiming foreign aid at specific goods because in most cases, recipients are the best judges of what they need most” (Kremer 2008: 421).

Finally, although this surely awaits future research, our findings can explain some poorly understood empirical patterns. Racial paternalism can explain why natural disasters in less developed countries with black majority populations tend to receive more media attention and attract more private charitable contributions. Most notably, the Haitian earthquake of 2010 attracted several times the attention and private contributions that the just-as-devastating Pakistani floods did later that year. Similarly, our findings could account for why, at least by our early impression, NGOs that seek private contributions tend to feature children of dark skin color in their marketing materials.

13 Even if inflation is a concern in making cash grants across borders, extremely gentle forms of paternalism, such as “aid vouchers,” can easily solve this potential problem (Easterly 2006).
Conclusion

Most observational and experimental studies on outgroup prejudice, as well as those on the effects of racial attitudes on government redistribution preferences, operate within a resentment paradigm, arguing that individuals are stingier and more vitriolic toward ethnic and racial others than toward fellow ingroup members. Ours is one of the first studies to find a scenario in which individuals want their government to be more generous with a racial outgroup than with a racial ingroup. We find that American whites are more supportive of foreign aid when they are prompted to think about aid to Africa than when thinking about aid to Eastern Europe. We do not argue, however, that we have pinpointed a realm in which there is an absence of racial prejudice. Rather, we confirm many of the claims and fears of foreign aid skeptics: Citizens of wealthy donor countries view the foreign poor of darker skin through a paternalistic lens that underestimates their agency and devalues their efforts at self-improvement. We find that a prejudicial racial paternalism underlies Americans’ increased generosity toward foreign black Africans.

Our argument represents a novel empirical contribution to a heated and high profile international debate about the merits of international development assistance, but it also stands in contrast to domestic studies that link paternalism to more restrictive attitudes toward policies meant to support minorities (Jackman 1994). When out-group beneficiaries reside outside the United States, paternalists adopt a more magnanimous quality, and we suspect the reason is because domestic findings are driven by inter-group competition (for status, resources, etc.) rather than simple racial stereotyping.
References


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Van Heerde, Jennifer, and David Hudson. 2010. “’The Righteous Considereth the Cause of the Poor’? Public Attitudes towards Poverty in Developing Countries.” *Political Studies* 58(3), 389–409.

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Mediated effect: Impact of treatment through mediator .077* | .033 | -.014 |
Direct effect: Unmediated effect of treatment .169* | .214* | .271* |
All statistical significant tests are one-tailed, p < .05.
Figure 2: Causal Effect of Race-of-Recipient on Mass Support for Foreign Aid

Panel A: Dependent Variable is Index of Support for Foreign Aid

Panel B: Dependent Variable is Preferred Aid Amount per American
Figure 3: Marginal Distributions of Items in the No Agency Index

Proportion of Responses

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<td>D somewhat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neither A nor D</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A somewhat</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A strongly</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big push</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstances mean the poor can't help themselves</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor can do little themselves</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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Figure 4: Marginal Distributions of Items in the Bad Agency Index

- Foreign poor do not try hard enough
- Poverty is due to foreign exploitation
- Amount of aid that is used well
Appendix: Survey details

TREATMENT GROUPS
(1) *Cameroon/Paternalism, Positive Valence*

1. 

Foreign aid is money that the U.S. government sends to poor countries to help them fight poverty. A lot of the aid money that we send overseas goes to poor African countries like Cameroon, where the average person survives on the US equivalent of $5 per day. (That would be like living on $1,800 per year in the US.) The aid money is often used by poor Cameroonian families like the one pictured above. An American aid expert (like the one pictured above) is often on hand to tell the poor how to use the aid to improve their lives.

(2) *Cameroon/Paternalism, Negative Valence*

2. 

Foreign aid is money that the U.S. government sends to poor countries to help them fight poverty. A lot of the aid money that we send overseas goes to poor African countries like Cameroon, where the average person survives on the US equivalent of $5 per day. (That would be like living on $1,800 per year in the US.) The aid money is often used by poor Cameroonian families like the one pictured above. An American aid expert (like the one pictured above) is often on hand to instruct but sometimes limits the choices that the poor recipients of aid can make.

(3) *Cameroon/No Paternalism*

3. 

Foreign aid is money that the U.S. government sends to poor countries to help them fight poverty. A lot of the aid money that we send overseas goes to poor African countries like Cameroon, where the average person survives on the US equivalent of $5 per day. (That would be like living on $1,800 per year in the US.) The aid money is often used by poor Cameroonian families like the one pictured above.
(4) Moldova/Paternalism: Positive Valence

Foreign aid is money that the U.S. government sends to poor countries to help them fight poverty. A lot of the aid money that we send overseas goes to poor Eastern European countries like Moldova, where the average person survives on the US equivalent of $5 per day. (That would be like living on $1,800 per year in the US.) The aid money is often used by poor Moldovan families like the one pictured above. An American aid expert (like the one pictured above) is often on hand to tell the poor how to use the aid to improve their lives.

(5) Moldova/Paternalism: Negative Valence

Foreign aid is money that the U.S. government sends to poor countries to help them fight poverty. A lot of the aid money that we send overseas goes to poor Eastern European countries like Moldova, where the average person survives on the US equivalent of $5 per day. (That would be like living on $1,800 per year in the US.) The aid money is often used by poor Moldovan families like the one pictured above. An American aid expert (like the one pictured above) is often on hand to instruct but sometimes limits the choices that the poor recipients of aid can make.

(6) Moldova/No paternalism

Foreign aid is money that the U.S. government sends to poor countries to help them fight poverty. A lot of the aid money that we send overseas goes to poor Eastern European countries like Moldova, where the average person survives on the US equivalent of $5 per day. (That would be like living on $1,800 per year in the US.) The aid money is often used by poor Moldovan families like the one pictured above.
Foreign aid is money that the U.S. government sends to poor countries to help them fight poverty. A lot of the aid money that we send overseas goes to poor countries where the average person survives on the US equivalent of $5 per day. (That would be like living on $1,800 per year in the US.) The aid money is often used by poor families.

QUESTION used in analysis

Aid amount per person (DV)
Now we'd like to ask your opinion about foreign aid in a slightly different way. What about aid to Cameroon/Moldova/poor countries where the average person survives on the US equivalent of about $1,800 per year, of which about $50 comes from wealthy foreign countries as aid. Do you think that U.S. spending on foreign aid to Cameroon/Moldova/poor countries should increase, decrease or be kept about the same? If you think it should increase or decrease, please specify by how much.
Select one answer only
Options: It should decrease to zero, It should decrease a lot, It should decrease a little, It should stay the same, It should increase a little, It should increase a lot, It should increase by a huge sum

Agree/Disagree items
Keeping in mind the poor countries of Africa/ Keeping in mind the poor countries of Eastern Europe/ Keeping poor countries in mind, read each of the following statements and then decide how much you agree or disagree with each one:
[Options: Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree somewhat, Disagree strongly]

US has moral obligation to aid (DV)
The US has a moral obligation to help foreign poor countries.

Big Push (Paternalism)
The only way poor countries could grow richer is with financial help from rich countries.

Circumstances mean the poor can’t help themselves (Paternalism)
Because of difficult economic circumstances, people in poor countries are unable to help themselves get richer.

Poor can do little themselves (Paternalism)
There is little that people in poor countries can do by themselves to improve their livelihoods.

Foreign poor do not try hard enough (Resentment)
It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough. If people in poor countries would only try harder, they could be just as well off as the United States.

Poverty is due to foreign exploitation (Resentment –when coding reversed)
Generations of colonialism and economic exploitation by rich countries have kept poor countries from becoming richer.

_Aid is wasted_
There are also different opinions about how well foreign aid is used by the poor people and countries it is supposed to benefit. Do you think that foreign aid is used in Cameroon/Moldova/[none] to genuinely improve the lives of poor people or is it wasted? Please indicate below the amount of all foreign aid that you think is used well in Cameroon/Moldova/poor countries.
Select one answer only
Options: All of it is used well, none of it is wasted; Most of it is used well, a little of it is wasted; Half is used well, half is wasted; A little of it is used well, most is wasted; None of it is used well, all of it is wasted

Perceived living standards
**At least two meals per day**
…we'd like to get your view on what quality of life is like in poor countries. In Cameroon./Moldova./a poor country where the average person survives on the US equivalent of $1,800 per year ($5 per day), about what percent of households have the following?
At least two meals per day.
Select one answer only
Options: 0%, 10%, 20%, 30%, 40%, 50%, 60%, 70%, 80%, 90%, 100%

_Indoor plumbing_
In Cameroon./Moldova./a poor country where the average person survives on the US equivalent of $1,800 per year ($5 per day), about what percent of households have the following?
Indoor plumbing (i.e., flushing toilets and working water faucets).
Select one answer only
Options: 0%, 10%, 20%, 30%, 40%, 50%, 60%, 70%, 80%, 90%, 100%
Title of the submission: The Psychological Characteristics of Chinese Gamblers in Macao

Authors: Wu, A. M. S., Tao, V. Y. K., Tong, Kwok-kit, & Cheung, S. F.

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Abstract: Macao is well known as the "Monte Carlo of the Orient", and there are rising concerns of the high gambling participation rate because of the high gambling availability and accessibility in Macao. The present study aims at gaining a better understanding of the general psychological profile of Chinese gamblers in Macao, with the empirically tested measurement tools including the revised version of the Inventory of Gambling Motives, Attitudes, and Behaviours (GMAB-R) and the Gambling Urge Scale (GUS). The respondents of the study were local Chinese gamblers who were randomly surveyed by telephone poll and their motives to gamble, attitudes toward gambling, and behaviours related gambling (such as some superstitious behaviors to increase the perceived winning chance) were investigated. The preliminary findings showed that our Chinese respondents generally recognized the negative consequences of gambling but they were more likely to be driven to gamble by the motives of sensation seeking and socialization. They also showed favorite attitudes toward the control of fate and luck over the game outcome. Regarding the promotion strategy of responsible gambling in Macao, the practical implications of the present findings will be discussed.
Shifting Immigrant Identity:
Paper Submitted by:
Roger W. Sherman

Abstract: Immigrant identity appears to change as part of their process of adaptation to the new host environment. The immigrant is not the same individual at the point of migration as when he or she has assimilated into mainstream American society. My larger research project (dissertation) analyzes immigrant identity through a comparative analysis of the post 1965 immigrant flow (immigrant generational stage, 1.5 generation and 2 generation) and their opinions cast on substantive issues of social and economic concerns. This paper creates a theoretical frame from which to view these changes. I offer two theories, sub-cultural identity formation and inter-sectionality, to structure our conversation about the immigrant adaptation process. Religion matters to immigrants in their accommodation to the new host society; however it is not the only subcultural identity that is present in their adaptation and at times it is not the most salient. This author offers an alternative hypothesis to address changes which occur in the immigrant population over the course of their adaptation to a new host country. I propose that what appear to be changes in identity, are in actuality, changes in value of salient subcultural identities, brought about by the every-day demands and decisions that the new immigrant faces as they assimilate into a new environment.

Religion matters in the formation of identity (Berger 1967)\(^1\) and in the immigrant’s adaptation to a new host society (Min 2010)\(^2\). Classical sociology (Weber 1958)\(^3\) makes the case that our religious worldview motivates us and gives justification to our actions. The theory of moral cosmology (Stark and Robinson 2009)\(^4\), continues in this Weberian fashion and attributes identity formation to religious orthodoxy. Specifically Stark and Robinson believe that a high degree of religious orthodoxy will lead an individual towards a communitarian stance on economic issues and an authoritative stance on social-cultural issues. The nonreligious or the non-orthodox religious are seen as modernists by these authors and are perceived as taking stances that are more individualistic on economic issues and moderate/liberal on issues of social-cultural concern.
The principle of religious congruence captures both the power of religion in worldly action and is in keeping with the traditional view of the significance of a religious worldview. It expresses the belief that an individual’s religious ideas constitute a tight and logically integrated network of internally consistent beliefs and values. Religious and other practices and actions stem directly from those beliefs and values. Religious beliefs and values that an individual expresses in a religious context are consistently present and accessible in other contexts and in all of life’s domains. Religious ideas, beliefs and actions, create a unified schema and are for the religious, the foundation for their actions in the public sphere.

If religious congruence is a valid supposition and essential in the process of identity formation, a significant change for example, between immigrant groups along the authoritative – modernist continuum would indicate a co-occurring shift in their identity. Restated, a significant differences in authoritarian – modernist stances between the immigrant generational stage and the immigrant second generation, would be attributable to a significant change in religious identity.

Chaves (2010) discounts the principal of religious congruence and indirectly the power of a religious worldview in motivating and justifying our actions in the public sphere. Chaves re-labels the principle of religious congruence as a “religious congruence fallacy” (Chaves 2010:6). The religious congruency fallacy: “leads us to search for causal effects we should not be searching for, it leads us to make claims about religious causality that we should not make, and it leads us to posit epicycles to save the religious congruence assumption from evidence that contradicts it.”

There is significant supportive evidence to demonstrate that religious ideas, values and
practices are not congruent but are fragmented, compartmentalized, loosely connected, and context dependent (Maio, et. Al., 2003\textsuperscript{7}: Vaisey 2009\textsuperscript{8}).

We can view what Chaves refers to as “religious incongruence” in everyday life by examining instrumental looking ritual and religious action. What we will find is that instrumental looking ritual and religious action is enacted supplemental to practical action. This will occur even where the principle of religious congruence would cause us to predict religious action and ritual as being substituted for practical action. For example many religious people believed in divine healing and actively seek healing through prayers and religious rituals. However, very few religious people practice divine healing in place of medical treatment (Wacker 2001:27, 191)\textsuperscript{9}.

Chaves offers that religious ideas are present in people's minds but only contextually present. Religious action including the act of expressing religious beliefs or attitudes in the public sphere, is bounded and situational (Evans-Pritchard 1965:29)\textsuperscript{10}. It follows then that the use of religious belief and praxis, as motivators and justifies of our actions is contextually limited. The situation or context within which the action occurs, is quite possible more important and at times in conflict with the religious disposition (Norenzayan and Shariff 2008: 62)\textsuperscript{11}.

Mixed results appear when we look at religiosity's connection with health, political behaviors, sexual behavior, pro-social behaviors, antisocial behaviors, or other outcomes. For example, Evangelical Protestant and Catholic pregnant teenagers are less likely than Mainline Protestants to seek an abortion. Girls in religious schools are more likely to seek an abortion than girls in public schools (Adamezyk 2009)\textsuperscript{12}. Research is clear that religious
people do not act in more pro-social ways than anyone else (Batson and Powell 2003).13

Conservative Protestants are no less likely than other Protestants to be divorced, have viewed an X-rated movie, or to be sexually active even if they aren't married. Decision-making and economic responsibilities in evangelical families are quite different from the ideals that they espouse about the husband being the head of the household (Gallagher and Smith 1999).14

To summarize, it appears that religious motivation and justification is situational specific. Religious practice establishes internalized responses, but because religious practice is situational specific, these automatic responses are themselves situational specific. The fallacy of religious congruence leads us to overlook the reality that in everyday life the powerful and persuasive moods and motivations associated with religion are context bound. According to Hitlin, “If we want to predict someone's behavior we are better off knowing where they are rather than who they are” (Hitlin 2008:93).15

One can of course contribute this variability in action to an identity change or to religious incongruence. However, if we view religion as only one, albeit a significant sub-cultural identity, then we are open to other subcultural identities being salient for the motivation and justification of action. This is the theoretical position captured in viewing culture as being multifaceted and comprised of sub-cultural identities. It then becomes the individual’s task to determine which of the subcultural identities is most salient given the existing situational context. It is not then a case of religious incongruence but of shifting salient sub-cultural identification.

I believe Chaves needed to take an additional theoretical step away from religious
incongruence and consider this alternative theoretical frame. When applied to immigrants in the adaptive process, variability (in attitudinal stances) between the immigrant generation stage and the 1.5 and second generations is not seen as either an identity change or religious incongruence. It becomes a pragmatic shifting of salient sub-cultural identification, in their attempt to utilize symbolic tools as a normal part of the life process of developing successful problem solving strategies.

I offer this as an alternative hypothesis from which to view these changes between immigrant generations. What appear to be changes in identity, are in actuality, changes in value of salient subcultural identities, brought about by the every-day demands and decisions that the new immigrant faces as they assimilate into a new environment. I will present two essential theories, sub-cultural identity formation and inter-sectionality to create a supportive frame for this alternative hypothesis for understanding the immigrant adaptation process.

Subcultural identities encompasses the idea that individuals possess multiple, competing group identities that shape their life chances, attitudes and behaviors. Religion or religious subcultural identity is only one of many identity categories that are part of the composite of an individual's identity. These subcultural identities interact to produce mixed and at times unanticipated and contradictory actions (Stryker and Burke 2000; Wuthrow and Llewis 2008).

In effect my larger project (dissertation) is an attempt to identify the significance of sub-cultural identities on the dependent variables of substantive economic and social concerns relevant in our post-modern world. According to Reed and Eagle (2011) religion is
typically viewed as operating in isolation from other bases of social action. Consequently what follows is a conceptualization of a unified straightforward relationship between religious beliefs and outcomes. By focusing upon the relationship between religious beliefs, practice, and one’s subjective sense of religiosity and economic and social values, at the intersection of gender, religious tradition and immigrant generation stage, I intend to demonstrate that religion’s association with attitudes and behaviors is strongly influenced by other social identities. It is my contention that religious subcultural identity does not operate in isolation from other bases of social action such as social class, gender, immigrant generation stage and race. Religion is not always the most salient subcultural identity.

My thinking pulls heavily from the work of Reed and Eagle (2011)\(^{19}\) who rely on the theoretical perspectives of social identity theory and intersecting social identities. The first theoretical perspective social identity theory posits that individuals develop their identity from belonging to a group or collective. Because individuals belong to multiple groups over their life course, they possess multiple social identities that change and fluctuate over time and context. It is the intersection and competition of these multiple identities that obviously results in what Chaves refers to as religious incongruence.

The second theoretical perspective intersecting social identities contends that multiple social inequalities, particularly those based on race, class and gender (to this mix I would add immigrant generation stage), interact to create the social location and life opportunities of groups and individuals and create the intergenerational variability that we observe in immigrant populations (Collins 2005)\(^{20}\). The utility of the inter-sectionality perspective is that it emphasizes the structural aspect of intersecting identities, and the infinite number of sub-cultural identities that an individual may elect to identify with. The individual’s given set
of life chances determining which of their sub cultural identities they invoke at a given time and in the different contexts during their life course. These social locations (life chances), some achieved and some ascribed, not only shaped beliefs and behaviors but more importantly defined which behaviors are viewed as pragmatic and practical at any given point in time. The variability in attitudinal stances which we readily observe arise when the ideas and beliefs grounded in one sub-cultural identity are overshadowed by rituals and behaviors related to another sub-cultural identity that are viewed as being more pragmatic within the given context.

According to the anti-essentialist view of personal identity, the prevailing view of social theorists, there is no determinant, de facto, hidden self that reveals itself when conditions are appropriate (Wren 2002). “Individuals are not born with a master status or a unified set of values that they rely upon to guide their actions” Reed and Eagle (2011:118). Identities in my opinion are narratives, socially constructed in discourse between individuals and groups within specific historical and institutional contexts.

At this point in our conversation it is important to distinguish between the broader construct of identity and the concept of self-person which although intertwined are separate. I offer the following two paradigms to demonstrate how identity is crafted within a social context.

The first paradigm which I label the ecological paradigm addresses how identity itself is shaped. It is based on the assumption that our psychological states and structures (concepts of self) are formed in the course of social interaction with existing systems and institutions in a recursive process with the individual actor (Wren 2002). Here like Wren, I am not implying
that the development of the self-concept stems from one-on-one discourse, such as a conversation between friends or even the more significant conversations taking place between parents and children. Although these conversations are important, they are themselves conditional; crafted by a much larger cultural reality.

The second paradigm which also relies heavily upon the perspective of social construction addresses not how we think and behave but how our capacities to think and behave have been shaped by our social world. The Feminist discourse that our sexual capacities are themselves socially constructed as well as being gender specific stereotypes are examples of this paradigm. Here: “the social serves not to mold an antecedently present self or identity, but to bring that self into existence” (Bakhurst and Sypnowich 1995:6).24

Cross (1985:159)25 is convinced that the self-person concept does not tell the complete story. He is concerned that personal identity (self-concept) and group identity become conflated. Cross perceived the self-concept or personal identity “as being an epiphenomenon of social identity or cultural identity, and an amalgam of self-concept and self-esteem.”

Cultural or social identity, at times referred to as group identity, is created within a social and political context. This context is considerably broader than the classical anthropological conceptualizations of culture as a worldview or shared way of life (Geertz 1973).26 The concept of culture and by implication that of cultural identity “is no longer understood primarily in terms of worldview, shared history, or other aspects of a group’s cultural heritage. Culture has evolved into a sociological category so that today one speaks of working-class culture, gay culture, deaf culture, and even the culture of homeless”
To add to the complexity of differentiating between personal identity (self-concept) and group identity is the fact that each possesses both a subjective and objective component. One (individual) has both an objective or public component to group identity i.e. being a citizen of the United States; and the coexisting subjective or private component to group identity i.e. the affective dispositions, thoughts, intentions and commitments to the group. Wren believes that the objective or public component of group identity is derived from our subjective component or our affective attachment to a specific reference group. It is the social or cultural identity and the accompanying affective component that possesses the power to shape behavior and attitudes. The fact that a person perceives himself or herself as belonging to a web of human relationships, structured by group boundaries, creates his or her social identity. Finally, the relationship between objective (public) and subjective (private) components of identity is a recursive process; each impacting and giving shape to the other.
The following chart is taken from Cross (1985; 159) and adds clarity to this complex issue.

**Social Identity (cultural or group identity)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Identity</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>Reference Group Orientation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-concept (cognitive) + Self-esteem (affective)</td>
<td>ascriptive associations</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(Sub-cultural identities)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-confidence</td>
<td>Self-worth</td>
<td>racial attitudes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Competence</td>
<td>unconscious self</td>
<td>class attitudes</td>
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<td>Personality traits</td>
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Adapted from Cross, 1985:159

The above paradigm distinguishes between the cognitive and affective components of personal identity as well as capturing the recursive nature of the process between personal identity and reference group orientation. In Cross’s paradigm, the reference group orientations are the sub-cultural identity of interest in my dissertation. I believe that the individual’s context bound shifts in salient sub-cultural identification, reorders the value of the individual’s ritual and practical beliefs and behaviors, bringing about changes in their attitudes and actions.

This paper does not discount the importance of religion as an organizing structure in our social life. Religion does matter! Having said this, we also need to attend to how religion interacts with other facets of identity and social location. Read and Eagle (2011:130) admonished: “we must avoid isolating religion in our analysis and privileging it ad hoc in an
attempt to explain and understand complex events”. This is reasonable advice.

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22. Read and Eagle, ibid.
23. Wren, ibid.
28. Cross, ibid.
29. Read and eagle, ibid.
Exploration of the Relationship among Nursing Students’ Attitude toward Stigmatization of Mental Illness, Pressure of Practice, and Coping Way in Psychiatric Nursing Practical Curriculum

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Abstract

The research explored the relationship among nursing students’ attitude toward stigmatization of mental illness, pressure of practice, and coping way in psychiatric nursing practical curriculum. The researcher adopted the design of cross-sectional correlation study, and the method of purposive sampling to investigate 101 nursing students practicing in psychiatry department in six teaching hospitals in Southern Taiwan; the data processing and analysis adopted the statistical methods of t-test, One-way ANOVA, and Pearson product-moment correlation. The research results: 101 copies of valid questionnaire were obtained, and the effective return rate achieved 100%. The research found that nursing students’ attitude toward stigmatization of mental illness was not significantly correlated with pressure of practice or coping behavior; nursing students’ coping behavior in practical curriculum and pressure of practice were significantly correlated, pressure of practice was significantly correlated with the experience of having taken care of the family or friend that suffered from mental illness in person, and the experience of taking care was significantly correlated with having got along with the family or friend that suffered from mental illness; nursing students’ attitude to a psychotic was significantly correlated with their interest in psychiatric nursing, and their interest in psychiatric nursing was significantly correlated with their grades of psychiatric nursing subject in school.
Hence, the research’s conclusion was: nursing students’ pressure of practice was not resulted from stigmatization of mental illness; the relative factors that affected nursing students’ coping behavior in practical curriculum or pressure of practice can be provided as reference for nursing teachers to give nursing students guidance and assistance in psychiatric nursing practical curriculum.

Keywords: Nursing students, psychiatric nursing, attitude toward stigmatization of mental illness, pressure of practice, coping way.
Digital Connections: Social Media and Social Activism

By

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Digital Connections: Social Media and Social Activism

Abstract

The use of social media is a global phenomenon that continues to unveil new levels of connectivity. The ability to connect includes the ability to motivate particularly using social networking for social activism. This paper examines the growing influence of social media to drive activism whether through economic, social, cultural or political means and on local, national and global levels. From the Arab Spring protests that generated participation through social media, to national Bank Transfer Day and Occupy Wall Street, these events stirred a global movement. Facebook is the most prolific social networking site reaching more than 850 million users worldwide. The social networking site’s 2009 revised mission statement reflects the global connectivity of social media: “Facebook’s mission is to give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected.” This paper examines several social media examples of activism through secondary analysis of two national studies. The studies analyzed are Nielsen’s 2011 State of the Media: The Social Media Report and Social Networking Sites and Our Lives by the Pew Internet & American Life Project, which is a project of the PewResearch Center. Albert Bandura’s social cognitive theory (SCT) is used as a theoretical foundation to examine behavior and the patterns of use generated as individuals and groups learn socially between and among each other, which is accelerated by the potential of digital technologies. We find that social networks from Facebook to Twitter, blogs and YouTube continue to heighten the ability to connect, motivate and create change through the influence of a global digital network.
Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences 2012 Proceedings

Title of the submission:

Li’l Bobby Hutton, Socialization, and the Black Panther Party: Aspects of the Life and Times of the First Member of a Social Movement

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the life and times of Bobby Hutton with special reference to his socialization as a member of the Black Panther Party. This paper also examines Bobby Hutton’s early family life, his socialization in the Black Panther Party before May 1967, and his participation in two colossal events of the Black Panther Party. One colossal event was the May 2, 1967 California legislature armed protest demonstration which led to Bobby Hutton being arrested and charged with a misdemeanor to commit conspiracy. The other colossal event was the April 6, 1968 shootout which led Bobby Hutton to become one of the first Black Panthers to die when he was shot and killed by police officers in Oakland, California. The case study method has been utilized in this paper.

INTRODUCTION

During the 1960s, police brutality was rampant in Black communities all across the United States of America (USA) (Brown, 1965; Fax, 1977; Major, 1971; Newton, 1973, 1996; Seale, 1970; Taylor & Bolden, 1998; Yeshitela, 1982). So many Black people encountered personal troubles with the police that the matter became a public issue.¹ Police brutality transcended local environments of individuals and created antagonisms between Black communities and various police agencies. In response to police brutality, some people banded together and created patrols to monitor police agencies in their cities (Newton, 1996; Seale, 1971; Allen, 1969).
In 1965, Black men began to patrol the police in Los Angeles, California with walkie talkie devices (Brown, 1992; Allen, 1969). The following year, in 1966, the Black Panther Party was started as a social movement in Oakland, California and began to patrol the police in that city with guns (Seale, 1970; Newton, 1973; Cromartie, 2008). Subsequently, antagonisms developed between the Black men on patrol and the police officers they encountered. In the case of the Black Panther Party, the antagonisms developed into a “war” between its members and factions within various federal, state, and local police agencies.²

As the war took its course, Black Panthers were confronted with the personal problem of war: The war presented Black Panthers with the challenge of (1) how to survive it or how to die with honor; (2) how to make money out of it; (3) how to climb into the higher safety of the military apparatus; and (4) how to contribute to the war’s termination. Black Panthers were challenged by the material conditions “to find a set of milieux and within it to survive the war or make one’s death in it meaningful” (Mills, 1959, p. 9). They were also challenged to consider that which Mills referred to as “the structural issues of war have to do with its causes; with what type men and women it throws up into command; with its effects upon economic and political, family and religious institutions, with the unorganized irresponsibility of a world of nation-states” (p. 9).

The purpose of this paper is to examine the life and times of Bobby Hutton with special reference to his socialization as a member of the Black Panther Party. Making use of the case study method, this paper will also examine Bobby Hutton’s early family life, his socialization in the Black Panther Party before May 1967, and his participation in
two colossal events of the Black Panther Party. One colossal event was the May 2, 1967 California legislature armed protest demonstration which led to Bobby Hutton being arrested and charged with a misdemeanor to commit conspiracy. The other colossal event was the April 6, 1968 shootout which led Bobby Hutton to become one the first Black Panthers to die when he was shot and killed by police officers in Oakland, California.³

As used here, the term socialization refers to the lifelong process of social interaction through which people acquire nonmaterial culture (e.g., ideas and norms) and material culture.⁴ Agents of socialization include the family, school, peer group, and mass media. In the case of Bobby Hutton, the family that socialized him was that of the Huttons and Hilliards; the schools that socialized him were those of the Oakland Public Schools system; the peer group that socialized him included fellow members of the Black Panther Party; and the mass media that socialized him were the *Oakland Tribune, Sun Reporter, Oakland Post, Sacramento Bee, San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco Examiner, London Times*, and radio station KDIA.

The term “colossal event” was used by the Black Panther Party’s leadership to describe major episodes involving the membership during the life course of the organization. In one of his statements published in *The Black Panther*, Huey P. Newton (1969), former Black Panther minister of defense, quoted Mao Tse-Tung as follows: “In the near future a colossal event will occur where the masses of the people will rise up like a mighty storm and hurricane, sweeping all evil gentry and corrupt officials into their graves” (p. 2). Four years later, utilizing Mao Tse-Tung’s colossal event concept, Newton (1973) remarked in his book, *Revolutionary Suicide*, that:
the Party was sabotaged from within and without. For years the establishment media presented a sensational picture of us, emphasizing violence and weapons. Colossal events like Sacramento, the Ramparts confrontation with the police, the shoot-out of April 6, 1968, were distorted and their significance never understood or analyzed. Furthermore, our ten-point program was ignored and our plans for survival overlooked. The Black Panthers were identified with the gun. (p. 330)

Surmising on colossal events and the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton (1973) remarked: “Colossal events were to take place, events that would threaten our very existence . . .” (p. 135).


A colossal event had occurred that Huey P. Newton had put in motion. A colossal event had occurred that had had significant meaning to the Black Panther Party. News of the existence of the Party went all the way around the world. A few days after we came back from Sacramento, Huey found out that the fact that we went to the Capitol was plastered across the front pages of the London *Times*. Things developed from there.

(p. 177).


**EARLY YEARS OF HUTTON AS THE BABY OF A BLACK WORKING CLASS FAMILY**

Hutton was born on April 21, 1950 in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. He was known variously as Li’l Bobby Hutton, Bobby James Hutton, and Robert James Hutton. His
parents were John D. Hutton and Dollie Mae (Mitchner) Hutton. He was the seventh of nine children. His siblings were Vertie Mae; Pearline; Lula Mae; J. Y. (a.k.a. Jay); David; John W. (a.k.a. J. W.); Josephine Joyce (a.k.a. Joyce); and Judy (Newton, 1973; Marine, 1969).

In 1953, when Hutton was about three years-old, his family moved from Arkansas to Oakland, California. The Hutton family became one of the thousands of Black families that migrated from Arkansas to California between the start of World War II and the end of the Korean Conflict. They first moved to the west section of Oakland and later to what is considered the north section of the town. Marine (1969) has written that John D. Hutton eventually became a cannery worker and a part-time Baptist preacher. Newton (1973) described Hutton’s parents as “good, hard-working people” (p. 119). Hutton attended the public schools of Oakland before dropping out in high school. Newton related that Hutton had been kicked out of school after having “endured the same hardships and humiliations to which so many young Blacks in poor communities are subjected” (p. 119).

Jay Hutton told Marine (1969) that his younger brother dropped out because “he wanted to help out at home” (p. 137). Jay Hutton, 10 years older than his younger brother, related to Marine that Bobby Hutton quit school when he found a job at an anti-poverty program financed in part by the Office of Economic Development. The anti-poverty was the place where Bobby Hutton met Bobby Seale. Regarding Hutton’s activities at that same place, Newton (1973) has said:

Little Bobby had met Bobby Seale at the North Oakland Service Center, where both were working, and he immediately became enthusiastic about the nascent organization. . . . he had gotten a part-time job at the Service Center. After work he used to come around to Bobby Seale’s house to talk and learn to read. At the
time of his murder, he was reading *Black Reconstruction in America* by W. E. B. Du Bois. (p. 119)

With regard to Bobby Hutton’s Black Panther activities, Jay Hutton said to Marine that, “Bobby felt the Muslims, the NAACP, the Black Panthers, were all working toward the same goal. The Black Panthers were his way, and we all supported him” (p. 138, quoting Jay Hutton). Marine added that the elder Huttons agreed with Jay Hutton’s statement. Marine also stated that Dollie Mae Hutton told him, “He would come home at night and we would read the papers together and talk it over” (p. 138, quoting Dollie Mae Hutton).

From the time of his birth to his 17th birthday, Bobby Hutton resided with his parents and siblings. In the first part of 1968, Bobby Hutton moved out of his parents’ home and into the home of David Hilliard and his family. At the time of his death, the 17-year-old Bobby Hutton was living with David Hilliard, his wife Pat Hilliard, and their children Darryl Hilliard, Dorion Hilliard, and Patrice Hilliard (Hilliard & Cole, 1993).

**SOCIALIZATION OF HUTTON AS A TEENAGER IN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY BEFORE MAY 1967**

According to Seale (1970), he first became acquainted with Bobby Hutton at an anti-poverty program in North Oakland. During the Summer of 1966, Seale had taken a job at the North Oakland Neighborhood Anti-Poverty Program, which was also known as the North Oakland Service Center and the Oakland Youth Center. Seale was hired as a foreman in a summer youth work program at a salary of $660 or $670 a month. The program, which provided employment for 25 girls and 75 boys, put them to work in the community cutting lawns, cutting hedges, digging grounds, and repairing fences. After Hutton got involved with the program, Seale served as his supervisor. Seale detailed his meeting Hutton in the following manner:
I first met Little Bobby when a friend of his brought him around and asked me if I could get him a job. I said, “Yeah, there’s three or four more spots open down here. They ought to have enough money to give you a job.” Bobby said he was sixteen years old, but I knew he wasn’t sixteen. I could tell by his face, but I said, “I’ll just say he’s sixteen and let him have his job, because he needs a job.” His partner had told him, “We got a foreman that’s something else.” This is what I heard. And his partner said, “I know he’ll give you a job. He really digs all the brothers.” (p. 38)

Since Hutton was born in April 1950, he was actually 16 years-old at the time of his initial encounter with Seale at the North Oakland Neighborhood Anti-Poverty Program.

Seale (1970) explained that some of the boys in the program were interested in sports. Others were interested in blackjack and similar card games. Hutton fit into the latter group and he was also having problems making it through school. Seale stated the following about Hutton’s background: “Bobby Hutton originally said he didn’t want to go back to school, but through the summer program, I talked him into going back. Of course, when he did go back to school, he got kicked out again” (p. 43). By the end of the summer of 1966, Hutton had been introduced to Newton by Seale. By October 1966, Hutton had become a steady running partner of Newton and Seale. Newton and Seale had also become his political mentors and comrade-in-arms.

As Newton and Seale implemented their plans for the Black Panther Party, during the fall of 1966, Hutton was there from the beginning. Newton, Seale, and Hutton shared the sentiment of wanting an immediate end to police brutality in Oakland and elsewhere. Nevertheless, all three had experienced personal troubles with the police on various charges prior to their Party days (Newton, 1973; Seale, 1970).

Instead of abandoning recruits like Bobby Hutton, Alprentice “Bunchy” Carter, George Jackson, Emory Douglas, Larry Spain, and William Brent because of juvenile or adult criminal records, the organization co-founded by Newton and Seale offered them
resocialization through organizational activities in the form of political education classes, weaponry, community service, and the like.\textsuperscript{7} The term “resocialization” has been used to refer to learning that involves a sharp break with the past and socialization into radically different norms and values.\textsuperscript{8} Clearly, Hutton’s running partner role with Newton and Seale led to a sharp break with the past as he participated in the activities of the Party. It also led to Hutton’s socialization into radically different norms and values as he studied weaponry as well as the works of Malcolm X, W. E. B. Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, and Mao Tse-Tung. In their relationship, Newton and Seale were the mentors and he was the mentee.

To recruit members, Newton (1973) related that he went to pool halls and bars, including a bar-restaurant in the north section of Oakland known as the “Bosn’s Locker.” Newton said that he used to call the Bosn’s Locker his office because “I would sometimes sit in there for twenty hours straight talking with the people who came” (p. 127). Newton said that he also recruited members at Oakland City College and the Oakland Skills Center. Regarding his recruitment of the lumpenproletariat, Newton has written:

This recruiting had an interesting ramification in that I tried to transform many of the so-called criminal activities going on in the street into something political, although this has to be done gradually. Instead of trying to eliminate these activities--numbers, hot goods, drugs--I attempted to channel them into significant community actions. Black consciousness had generally reached a point where a man felt guilty about exploiting the Black community. However, if his daily activities for survival could be integrated with actions that undermined the established order, he felt good about it. It gave him a feeling of justification and strengthened his own sense of personal worth. Many of the brothers who were burglarizing and participating in similar pursuits began to contribute weapons and material to community defense. In order to survive they still had to sell their hot goods, but at the same time they would pass some of the cash on to us. That way, ripping off became more than just an individual thing (p. 127)
Newton explained that, during the early days of the Black Panther Party, he and Seale sought to relate to the “lumpenproletariat of the Black community” and not to young Black people who pictured themselves as Bohemian expatriates from middle-class Babylon or postindustrial America.

In October 1966, Newton and Seale officially founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Newton took the title of minister of defense and Seale became the chairman. Hutton was their first recruit and he became the first person to join the Black Panther Party. Despite his problems in the school system, the 16 year-old Hutton was appointed by Newton and Seale to the position of treasurer of the Black Panther Party. According to Huey P. Newton (1973), “The first member of the Black Panther Party, after Bobby and myself, was Little Bobby Hutton. . . . Even though he was only fifteen years old then, he was a responsible and mature person, determined to help the cause of Black people. He became the Party’s first treasurer” (p. 119). Newton expressed great confidence in the youthful Hutton. It should be noted that Hutton was 16 years-old, not 15 years-old.

After Newton and Seale completed the ten-point program and platform, it was Hutton who first volunteered to help them. Seale (1970) recalled:

... we had a thousand copies of the ten-point platform and program being circulated through the black community by myself and Huey P. Newton. Little Bobby Hutton came along, and for one-and-a-half months, Bobby stuck with me and Huey, helping us articulate this ten-point platform and program . . . (p. 65)

The organization’s ten-point program and platform was modeled after the program and platform of the Nation of Islam.

According to Seale (1970), Hutton idolized several older members of the Black Panther Party, especially Alprentice “Bunchy” Carter, who led the Los Angeles Chapter
of the Black Panther Party. Seale wrote: “Bobby Hutton loved Bunchy Carter. Bobby Hutton used to develop alter ego relationships with different Party leaders—Huey, Eldridge, myself, and Bunchy. His latest, at the time he was killed was imitating Alprentice ‘Bunchy’ Carter” (p. 269). Seale added:

He tried to become more politically educated like Bunchy was and he really dug brother Bunchy, because Bunchy had been in prison. It wasn’t a boasting, kind of absurd, “I did this much time,” and “I did that much time,” thing that Bobby related to. Bobby related to Bunchy because Bunchy was the brother who had come from prison and was back in the community, working to serve the people. (p. 269)

Carter had served time in prison with Eldridge Cleaver, who recruited him into the Black Panther Party. Like Cleaver, Carter had been an active member of the Black Culture Club at Soledad Prison. Carter had also been the former leader of the Slausons, one of the largest street gangs in Los Angeles. By 1968, Carter had become a political activist and the leader of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Black Panther Party. Less than one year after the death of Hutton, Carter died in January 1969 along with John Huggins in a tragic shooting at UCLA. Further, one of the norms across Black communities in the USA was the phenomenon of young Black men modeling the behavior of older Black men. It was that norm which Hutton followed.

Seale (1970) pointed out that Bobby Hutton admired the way that Carter carried himself and looked. He explained:

Little Bobby would see Bunchy with a big natural that was kept very neat, a big moustache, a sharp suit, and some clean clothes on, and he really dug the way Bunchy looked. ... Little Bobby was only sixteen years old, and he really wanted to be sharp. Living in poverty and seeing brother Bunchy somehow stay sharp, and at the same time be a service to his community, kind of showed Bobby that he didn't have to get out of the Party. He didn’t have to say, “Well, I’m gonna give up the Party just to get me some sharp clothes,” as some brothers would, out of selfishness. Bunchy had arranged it so that on his parole he was
receiving a fair sum of money working at a poverty program as some kind of assistant director. That’s how he kept himself sharp. (pp. 269-270)

As was the case with Newton and Seale, Carter was employed in an anti-poverty program. Whereas Newton and Seale worked in Oakland, Carter worked in Los Angeles.

Another idol of Hutton was David Hilliard, the former chief of staff of the Black Panther Party. Hilliard, who joined the organization shortly after Hutton, has detailed the following about Hutton’s brief life:

Li’l Bobby and I have become close friends. He likes my flair and style, and our discussions help me clarify my own ideas about violence and nationalism. He’s been with the Party from the beginning—he lived near the first Panther office—and has a gut understanding of the Ten Point Program. Nights, we hang together, drinking wine and smoking dope while discussing politics and listening to jazz. But Bobby’s political work creates trouble with his family; his brothers often looking for him because his mom, Dolly Mae, is worried and needs him home. Then Bobby gets mad, calls Dolly Mae to tell her he can take care of himself; Pat often intervening to assure Mrs. Hutton Bobby’s all right. Last week there was a final blowup and Bobby said he’d had enough; if I’d drive him over to his house, he’d get his clothes and move in with us. I instantly agreed; Li’l Bobby’s the younger brother I never had. Now Pat tells me Dolly Mae’s worried again, and what should she say? (Hilliard & Cole, 1993, p. 160)

Hilliard added:

Since I told her to leave her job, Pat has become the Party Treasurer, and even with the new office our home remains a center of Party activity.

“Suddenly there were a lot of meetings at the house,” my daughter Patrice remembers. Bobby Seale, Bunchy Carter, Li’l Bobby Hutton. Bunchy was kind of laid back and very spiffy dressing. Li’l Bobby was wonderful. He related to us as if he were one of us. He was the one who, before a meeting, would come in there and play and talk and hug and kiss us. Me and my brothers used to love to go in his room because he always had change in his pocket. The change would fall out, and in the morning before we’d go across the street to school he’d let us get all the quarters, nickels, and dimes to put in our pockets and buy candies and bubble gum. (p. 164)

With his statement, Hilliard acknowledged that his wife Pat replaced Hutton as the treasurer of the Black Panther Party prior to his death. Hilliard also acknowledged that Hutton moved in with the Hutton family prior to his death.
The close relationship between Hutton and Hilliard has been commented on by Elaine Brown. Brown (1992) recalled the following about her fellow two Black Panthers:

Li’l Bobby had not been driven by abstract political or intellectual issues. . . . For Bobby, commitment lay in the love of black people--including one of his role models, David himself, which he did not say but which everyone knew. David had been known on the streets of West Oakland as a streetwise hustler, a sharp dresser, and a smooth talker, whom the women loved and the men respected. When David joined the party of his friends Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, Li’l Bobby had latched on to him. (p. 188)

Following in the footsteps of Newton, Seale, Cleaver, Hilliard, and Carter, the youthful Bobby Hutton attempted to deal with his environment as a revolutionary nationalist. The revolutionary nationalism of the earliest 100 Black Panthers did not stop them from working in government sponsored antipoverty programs to get food, clothing, and shelter. As mentioned above, Seale, Newton, Carter, and Hutton all were employed in an antipoverty program.

After joining the Black Panther Party during its first month of existence, Hutton participated in many organizational activities, including the initial selling of Mao Tse-Tung’s (1966) *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*, which was popularly known as the *Red Book*, at the University of California, Berkeley and armed patrols of Oakland police officers. 

In December 1966, Newton, Seale, and Hutton went to the University of California, Berkeley to sell Mao’s book to students on the grounds of its campus. The Black Panthers used the money that they earned to purchase weapons for the organization. Seale (1970) recalled:

Brother Bobby Hutton could hardly get the title correct. He kept coming over and asking Huey or myself how to pronounce it. Huey would tell him, but he couldn’t get it. He said, “If we can buy guns with money coming in this fast I
don’t have to be able to say it.” So he just hollered, “Red Book, Red Book,” and they really sold. (pp. 80-81)

In his discussion of the Black Panthers selling Mao’s book, Schanche (1970) has related, “then only 15 years old, stuck with them so loyally and handled the money so well that Newton appointed him Party treasurer” (p. 56). Both Seale and Schanche agree that Hutton participated in the book sales at the University of California, Berkeley.

During the fall of 1966, it was not against the law to carry firearms openly in California. Newton (1996) has written, “Applying knowledge of California law, Party founders Huey Newton and Bobby Seale organized police patrols to respond to arrests of citizens that were regularly broadcast over the police officers’ shortwave radio” (p. 31). Newton continued:

Several Party members equipped with a shortwave radio in a car intercepted the calls, rushed to the scene of the arrest, and, armed with a law book, informed the person being arrested of his constitutional rights. Party members also carried loaded weapons, publicly displayed but not pointed toward anyone, and dressed in leather jackets and berets. The patrol participants were careful to stand no closer than ten feet from the arrest, to stay within the presumption that they were not interfering with the arrest. These initial contacts between Panther patrols and Oakland police resulted in the arrests of Party members and [in] considerable publicity. Media portrayals of these confrontations gave the impression that the Panthers were primarily an armed insurrectionary group. (p. 31)

Although the activities of the Black Panthers made the police angry, law makers in the state capitol were unable to prohibit the armed monitoring in California until the spring of 1967 with the passage of Donald Mulford’s anti-Black Panther bill (Newton, 1996).

On the one hand, Pinkney (1976) has credited the Black Panther patrols with “reducing the incidence of police brutality against black people” (p. 100). On the other hand, Pinkney noted that the “incidence of harassment of Panthers intensifed, ultimately leading to a nationwide campaign of repression against them” (p. 100). Pinkney added:
“The armed patrols met with the approval of residents in the black community and attracted the attention of young blacks on the West coast and throughout the nation” (p. 100).

Seale (1970) stated that Hutton was on patrol with Newton and him during the confrontation with a policeman wearing Badge 206. Seale related:

One night Huey, Little Bobby, and I were patrolling this pig in North Oakland. We had been patrolling him for a couple of hours. We’d be about a block away from him wherever he’d go. Sometimes we’d stop and lose the pig, but ten, twenty minutes later he’d make it around again, he’d be back where he was, and we’d patrol him some more. Little Bobby had an M-1, I had a .45, and brother Huey had a shotgun and a law book on the back seat. Brother Huey was driving my old ’54 Chevy. (p. 93)

Eventually that night, Newton and the policeman wearing Badge 206 had a confrontation which almost led to armed face-to-face conflict. While the confrontation was in progress, Hutton remained at the side of Newton and Seale and bravely faced the opposition. Prior to his death, Hutton participated in many armed patrols and helped to recruit other young people into the ranks (Cromartie, 2006a, 2006b).

Hutton also participated in office duties, including service as the officer of the day. Reminiscing about one particular day in the headquarters of the Black Panther Party, Hilliard credited Hutton with such service in the following statement: “Chairman Bobby,’ Li’l Bobby Hutton—he’s the officer of the day, over-seeing the functioning of the office--calls, ‘it’s for you’” (Hilliard & Cole, 1993, p. 159). Clearly, the older members of the organization treated Hutton as an equal by allowing him to serve as the officer of the day.

As he participated in organizational activities, Hutton had confrontations with two important leaders of the Black Power Movement. In one instance, Hutton almost jumped
on Stokely Carmichael during a February 1968 “Free Huey” rally. Regarding the incident, Hilliard has related:

Li’l Bobby and I like Rap Brown, with his beret, sunglasses, and combat boots; of them all, he has the most style, ironic and authoritative at the same time, someone we can connect with. But Stokely is a real problem. He’s distant, arrogant, supercilious. His manner makes all of us . . . want to jump him. I have to hold Li’l Bobby back . . . (Hilliard & Cole, 1993, pp. 171-172)

In the other instance, Hutton almost jumped on Marvin X (Marvin Jackman) during the Spring of 1967.

Marvin X, the co-founder of the Black House in San Francisco with Eldridge Cleaver, was evicted from living there by Cleaver with Hutton among the Black Panther contingent backing him. Marvin X (1995) wrote:

My confrontation with Lil’ Bobby happened one afternoon. The youth were out of control again and the Panthers were seriously concerned about a raid, since the house was phat with weapons. Bobby, who was BPP secretary, jammed me with a directive from Supreme Commander said for us to close down the basement. I resisted, thinking I could again talk with the youth had to go. I got upset, “Bobby, fuck the Supreme Commander!” Why did I say that? They say eyes mirror the soul. I saw hurt in his eyes. I had dissed his hero. (p. 126)

Regarding Hutton, Marvin X continued:

I knew he was packing and I could tell he wanted to off me that instant. I wasn’t afraid--I was as mad-dog as Huey--just as crazy. As far as I was concerned, Huey and I were equals--I wasn’t taking orders from him. I knew it was time to get ghost from BH. The brothers were putting together a military structure with a chain of command, and I wasn’t going to be a part of it. They asked me to be a minister of education, culture or whatever, but I declined. I was on my own mission. Bobby mumbled, “Motherfucker, I’m go fuck you up! We’ll deal with you later, dude . . . .”

All night, Ethna and I heard them pacing in front of our door, cocking their 45 automatics. Eldridge told me to get out the next day. (pp. 126-127)

Nevertheless, Marvin X has credited Hutton with being a courageous individual as well as very loyal to Newton as a mentor and friend.
Despite their almost deadly conflict, Marvin X (1995) expressed admiration for Hutton in his first full-length autobiography. Marvin X referred to Hutton as:

... a unique, heroic youth, who was shot in cold blood, after he surrendered in a shootout with the Oakland police. He could serve as a model for today’s young urban savages who only know how to kill each other--apparently the real enemy had never dawned on them. Lil’ Bobby died for the people, for the revolution. His was not a senseless death. As Mao said, “Some deaths are lighter than a feather, some higher than Mount Tai!” (p. 125).

Such a statement indicates that Marvin X forgave Hutton for his transgressions and that he possessed lasting respect for him.

Cleaver (1968d) has acknowledged that Hutton flanked Newton and Seale during the famous confrontation with members of the rival Black Panther Party of Northern California. When Cleaver first laid eyes on Newton and Seale, it was during a February 1967 meeting at the Black House in San Francisco and Hutton was there. Cleaver related:

I spun around in my seat and saw the most beautiful sight I had ever seen: four black men wearing black berets, powder blue shirts, black leather jackets, black trousers, shiny black shoes--and each with a gun! In front was Huey P. Newton with a riot pump shotgun in his right hand, barrel pointed down to the floor. Beside him was Bobby Seale, the handle of a .45 caliber automatic showing from its holster on his right hip, just below the hem of his jacket. A few steps behind Seale was Bobby Hutton, the barrel of his shotgun at his feet. Next to him was Sherwin Forte, an M1 carbine with a banana clip cradled in his arms. (p. 19)

Shortly afterwards, Cleaver joined the party of Newton, Seale, and Hutton and became the third member of the ruling triumvirate.

Emory Douglas has noted that he also saw Little Bobby flanking Newton and Seale during the first months of the organization’s existence. According to Douglas, he recalled:

... I began to go to Oakland, and began to volunteer. That’s before there was even a chapter in San Francisco, or a chapter or branch in Oakland. They just had
the headquarters where they used to work by Merritt College on Martin Luther King Blvd., in North Oakland. I used to go over and do patrols and hang out with Huey, Bobby, Little Bobby, and the Forte brothers. They were the first cadre of Panthers. (Quoted in Taylor & Bolden, 1998, p. 8)

Douglas also recalled seeing Hutton’s at the Black House with Newton and Seale.

Douglas related:

The Black House was a house where Eldridge Cleaver and Marvin [X] had come together and a bunch of other people. Eldridge paid half the rent and lived upstairs in a room. The other part was a cultural center called the Black House. I used to go there off and on. The first person I met there was Eldridge Cleaver, because Huey and Bobby were also trying to get Eldridge Cleaver, who had just gotten out of prison, to become a writer for the paper. Huey and Bobby were trying to recruit him.

. . . I used to go back and forth to the Black House. Little Bobby Hutton, the Forte brothers, Eldridge, Huey and Bobby would go upstairs to Eldridge’s room and talk to him a lot. They were trying to convince him to become a part of the Party as a writer, but Eldridge was still on parole and working at Ramparts magazine. (Quoted in Taylor & Bolden, 1998, p. 8)

Both Douglas and Cleaver joined Newton, Seale, Hutton, and others as officers in the fledgling organization.

As was the case with other Black Panthers, Hutton participated in political education classes held by the organization. James Forman (1972/1985), a former minister of international affairs for the Black Panther Party, has recalled:

. . . I was asked to hold a political education class for members of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. . . . At the political education class, I came to know young Bobby Hutton, the party’s treasurer, who was later assassinated by police in Oakland after a 1968 shoot-out, and David Hilliard, the party’s chief of staff. There I presented the concept of the ten-ten-and-ten method of organizing a city. (p. 528).

Thus, as Hutton progressed in the psychosocial stage that Erikson (1959/1980) calls “Identity versus role confusion,” he was exposed to political tactics and paramilitary strategy.11 Newton and Seale made it clear to Hutton and other Black Panthers that members were expected to raise their consciousness regarding the organization’s political
ideology and philosophy which emphasized the need to merge theory and practice. At the time of his death, Bobby Hutton, according to his brother Jay Hutton was “reading W. E. B. Du Bois’s *Black Reconstruction in America* and (Jay says it was his most-thumbed book) *Word Power Made Easy*” (Quoted in Marine, 1969, p. 138). Clearly, Hutton was a member of the Black Panther Party who sought to merge theory with practice.

**PARTICIPATION OF HUTTON IN THE MAY 2, 1967 SACRAMENTO COLOSSAL EVENT**

In April 1967, Huey P. Newton appeared on a radio talk show in Oakland. During the program, Newton proceeded to explain the Black Panther Party’s ten-point program, including Point 7. He also explained why he thought it was necessary for Black men and women to arm themselves. Newton made it clear that they were within their constitutional rights (Newton, 1973).

In response to Newton’s statements on the radio, numerous calls poured in. According to Newton (1973), “Some people agreed with us; others disputed our points. We welcomed the discussion, because criticism helped us to find weaknesses in our program and to sharpen our position” (p. 146). One of the callers who disputed Newton’s points was Donald Mulford, a conservative White Republican state assemblyman from nearby Piedmont. Mulford informed Newton that he was going to introduce a bill into the state legislature that would make illegal for the Black Panther Party to patrol with weapons. Mulford made it clear to Newton that he wanted his bill to “get” the Black Panther Party. A few days later, the *Oakland Tribune* carried a story about Mulford’s “Panther bill,” which the assemblyman had written at the request of Oakland police to stop “young Black toughs” from walking around with guns (Newton, 1973, p. 146).

On May 2, 1967, a car caravan carried a delegation of 30 Black Panthers and
supporters to the state capitol building in Sacramento, California to protest the Mulford bill. The delegation was composed of 24 men and six women. Black Panthers were conscious of the fact that Mulford had introduced the bill to repeal the law that permitted citizens like the Black Panthers to carry loaded weapons in public insofar as the weapons were openly displayed. With the passage of Mulford’s bill, the Black Panther Party realized that it would become against the law to carry a loaded weapon in a public place, whether it was openly displayed or concealed (Newton, 1973; Seale, 1970).

Of those Black Panthers present for the protest demonstration, 20 were armed and openly displayed and carried loaded rifles, shotguns, and pistols. Seale (1970) recalled that Black Panther delegation included “hardfaced brothers” (p. 155). Seale further related:

These brothers were off the block; righteous brothers off the block. From what they call the nitty gritty and the grass roots. You could look at their faces and see the turmoil they’ve lived through. Their ages ranged anywhere from sixteen, which was about the youngest we had there—that was Bobby Hutton—all the way down to myself, thirty-one. I guess I was about the oldest.

We righteously walked up to the next stairs. Bobby Hutton was on my right side and Warren Tucker was on my left side. Bobby Hutton had a 12-gauge shotgun, a High Standard 12-gauge pump shotgun, that’s what Bobby Hutton had. And Warren Tucker had a .357 Magnum. We walked all the way up, and they stayed right next to me. (pp. 155-156)

Hence, the Black Panther delegation was composed of both adults and teenagers. Hutton was one of the teenagers who proudly brandished guns during the armed protest demonstration.

When the Black Panther delegation reached the outside stairs, Bobby Seale read Executive Mandate Number One to the assembled media. The statement, which was written by Newton (1967) and designed to protest Mulford’s bill, said:
The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general, and Black people in particular, to take careful note of the racist California Legislature now considering legislation aimed at keeping Black people disarmed and powerless while racist police agencies throughout the country intensify the terror, brutality, murder, and repression of Black people. (p. 2)

The statement continued:

As the aggression of the racist American Government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods, and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people for relief from this increasing terror. (p. 2)

The statement concluded as follows:

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction. (p. 2)

With his statement, Newton sought to encourage Black people in general and the Black Panther Party in particular to defend themselves against the terrorism of various police agencies.

After Seale finished, the Black Panthers entered the Capitol building, passed Governor Ronald Reagan’s office, and headed upstairs to the Assembly. At the entrance to the Assembly, the Black Panthers were stopped by a guard who told them they could not enter. Seale and the other Black Panthers brushed by the guard and demanded that their constitutional rights be protected. Guards inside the Assembly proceeded to confiscate some of their weapons, which were later returned. One of the Black Panthers whose gun was taken was Bobby Hutton (Seale, 1970).
Seale (1970) has written that a Capitol Hill police officer snuck up behind Bobby Hutton and took his shot gun away. Hutton made a verbal protest and he asked the police officer, “What the hell you got my gun for? Am I under arrest or something? If I’m not under arrest, you give me my gun back. You ain’t said I was under arrest” (Quoted in Seale, 1970, p. 159).

As Seale (1970) noted, Huey P. Newton had taught Hutton and other Black Panthers to always ask the police whether one was under arrest. If one was under arrest, then one should stand on his or her constitutional rights. Seale (p. 160) noted that he also made a verbal protest and asked the police officer, “Is this man under arrest? What the hell are you taking his gun for?” The police officer responded, “You’re not supposed to be in here. This is not where you’re supposed to be” (Quoted in Seale, 1970, p. 160). After a second policeman appeared with the 30--.06 gun of Mark Comfort, Seale said that he walked out of those big doors of the Assembly flanked by fellow Black Panthers, policemen, and members of the media. Seale also said that he observed Hutton “cussing out” the policeman who had taken his shot gun as they walked to the elevator (p. 160).

Seale (1970) has pointed out that he was grabbed by a police officer when the Black Panthers got to the elevator. Nevertheless, Seale nor any of the other Black Panthers were placed under arrest. Seale proceeded to the first floor where he read Executive Mandate Number One inside the building. Following Seale’s reading of Executive Mandate Number One inside the building, the police officers returned the guns to the Black Panthers. Afterwards, Hutton told one of the policemen: “Bastard, load my gun back up. You unloaded my gun. Load it back up, just like you had it. Give me my gun back” (Quoted in Seale, 1970, p. 161).
At the request of the media, Seale (1970) read the Executive Mandate Number One once again before the Black Panther contingent departed the inside of the building. After leaving the inside, Seale read the mandate two more times on the outside for the media. In all, Seale read the mandate three times on the outside of the building and twice on the inside. Finally, the Black Panther delegation headed back to their cars for the return trip to the Oakland area. However, the majority of the Black Panther delegation was later arrested elsewhere in Sacramento and charged with conspiracy and disturbing the peace during the armed protest demonstration at the Capitol building.

Seale (1970) has disclosed that he and 17 other Black Panthers were arrested and found themselves facing charges in the aftermath of the armed protest demonstration. Eventually, Seale and several other Black Panthers were given prison sentences for as long as six months. While Seale was serving his stint in prison, the organization encountered its third colossal event when Newton was arrested and charged with killing John Frey, a police officer in Oakland, California. Adult members of the Black Panther delegation placed in jail included Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, Warren Tucker, Mark Comfort, George Dowell, Willie Thompson, and Sherman Forte. According to Seale (1970), teenaged members placed in jail included, “Bobby Hutton, Orlando Harrison, one other brother who was in North Oakland working on the poverty program with me, and two other brothers of Mark Comfort’s” (p. 176).

News items, film footage, and photographs of the Black Panthers armed protest demonstration in Sacramento appeared immediately in the media of the USA and throughout the world. Seale (1970) has related that he thought about the following after the Sacramento protest: “At that time I knew that what Huey P. Newton was saying about
the colossal event had occurred” (p. 162). On the one hand, as Pinckney (1976) has noted, hundreds of Black youth across the country were attracted to the fearless Black Panther Party. On the other hand, the colossal event in Sacramento triggered a nationwide campaign of White hysteria against the Black Panther Party.

Taylor and Bolden (1998) pointed out that the colossal event in Sacramento “left much of white America shaken” (p. A-12). White reaction to the colossal event in Sacramento led to many trials and tribulations for the Black Panthers and their families of origin. In his recollection of the colossal event in Sacramento, Emory Douglas, a former member of the Black Panther Party’s Central Committee, told Fax (1977) in an interview that his mother operated a concession stand at Juvenile Hall in San Francisco “where she developed the business and gained the respect of the people around her” (p. 261).

However, Douglas related that:

My trip to Sacramento--my name in the papers--picture on TV--all this began to have an adverse effect upon my mother’s business at the concession. Business fell off. The probation officers and others who patronized her were serving notice that they didn’t approve of her son’s actions and therefore no longer approved of her food. . . . And my mother became conscious for the first time of the fact that only of you play the game their way will you be able to make it. She found out that they cared nothing for her, and that in their view her son’s being a common criminal was far less to be condemned than his being a “dangerous radical” threatening the status quo. And that was really the thing that brought her closer than anything else to understanding me in support of the party. (Quoted in Fax, 1977, p. 274)

Fax reported that the extensive and lurid press coverage of the colossal event led the life of Lorraine Douglas, mother of Emory Douglas, to become harried and tortured.

Lorraine Douglas became harassed by FBI agents and was “constantly hounded by the fear that her son might be among those singled out for ‘liquidation’” (Fax, 1977, p. 275). She displayed resistance to Douglas continuing his membership in the organization.
after some members were killed by the police, including Bobby Hutton. Nonetheless, Douglas stood firm and kept his membership after the Sacramento event. In the interview with Fax, Douglas recalled: “But she eventually realized that this is what I am going to do and it was going to be my life. She’s accepted that and we’ve become closer out of this experience” (Quoted in Fax, 1977, p. 275).

According to people who surrounded Dollie Mae Hutton in 1967, she had feelings that her similar to those of Lorraine Douglas. Melvin Newton, an older brother of Huey P. Newton, told Gene Marine (1969) that there was similar sentiment among his parents and him. Melvin Newton said:

Huey discussed the formation of the Panthers with me and I tried to discourage him from doing it. By that time he had read Fanon and Mao. So when I couldn't talk him out of it, I helped him. The platform of the Party was being developed then, and I worked with him and Bobby on smoothing out some of the language, et cetera. I was willing to work with him, but I preferred him not to go out on the streets. Would you want your brother to be the Minister of Defense? I knew that what has happened to Huey would happen--except that I thought that one night he wouldn't come home and we would get a call that he was dead on the streets. Our parents were terrified. (Quoted in Marine, 1969, p. 36)

Like Hutton, Huey P. Newton was the youngest male in his family. In his autobiography *Revolutionary Suicide*, Huey P. Newton details his relationship with each of his siblings during childhood. Huey P. Newton also indicated that he too came from a Black working-class family.

On July 28, 1967, Assembly Bill 1591 took effect in California and added sections 171c, 171d, 171e, and 12031 to the Penal Code regarding firearms. The 1967 regular session summary digest in volume three of the *Statutes of California 1967* reported the following regarding the Mulford Act:

Prohibits carrying of a loaded firearm on one’s person or in a vehicle while in any public place or on any public street in an incorporated city or in any
public place or on any public street in a prohibited area of unincorporated territory, which is defined, except for specified persons. (Murphy, 1967b, p. 5130)

Consequently, the armed patrolling of the police by Black Panthers became an illegal activity as a result of Assembly Bill 1591. During the life course of the Black Panther Party, its innovation of armed patrols of urban police appears to have primarily occurred from October 1966 and July 1967. The Black Panther Party was not the first organization to have patrols of urban police. However, it was one of the first to do it with guns in hand, as Brown (1992) has noted.

**PARTICIPATION OF HUTTON IN THE APRIL 6, 1968 SHOOT-OUT COLOSSAL EVENT**

Versions of the April 6, 1968 shootout have been offered by Black Panthers who were present that night like Eldridge Cleaver, David Hilliard, Warren Wells, Wendell Wade, and Terry Cotton. Other versions have come from Black Panthers who were not there, including Elaine Brown, Bobby Seale, Bill Brent, and Jimmy Slater.

Still more versions have been offered by Oakland policemen present that night like Gwynne Peirson, Eugene Ralph Jennings, Robert Fredricks, Owen Carlton Brown, Robert Allan Coffman, Jerry Noble, Nolan R. Darnell, Richard Ronald Jensen, Angelo N. Cannizaro, Roy Hooper, Edward R. Hilliard, J. Theodore Jahn, Frederick Newton, and other policemen. There have also been versions presented by writers like Gene Marine, Reginald Major, John A. Oliver, and Hugh Pearson.

Ironically, the various Black Panther versions do not agree with one another on all points nor do the various Oakland Policemen versions agree with one another on all points. Not surprisingly, writers Marine, Major, Oliver, and Pearson disagree with one another on key points. This part of the paper will draw primarily on statements by
Eldridge Cleaver has given two versions of the shoot-out on April 6, 1968. The initial version, which he told during the 1960s, reported that a car caravan of Black Panthers was ambushed on their way to deliver picnic supplies. The second version, which Cleaver told during the 1990s, related that a car caravan of Black Panthers ambushed two Oakland police patrolmen. The initial version was laid out in two affidavits by Cleaver that appeared in *The Black Panther*.

The first affidavit appeared in the May 18, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther*. In his first affidavit, Cleaver (1968b) reported that the police engaged in a number of attacks on Black Panthers during the spring of 1968. On February 22, 1968, a contingent of Berkeley police kicked down Bobby Seale’s door and dragged him and his wife Artie Seale out of the bed and arrested them on a charge of conspiracy to commit murder. On the same day, six other Black Panthers were also arrested and charged with conspiracy to commit murder. During that week, 16 Black Panthers were arrested and charged with a variety of violations, including gun law violations. The following week McGraw-Hill Publishing Company released *Soul on Ice*, which brought critical acclaim to Cleaver and publicity for the Black Panther Party.

On April 3, 1968, the Oakland Police Department invaded the regular community outreach meeting of the Black Panther Party at St. Augustine’s Church at 27th and West Street. According to Cleaver (1968b), the police withdrew without further incident because Seale and he were not there. Instead, the police found David Hilliard giving a talk to an audience in the presence of Father Earl Neil. Due to the Gestapo style of the
invading police, Father Neil called a press conference the next day to complain about the actions of the police at his church. However, on the day of the press conference, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was fatally shot in Memphis, Tennessee and ghettos crossed the country erupted with rage.

As White owned property in ghettos in various cities was set on fire and vandalized in response to King’s death, Huey P. Newton ordered members of the Black Panther Party to tell the Black people to refrain from engaging in spontaneous riots. Black Panthers, including Bobby Hutton, went around the Bay Area telling Black people and others to “keep cool.” On April 5, 1968, Bobby Seale held a press conference at the headquarters of the Oakland Police Department and told Black people to refrain from participating in spontaneous riots, as Newton had directed. Basically, the Northern California Bay Area, especially Oakland, escaped the burning and looting suffered by Detroit, Chicago, New York, Atlanta, and elsewhere (Newton, 1973; Seale, 1970).

The second affidavit appeared in the June 10, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther*. Eldridge Cleaver (1968c) used it discuss the ordeal which he and Hutton faced the night of April 6, 1968. Cleaver began the second affidavit by posing the notion that the “SHOOTOUT ON 28th STREET was the direct result of frantic attempts by the Oakland Police Department to sabotage the BLACK COMMUNITY BARBECURE PICNIC WHICH the Black Panther Party had set up for April 7th in DeFremery Park” (p. 5). Cleaver related that the Black Panther Party had advertised the event on radio stations KDIA and KSOL. They also advertised the barbecue picnic using leaflets, posters, and a sound truck throughout Oakland. The purpose of the barbecue picnic was to serve as a fund raiser for the Black Panther Campaign Fund and the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund.
At that time, the Black Panther Party was running “Huey P. Newton for Congress in the 7th Congressional District of Alameda County; Bobby Seale for the 17th Assembly District seat in Alameda County; and Kathleen Cleaver for the 18th Assembly District seat in San Francisco” (Cleaver, 1968c, p. 5).

Cleaver (1968c) maintained that three car loads of Black Panthers carrying picnic supplies were ambushed going from one site to another. Cleaver also reported that the ambush unfolded when he was in the process of urinating on the street behind a car with Florida tags near the intersection of Union Street and 28th Street in Oakland. After a police car stopped to investigate his actions, he said that a gunfight ensued with the police. He also said the policemen were the aggressors (Cleaver, 1968c).

Once the shooting started, Cleaver (1968c) stated that he told all the Black Panthers to scatter. Subsequently, Cleaver and Hutton ended up alone together in the basement of a house located at 1218--28th Street. Quickly surrounded by dozens of policemen from Oakland and Emeryville, Cleaver and Hutton became pinned down together in that basement. Cleaver has said he and Hutton attempted to fortify the walls of the basement with furniture, boxes, whatever they could find. He remarked:

While I was standing up trying to move a thick board over against the wall, I was struck in the chest by a tear gas canister fired through a window. It knocked me down and almost out. Weak from the gas, coughing and choking, Little Bobby, weak from the gas, was coughing and choking, Little Bobby took all my clothes off in an effort to locate a wound in the dark, patting me down for the moist feel of blood. (p. 18)

Hence, it was Hutton who took off Cleaver’s clothes as he tried to find a wound as the two remained trapped in the basement.

As the tear gas and firebombs got worse in the basement, the situation forced Cleaver and Hutton to make the decision to surrender. Cleaver stated (1968c):
. . . I heard Little Bobby ask me, ‘What are we going to do?’ I felt an impotent rage at myself because all I could tell him was to keep his head down, that head with its beautiful black face which, a little later and again powerless to stop it, I would watch as the mad dogs outside blasted Little Bobby into eternity. Was it in cold blood? It was in the coldest of blood. It was murder. MURDER! MURDER! MURDER! And that must never be forgotten, that the Oakland Police Department MURDERED Little Bobby, and they cannot have that as a victory. Every Pig on that murderous Police Force is guilty of murdering Little Bobby; and lying, hypocritical Chief Gain is Murderer No. 1. And we must all swear by Little Bobby’s blood that we will not rest until Chief Gain is brought to Justice, either in the courts or in the streets . . . (p. 18)

He went on to explain that the police officers shot Hutton after they had surrendered and were taken into custody.

According to Cleaver (1968c), he and Hutton surrendered after they threw their guns outside the house on the orders of the police officers. He has stated that the surrender took place in the following manner:

They shot firebombs into the cellar, turning it into a raging inferno, and we could not stand the heat, could not breathe the hot air with lungs already raw from the tear gas. We had to get out of there, to flee from certain death to face whatever awaited us outside. I called out to the Pigs and told them we were coming out. They said to throw out the guns; I was lying beneath a window, so Little Bobby passed me the rifle and I threw it outside, still lying on my back. Then Little Bobby helped me to my feet and we tumbled through the door. There were pigs in the windows above us in the house next door, with guns pointed at us. They told us not to move, to raise our hands. This we did, and an army of pigs ran up from the street. They started kicking and cursing us, but we were already beyond any pain, beyond feeling. (p. 27)

Cleaver added:

The Pigs told us to stand up. Little Bobby Hutton helped me to my feet. The pigs pointed to a squad car parked in the middle of the street and told us to run to it. I told them that I couldn’t run. Then they snatched Little Bobby away from me and shoved him forward, telling him to run to the car. It was sickening sight. Little Bobby, coughing and choking on the night air that was burning his lungs as my own were burning from the tear gas, stumbled forward as best he could, and after he traveled about ten yards the Pigs cut loose on him with their guns, and then they turned to me. But before they could get into anything, the black people in the neighborhood who had been drawn to the site by the gunfire and commotion
began yelling at them, calling the pigs murderers, telling them to leave me alone. (p. 27)

Thus, in the initial version of his story about the shootout, Cleaver reported that the police ambushed the Black Panthers. He also said that both he and Hutton were beaten after they were taken into custody.

In the second version of his story about the shootout, Cleaver stated that he attempted to ambush a police officer. After an interview with Cleaver, Kate Coleman (1998) reported:

I found him mostly defensive, deliberately obfuscating until I pressed him on the questions I cared about; then he would surprise me and answer with stunning clarity. Yes, he finally said he did ambush the Oakland cop that night in 1968--the action that led to the shooting death of Bobby Hutton. (pp. 8-9)

This guerrilla warfare version is supported by David Hilliard (Hilliard & Cole, 1993).

In his autobiography titled *This Side of Glory*, David Hilliard credited Eldridge Cleaver with coming up with the plan to engage in guerrilla warfare against the Oakland Police Department on April 6, 1968. Hilliard has paraphrased Cleaver as follows:

This is the plan. We’ll transport a cache of guns from my house to West Oakland, catch a policeman on the way, and gun him down. Bobby will stay home. The next day he can explain what happened to the people. We’ll set an example of organized violence, establish ourselves as true leadership, show people how to act. (Hilliard & Cole, 1993, p. 182)

Hilliard recalled:

I argue with Eldridge. And fear’s not the only reason: I don’t feel like sacrificing my life for something I don’t believe in. We’re not trained guerrilla fighters. Half these guys don’t know how to hit the same of a barn. This is spontaneous and absolutely crazy. (p. 183)

Hilliard said he spent the daylight hours of April 6, 1968 trying to talk Cleaver out of the plan, but could not.
According to Hilliard, he tried to get Cleaver to cancel his guerrilla warfare plan.

He told Cleaver:

That’s totally in opposition to Huey’s mandate. . . . Huey thinks that’s crazy--and he’s the leader of the Party. The only thing gonna come from that is people getting hurt or killed. Besides, you’re talking about doing this in West Oakland, which is insane because I know that area, it’s my neighborhood, and there are hundreds of cops there. They’re all waiting for something to jump off and they’ll destroy us. (Hilliard & Cole, 1993, p. 184)

Cleaver proceeded to pulled rank on Hilliard to curtail his dissension. Hilliard has written that he and Bobby Hutton were the only two members of Cleaver’s cadre who expressed doubts about the plan:

But Eldridge won’t listen. For him the action will be the revolutionary spark he’s been waiting for.

“Well, you’re not in charge of the Party,” Eldridge answers. “Bobby is. You’re only third in command. Bobby is first. And I’m second.”

“That’s right,” I say. “That’s exactly right. And I’ll do what the majority says. But, Eldridge, you won’t get one cop. You’ll get hundreds of cops.”

It’s no good.

And there’s no one else to deter him. Melvin’s not involved; Bobby Seale stays out of the argument. Eldridge is the leader and the guys he has assembled itch for a confrontation. My only ally is Li’l Bobby. As the day wears on Eldridge’s plan becomes inexorable. This thing is really going to happen, I think, while at the same time the possibility that we’ll be in the streets, waging our war, seems incredible. (p. 184)

Hilliard continued:

Li’l Bobby comes up.

“What do you think he asks me. I think it’s crazy, Bobby. Pigs all over. We talk about guys armed with discipline and ideology, not some crazies going around shooting up the town like a bunch of drunken cowboys. Besides, Huey has said it’s wrong.”

Even as I speak the words I’m divided because if everyone else goes along with this plan, I’ll have no choice. I feel like I’m in a dream, moving against my will to a place I don’t want to be.

“Well,” Li’l Bobby says, “I’m with you on this, I’m gonna do what you and Huey say. I’m not going along with anything but that.” (p. 184)
Hilliard and Cleaver held a meeting with a pre-selected group of Black Panthers about the impending guerrilla activity.

Hilliard has provided some important details about the meeting. Although Cleaver used the meeting to continue to assert his authority, Hilliard once again tried to cancel the proposed guerrilla warfare action. He made the following statement regarding that meeting and his interaction with Cleaver:

“Eldridge,” I say, “I think this stuff is really not going to cut it.”
We argue again. I can’t express everything in my mind. I’m thinking, for instance, that Eldridge is turning into his personal vendetta--against Reagan and the California Adult Authority--into Party policy. I also believe he’s acting on a need to prove himself: both Huey and D.C. have demonstrated their commitment to revolutionary action, and Eldridge has yet to join their rank. This will give him the opportunity. (Hilliard & Cole, 1993, p. 185)

Hilliard made a final appeal to Eldridge Cleaver to cancel the proposed action just before the car caravan took off:

Eldridge relents. Why don’t we take a vote?
The cadre crowd around on the street. We stand by the car. Eldridge explains the options. The faces nod. The vote ends before it begins. Without Huey’s presence or Bobby’s objections no one can resist the power of Eldridge's logic.

“All right?” Eldridge asks me.
No, I want to say. No, it’s not all right, it’s not all right at all. But I can’t. I’m in leadership; I don’t want to lose the respect of the comrades. I will abide by the will of the majority. The Party has given me life and I have sworn my loyalty to the organization. The Party is family. You don’t pick and choose; you either belong or not. I can’t cut myself off from it now. (p. 186)

In the end, both David Hilliard and Bobby Hutton took part in Cleaver’s guerrilla warfare plan. In the case of David Hilliard and Bobby Hutton, the result was a prison sentence for Hilliard and death for Hutton. Cleaver and two policemen were wounded during the shootout.17
The event led the California Adult Authority to revoke Cleaver’s parole and he was returned to the California Prison Medical Center in Vacaville to carry out the remainder of his term. However, Judge Raymond Sherwin of Solano County Superior Court overruled the California Adult Authority and released Cleaver on a writ of habeas corpus. In his decision, Sherwin stated that Cleaver had been a model parolee and was being held because of his pursuit of political goals. While he was free on a writ of habeas corpus, Cleaver fled in exile to Cuba to avoid going back to prison in November 1968. He eventually returned to the USA in 1975 and reached a plea bargain agreement about the prior charges (Parks, 1970; Oliver, 1977).

During the 1990s, several former Black Panthers made statements accusing Cleaver of being responsible for Hutton’s death, including Huey P. Newton, William Brent, Jimmy Slater, and David Hilliard. Elaine Brown (1992), a former chairman of the Black Panther Party and former editor of its official organ, *The Black Panther*, stated that Huey P. Newton believed that Eldridge Cleaver was responsible for coming up with the plan to conduct guerrilla warfare on April 6, 1968. Brown quoted Huey P. Newton with making the following statement to David Hilliard: “This is actually . . . funny . . . when you think about it. I mean the idea of Eldridge wanting to ‘get down.’ I guess that’s how Bobby Hutton ended up dead” (p. 244).

In his autobiography titled *Long Time Gone*, Brent (1996), a former captain in the Black Panther Party, stated the following:

Earlier that year, in April [1968], right after the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination, Eldridge Cleaver had organized a group of like-minded Panthers—including David Hilliard—to go out and find some cops to shoot in revenge for King’s murder. A shootout between the Cleaver gang and the Oakland police took place on Twenty-eighth and Union Streets, in a quiet black residential section of West Oakland. Two policemen were wounded. Cleaver and
seventeen-year-old Bobby Hutton took refuge in the basement of a house, which the police fired on and teargassed mercilessly. After a half hour, the two besieged Panthers came out of the basement with their hands in the air. Eldridge was starked naked. (p. 124)

Brent added:

What really happened then may never be known: One version is that Hutton stumbled on his way to the patrol car and the police opened fire on him. The official version is that Hutton tried to make a break for it and was gunned down. Whatever happened, I, and many other people, hold Eldridge Cleaver directly responsible for Little Bobby Hutton’s death because he organized the confrontation with police on Twenty-eighth Street for no other reason that impatience with Huey’s refusal to endorse reckless attacks on the police in response to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. (p. 124)

William Brent skyjacked an airplane from San Francisco to Havana, Cuba in 1969. He lived in that country as an expatriate until his death in 2006.

It is important to note that on the dust jacket of Times Book’ first edition of Brent’s book, David Hilliard wrote: “Bill Brent’s Long Time Gone is a powerful testimony to the triumph of the human spirit. It tells an important--and previously untold—story” (Brent, 1996, back cover, quoting Hilliard). Charles E. Jones and Judson L. Jeffries (1998) have credited David Hilliard with writing frankly in his autobiography regarding the April 6, 1968 Oakland shootout. Jones and Jeffries stated:

David Hilliard’s candid autobiography revealed early signs of the tactical conflict that materialized in the so-called “Battle of 28th Street” that led to the death of Bobby Hutton, a teenage Panther and early recruit of the Party. Hilliard recounted how Eldridge Cleaver aggressively persuaded a group of Panthers to ambush Oakland police officers in retaliation for the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. (p. 40).

Another person who has blamed Eldridge Cleaver for Bobby Hutton’s death was Jimmy Slater, a former rank and file member of the Black Panther Party.

Slater participated in an in-depth interview session with Charles E. Jones. During the interview, Slater stated:
Eldridge Cleaver was one of the biggest contradictions in the Black Panther Party. When we were heading into the political arena, and he was out hollering and screaming these militaristic ideas, it was so counterrevolutionary until all it did was damage the Black Panther Party. The vast majority of the people in the community accepted what Eldridge Cleaver said, as though it represented the major body of the Black Panther Party, and it really didn’t. It wasn’t the idea of the vast majority of the Black Panther Party. Also, Eldridge pushed this militaristic line all the way to the hilt. I mean he got Bobby [Hutton] killed. (Quoted in Jones, 1p. 152)

Slater made it clear that he believed Cleaver pushed the paramilitary approach in the organization. Likewise, Slater also made it clear that he believed Cleaver got Hutton killed.

Prior to the 1990s, Reginald Major (1971) observed that the aftermath of the April 6, 1968 shootout included a “pile of testimony, statements, repudiated confessions, fleeting impressions and eyewitness accounts of the shoot-out” (p. 187). Major noted that Terry Cotton, Warren Wells, and Charles Bursey provided

. . . three confessions [that] were similar in that they were in two parts. The original statements generally described alleged Panther activities immediately before the shoot-out. The second set of confessions, delivered hours later, all uniformly identified Eldridge Cleaver as the prime architect of the incident. (p. 189)

According to Major, Terry Cotton’s original statement identified Cleaver as saying: “let’s go out and scout around, and if the cops stop us we’ll have a shot [sic] out with them” (Major, 1971, p. 189, quoting Cotton). In his second statement, Terry Cotton stated, “I seem to remember hearing Cleaver say something like let’s kill one of them” (Major, 1971, p. 189, quoting Cotton). Major said that Terry Cotton’s second statement said that “Cleaver wanted to go out and kill a policeman for nothing” (p. 189, quoting Cotton). Major also stated that Terry Cotton’s second statement related that “Cleaver . . . started
shooting at Jensen and Darnell as soon as the police car appeared” (p. 189, quoting Cotton).

Major (1971) related that Warren Wells “identified Cleaver as the ring leader, while claiming noncomplicity in the shooting” (p. 189). Major added that Wendell Wade “also implicated Cleaver, identifying him as the person who organized the patrol, and who had issued automatic weapons to Panthers” (p. 190). Major reported that Terry Cotton, Warren Wells, and Wendell Wade all repudiated their confessions and statements after being released on bail.

In his book, Seale (1968) outlined his whereabouts and activities on April 6, 1968. Seale wrote that in the late afternoon, “I asked Eldridge that since he was going to David’s house, to drop me off at the church. I then left with Father Neil in his car” (p. 233). Seale stated:

After I was introduced to Father Neil’s family, we sat down and ate. We were talking about the Party and the Party’s philosophy. Father Neil was in a clergyman’s organization that was set up so that whenever there was a disturbance in the community, this little group—a minister, a lawyer, and a doctor—would be taken to the trouble. Each group had a section of the city that it was assigned to. The organization had been set up for quite a while. Father Neil got a phone call and all of a sudden he jumped up and said that we had to go, that they were shooting at somebody. His wife asked where he was going, and he said, “There’s a shoot-out going on somewhere. The police attacked somebody and shot two or three people.” (p. 234)

He continued:

We jumped in the car and drove all the way up Berkeley where the switchboard office was. They said the shoot-out was between Panthers and police on Twenty-eighth Street in Oakland. . . . I got as much information as I could and then I told Father Neil I wanted to go down there. The other ministers started saying that they didn’t think we should. Then, information came over the radio that the shoot-out was over, and that they had all been arrested and that Bobby Hutton was shot (at that point they didn’t say he was dead). It also said David Hilliard had been arrested and two or three other Panthers had been shot. (p. 234)
Seale further added:

I went to my father-in-law’s house. I began to think about everything I could, about what had happened, and how to go about getting the brothers some political defense. Father Neil called me up about two hours later, about 2:30 or 3:30 in the morning and told me that Bobby Hutton had been killed. He told me that Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Hutton had somehow been forced into a house. As they were coming out of the house, Bobby had his hands up, but they shot him in the head. Eldridge and I had been spotted twice by cops in the white car that day. We saw them looking at us and carrying on. I really felt that they shot Bobby Hutton thinking they were shooting me. (p. 235)

Following the April 6, 1968 Oakland shootout, Marine (1960) stated that a Black Panther official told him, “The pigs murdered Li’l Bobby and they wanted bad to murder Eldridge--that is all there is to it” (p. 136).

When the April 6, 1968 shootout took place, there were two Black officers present among an estimated 50 policemen who took part. The two Black officers were uniform members of the Oakland Police Department. One of those two was Gwynne Walker Peirson. The other person was Eugene Ralph Jennings (Peirson, 1971).

During March 1971, Peirson completed a thesis in partial satisfaction of the requirements for a M. A. degree in criminology at the University of California, Berkeley. His thesis was titled, *The Role of the Black Officer in Changing Police Behavior*. In his thesis, Peirson (1971) detailed that which he witnessed on the night of April 6, 1968. Peirson said that he and the other Black officer witnessed the killing of Hutton from different vantage points and they gave similar statements to department officials charged with investigating the killing of Bobby Hutton. He wrote:

Both officers stated that they observed Cleaver come out of the basement of the house and proceed to the front with his hands in the air. They both further stated that Cleaver was followed by Bobby Hutton, who also had his hands in the air. The two black officers then reported that they observed a group of police officers surround the two suspects and start shoving them. One of the black officers, who viewed the incident from the vantage point of a roof directly across the street from
where the subsequent killing of Hutton took place, stated that he observed the officers kicking Hutton. Both black officers then stated that because of the physical contact between Hutton and the officers, and also because Hutton was walking with his hands in the air at the time, he stumbled while walking and brought his hands down. When his hands came down there was a series of six to nine shots and Bobby Hutton was killed. In their statements, both officers denied that Bobby Hutton made any attempt to escape before being shot. (pp. 20-21)

According to Peirson, all police officers who admitted to being at the scene of the killing were later questioned by a team consisting of representatives from the Oakland Police Department and the Alameda County District Attorney’s office.

Peirson (1971) noted that a shorthand stenographer was present to record the interrogations of all police officers who admitted to being at the scene of the killing. About a month later the Grand Jury received selected statements from the team. Additionally, several White police officers were called to testify before the Grand Jury, including Robert Fredericks, Carlton Owen Brown, and Robert Coffman. On the basis of the statements and the testimony of those White police officers, the Grand Jury “found that Bobby Hutton was killed while trying to escape and that therefore his death was ‘justifiable homicide” (Quoted in Peirson, 1971, p. 20). Peirson related that:

Neither of the two black officers were called to testify before the Grand Jury, and neither of their statements were seen by that jury. In fact, at the time Grand Jury was hearing testimony in this case, neither of those officers’ statements had been transcribed from shorthand. (p. 21)

With regard to the behavior of the investigation team, Peirson concluded that, “This casual and callous disregard toward the impartial presentation of facts in an investigation is viewed by many black officers as damning evidence that there is an almost total disregard for not only the rights of black people, but for the feelings of these people”
Peirson, a Tuskegee airman, later went on to earn both a M.A. and Ph.D. in criminology from the University of California, Berkeley and became a criminology professor at Howard University and a Department of Justice consultant.18

In 2005, Eugene Ralph Jennings, the second Black officer present at the scene, released a copy of his 1968 statement which dovetails with Peirson. His statement was actually an April 10, 1968 interview of Jennings conducted by several people, including a Mr. Hederman, a Lt. Verwer, and a Sgt. Fugler. Jennings informed the interviewers that he saw Hutton and Cleaver get beaten and pushed by several White police officers before Hutton was shot. Jennings told the interviewers that after Hutton and Cleaver surrendered and were taken into custody, “Well, they were beating, you know, Hutton, and Cleaver, you know, with the guns and pushing them out to the street” (p. 5). During the interview, Jennings reiterated that he saw Hutton and Cleaver “being physically forced to the street” (p. 14).

Eugene Ralph Jennings (1968) made it clear to the interviewers that he never saw Hutton and Cleaver offer any type of resistance once they were taken into custody, including any attempts to flee. He reported that the White police officers had surrounded Hutton in a semicircle. Before the first police officer opened fire, Jennings said that he saw Hutton stumble. He told the investigators that: “Well, it appeared from where I was standing that he was stumbling because he was in a very precarious position as far as his body was concerned. I don’t believe it would be very conducive to running” (p. 14). Other police officers quickly opened fire too with a volley of shots that tore into the body of Hutton. One of the investigators asked Jennings, “Did you hear anybody say, ‘Watch out, he’s got a gun,’ or anything like that?” Jennings responded: “No, I didn’t. At the
time the officer next to me turned to me and said, ‘Oh my God, I hope he had a gun,’ and apparently he didn’t hear it either” (p. 16). Both Jennings and Peirson took the position that there was no justification for the police officers to shoot Hutton.19

Of the 50 or more police officers involved in the April 6, 1968 shoot-out, the three who fired shots at Hutton were Patrol Robert Fredericks, Patrolman Robert Allan Coffman, and Patrolman Owen Carlton Brown, according to statements published by Marine (1969) and Major (1971). Fredericks and Coffman were Oakland police officers. Brown was an Emeryville police officer. Fredericks reported that he fired two shots at Hutton. Brown said he fired one shot. Coffman stated that he fired three shots. Although the White police officers who testified mainly attempted to justify killing Hutton by saying he was running away, a number of revealing statements emerged, as Marine (1969) has pointed out. For instance, Officer Jerry Noble, one of the policemen present when Hutton was shot, remarked, “I think everyone was a little keyed up. I know I was after crawling around that house” (Quoted in Marine, 1969, p. 170).

The official certificate of death of Bobby Hutton states that his immediate cause of death was “shock and hemorraghe due to or as a consequence of gunshot wounds” (County of Alameda, 1968, p. 1). It also says that Hutton’s injury occurred because he “was involved in gunfight with police, arrested and broke free and ran. Failed to halt on command and was shot by several police officers. Alcohol: absent” (p. 1). The coroner concluded that Hutton’s death was a matter of “lawful homicide” (p. 1). Contrary to the conclusions of the coroner, the evidence suggests that keyed up police officers took the life of Hutton who made no attempt to flee after he was taken into custody. If Fredericks, Coffman, and Brown were truthful in their reports about the number of bullets they fired
at him, Hutton was hit struck at least six times at close range and had no chance to
survive. The evidence is clear that the police officers sought to kill Hutton when they
fired their weapons. Even if a command to halt was issued, there is compelling evidence
that the police officers could have tackled Hutton or shot to wound him in the legs, as
Marine (1969) has pointed out. Instead, they chose to shoot him in his upper body and
kill him.20

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This paper has briefly examined the life and times of Bobby Hutton with special
reference to his socialization as a member of the Black Panther Party. It has used the
case study method to examine Hutton’s early family life, his socialization in the Black
Panther Party before May 1967, and his participation in two colossal events of the Black
Panther Party. One colossal event was the May 2, 1967 California legislature armed
protest demonstration which led to Hutton being arrested and charged with a
misdemeanor to commit conspiracy. The other colossal event was the April 6, 1968
shootout which led Hutton to become one of the first Black Panthers to die when he was
shot a total of six times by these three White policemen: Robert Fredericks, a patrolman
with the Oakland Police Department; Robert Allan Coffman, a patrolman with the
Oakland Police Department; and Owen Carlton Brown, a patrolman with the Emeryville
Police Department.

The ideas of Emile Durkheim (1956) and Dennis Wrong (1961) on socialization
and conformity provide insight regarding Bobby Hutton's participation in the April 6,
1968 Oakland shootout colossal event. As George Ritzer (1983) pointed out, “Education
and socialization were defined by Durkheim as the processes by which the individual
learns the ways of a given group or society--acquires the physical, intellectual, and, most important to Durkheim, moral tools needed to function in society” (p. 114). Durkheim has been criticized for leading some people to believe that the individual is one who is almost wholly controlled from without, i.e. a total conformist. However, Durkheim did not subscribe to such an extreme view of the individual. In fact, Durkheim wrote, “Conformity must not be pushed to the point where it completely subjugates the intellect. Thus it does not follow from a belief in the need for discipline that it must be blind and slavish” (Quoted in Ritzer, 1983, p. 115).

In conclusion, Bobby Hutton’s socialization in the Black Panther Party did not lead to conformity that completely subjugated the intellect. Similarly, Hutton’s belief in the need for discipline in the Black Panther Party was not blind and slavish. In his autobiography, Hilliard has made it clear that Hutton’s conformity with Cleaver's guerrilla warfare plan did not completely subjugate his intellect. Hilliard has also made it clear that Hutton’s belief in the need for discipline was not blind and slavish. Hutton raised issues about Cleaver’s guerrilla warfare plan to Hilliard, but the constraints on the inside of the Black Panther Party led both Hutton and Hilliard to participate in the ill-fated colossal event of April 6, 1968.

Within the Black Panther Party, members were socialized to follow the orders of the chain of command. Hence, Eldridge Cleaver was able to pull rank on Hutton and Hilliard when they objected to the guerrilla warfare plan of April 6, 1968. Consistent with what Dennis Wrong (1961) referred to as the “oversocialized conception,” Bobby Hutton and his mentor David Hilliard may have felt coerced by Cleaver into doing something they did not want to do. The attitudes of Hutton and Hilliard toward Cleaver's
plan support Wrong’s view that socialization can never completely wipe out one’s innate drive for security.

Further, both Hutton and Hilliard faced the problem of two different socializing influences contradicting each other. On the one hand, Newton had issued a command for cadre not to engage in guerrilla warfare. Newton had reasoned that the Black community would attain an unacceptable number of losses by engaging in spontaneous rioting. Following Newton’s directive, Seale gave a press conference at the Oakland Police Department wherein he encouraged members of the Black community to refrain from spontaneous rioting. On the other hand, Cleaver wanted the cadre to ignore Newton. Clearly, Hutton and Hilliard were pushed this way and that way and forced to make personal judgments and decisions in unanticipated situations. Hutton’s personal history may have influenced his course of action on April 6, 1968. He was a 17-year-old under the leadership of a 33-year-old internationally known personality, namely Eldridge Cleaver.

Bobby Hutton has passed on into history as a martyr to the cause of the Black Panther Party. He was one of the first members of the Black Panther Party to die and one of the youngest members at the time. Hutton was also the second person in his family of orientation to die. As the days of the 21st century unfold, Hutton’s supreme sacrifice continues to be remembered by his former comrades and his kinfolk. Likewise, Hutton’s supreme sacrifice continues to be remembered by many Black men, women, and children of his generation in the general public as a bold example of courage in the face of a powerful opposition.
NOTES

1 The ideas expressed in this part of the paper draw heavily on Mills (1959).


3 The first official member of the Black Panther Party to die was Arthur Glen Morris, who was also known as Arthur Coltrale. He was a sibling of Alprentice “Bunchy” Carter and a member of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party which was initially established by Carter in January 1968. Morris died under mysterious circumstances. Cf. Cannick (2008); Bukari (2010); “Black Panthers,” 1970; and Epstein (1971).

4 For important discussions of socialization, see Durkheim (1956) and Parsons and Bales (1956). For a typology of culture which divides nonmaterial culture into ideas and norms, see Bierstedt (1963).

5 Hilliard and Coles (1993) spelled her first name Dolly, but it was actually spelled Dollie. Her name was spelled Dollie on the death certificate of her son Bobby Hutton, her daughter Josephine Joyce Hutton, and her own death certificate (County of Alameda, 1960, 1968, 1994). Mary Barginear, a former sister-in-law of Bobby Hutton, helped to identify each sibling of Bobby Hutton and their birth order. Mary Barginear Hutton Champion was married to David Hutton, the brother of Bobby Hutton. I conducted the interview with Mary Barginear by telephone on April 4, 2012. At the time of the interview, I was in Pittsburg, California and she was in Stockton, California (Mary Barginear, personal communication, April 4, 2012).

6 For a discussion of the term running partner, see Joseph L. White (1999). On January 19, 1999, White presented a speech at Kennesaw State College on his co-authored Black Man Emerging. The speech has been made available by C-SPAN Archives. In their co-authored book, White and Cones (1999) have a chapter titled, "The Role of the Peer Group," which offers a discussion of other terms that are synonymous with running partner, including “Brothers,” “Cuzes,” “Road Dogs,” “Homeboys,” and “Bloods.”

7 Cf. Hugh Pearson (1994) and Melvin Newton (Marine, 1969), Bobby Seale (1970), and Huey P. Newton (1973). Pearson (1994) stated that Hutton was “typical of the earliest Party members” (p. 112). Pearson added: “Hutton would go to school, get kicked out, go back, and kicked out again. He wasn’t very articulate, and he often got in trouble with the police on petty charges” (p. 112). Melvin Newton made the following statement to Marine (1969) about Huey P. Newton: “He saw the Panthers . . . as a potential mass movement, something that the Lumpenproletariat could relate to. Huey had a lot of confidence in the Lumpenproletariat; he believed it could be rallied to its own cause. And he could see things in long-range terms. He even foresaw the creation of the National Advisory Cabinet of the Black Panther Party, which has just now been set up; he foresaw that intellectuals would relate positively to the Panther Party” (p. 37).
9 Cf. Stokely Carmichael (1971), who was also known as Kwame Ture, stated: “In 1965 I organized the first Black Panther Party in this country in Lowndes County, Alabama. It was a party organized around a political platform of black independent politics with guns. When I went to California in 1966, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale came to me and asked me if they could organize a Black Panther Party in the Bay area. I agreed to that. I left the country and went traveling around. When I came back to the country Huey P. Newton had been shot and jailed. I had heard about it when I was in Tanzania. We had a rally in Tanzania for Huey, because I had always been impressed with the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party and always had a great deal of respect for him” (p. 187). For an important statement on how the original Black Panther Party was organized in Lowndes County in Alabama, see John Hulett (1966).

10 Bobby Hutton was involved with several major actions of the young organization, including the protests concerning the police shooting of Denzil Dowell, the protests regarding the Mulford Act, and the selling of Mao’s book at the University of California, Berkeley. In April 1967, Richmond, California police shot and killed Denzil Dowell, a 22-year-old Black man. The family contacted the Black Panthers for assistance and his brother George Dowell eventually joined the Black Panther Party (Newton, 1973, 1996; Seale, 1970; “George Dowell,” 1967).

11 During the time frame from the Summer of 1966 to the Spring of 1968, some of the ego quality tasks and activities of Bobby Hutton were characterized by adapting his sense of self to pubertal changes, making occupational choices, achieving adult like sexual identity, and searching for new values (Seale, 1970; Newton, 1973; Hilliard & Cole, 1993).

12 To get the official Black Panther Party position on the California legislature armed protest demonstration, see “The Truth,” (1967) that statement, discussed the April 1, 1967 killing of Denzil Dowell age 22, by a member of the Contra Costa County Sheriff's Department force; the April 18, 1967 unarmed visit by Black Panthers to Richmond D. A. Nejedly; the April 19, 1967 meeting with Sheriff Young and Undersheriff Ramsey; and the May 2, 1967 armed protest demonstration in Sacramento. The statement also declared: “What was clear from the appearance of armed black men at the capitol is that blacks are no longer ruled by fear, that not only are blacks still ready to die but now they are ready to kill” (p. 5). The statement continued: “From another point of view the hysterical resolution of the legislature was ludicrous, because of the Black Panthers had come to the capitol with evil intentions, there would have been a lot of dead oops and legislators. The Panthers are an organization dedicated to defending Black people from the wanton aggression of the cope on particular and this white racist society in general. Huey P. Newton, our Minister of Defense, sent a delegation of the capitol to deliver a message to black people, to warn them of the enveloping fascistic trend of this sick white society we live in. Black people received the message and history has been altered. A new standard has been altered. A new standard has been raised. A new challenge has
been thrown out to black people. The trumped up charged which have been lodged against the bombard of the delegation are a joke when compared to the lesson black people have drawn from that beautiful day. Let beauty burst forth like the first rays of the sun” (p. 5).

13 As was pointed out in another paper on the Black Panther Party, I first heard of the Black Panther Party on May 2, 1967 when a Huntley-Brinkley news broadcast covered the colossal event. I was 12 years-old at the time. See Cromartie (2008a, 2008b). Two rank-and-file members of the Black Panther Party have reported that they also first heard of the Black Panther Party on or around May 2, 1967. See Billy X (2012) and McCutchen (2008). In a short autobiographical article, Jennings (2002) has explained why he joined the Black Panther Party at the age of 17 in 1968.

14 For the actual bill, see Murphy (1967a).

15 Elaine Brown (1992) has written that the Black Panther Party had a “party line,” a “mass line,” and a “bottom line” (p. 277). Brown explained that, “There was the ‘mass line,’ and there was the ‘party line,’ and there was the bottom line, which was the vision of Huey P. Newton” (p. 277). The term party line referred to a phenomenon wherein members of the Black Panther Party were exposed to information that may or may not have been circulated among non-members. It may be true that the majority of the members of the Black Panther Party may have been exposed to the version that the cadre under Cleaver had ambushed the two policemen. In contrast, the term mass line referred to a phenomenon wherein members of the organization interacting with non-members were expected to shed the best possible light on social issues that were important to the organization. Sometimes, the mass line was used by the Black Panther Party to present outright concoctions to the public-at-large. At other times, the Black Panther Party utilized the mass line to mask the fallout from intra-organizational strife. Doubtlessly, the party line, mass line, and bottom line came into play during the aftermath of the April 6, 1968 colossal event. Further, Brown noted that she joined the Black Panther Party about two weeks after Hutton’s death. She had first been recruited on April 7, 1968, the night following the shoot-out in Oakland, to help the injured Warren Wells find sanctuary and medical attention in Los Angeles. For the official Party line of the Black Panther Party on the shootout, see “Panthers Ambushed,” (1968).

16 Cf. Michael Harris (1968) who reported: “Howe interviewed an agent who penetrated the Black Panthers for a law-enforcement organization. The man concluded, not surprisingly, that the party’s ability to screen out potential spies was “not the best.” He characterized the men’s marksmanship as poor, the quality and quantity of their weapons as inadequate and the financial burdens of replacing lost weapons, raising bail fees and paying legal costs as backbreaking. On April 6 alone, police said they seized three shotguns, five rifles, three automatic rifles and two automatic pistols. “The night of the shoot-out the Panthers behaved rather badly,” the agent said. “They broke and ran and left guns and ammunition scattered over half of West Oakland. This doesn’t mean they are cowardly. It does mean that they’ve had no training and, like most people everywhere, they really don’t care much to get killed--or even shoot at police” (p. 17).

47
As Sara Blackburn (1971) has pointed out, Charles Bursey and Warren Wells were two other Black Panthers convicted of charges related to the April 6, 1968 shootout. Both Bursey and Wells were charged with two counts of attempted murder and two counts of assault with a deadly weapon. Bursey was found guilty on two counts of attempted murder and two counts of assault with a deadly weapon. Wells was found guilty on two counts of assault with a deadly weapon. In both cases, Charles Garry served as the lead Black Panther lawyer and Frank Vukota represented the Alameda County District Attorney. However, Hayward Burns (1971) has noted that the cases of Bursey and Wells demonstrate the difficulty of Black Panther lawyers to obtain a constitutionally guaranteed jury representative of a "fair cross section of the community" (p. xiii). For some of the trial transcripts of the Bursey and Wells cases, see “The People of the State of California vs. Charles Bursey” (1971) and “The People of the State of California vs. Warren Wells” (1971). The Spring 1999 issue of *It’s About Time* provided information on Wells (1999) and Terry Cotton (“Where Are They,” 1999), another Black Panther who was involved in the shootout.

For some background information on Gwynne Peirson, see Staats (2007) and “Gwynne Peirson,” 1991. For his thesis and dissertation, see Peirson (1971, 1977). Peirson repeated some of the statements in his dissertation that were made about the killing of Hutton in his thesis. In 1971, Peirson’s received some press attention for taking the position that Hutton’s killing was unjustified. For example, see Waugh (1971). Waugh reported that Peirson informed him that Hutton was killed not because he broke and ran but because police “got out of control” (p. 1). Although Peirson told Waugh that he did not think it was a case of murder, he said that the police were “all worked up for various reasons. They were getting ready to do almost anything” (p. 20).

For more information about the statement of Eugene Ralph Jennings, see Carlton-Wyatt, Matisons, Cabiness, & Jennings (2005a, 2005b).

On the right and the left of this country’s political spectrum, some writers have published errors regarding the details of the April 6, 1968 Oakland shoot-out colossal event. Anthony Pinkney (1976) erroneously reported that: “Two days after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., on April 4, 1968, the Oakland police opened fire on a house where a Panther meeting was being held. The attack was unprovoked, and as two Panther officials left the house with their hands in the air, the police opened fire on them. Bobby Hutton, the first person to join the party after Newton and Seale, was killed, and Eldridge Cleaver was wounded” (p. 104). In one of his earlier articles dealing with the April 6, 1968 shoot-out, Gene Marine (1968a) erroneously reported that: “At least 50 police had trapped a handful of black men in an Oakland basement. They poured in tear gas, and they called on the black men to surrender. One of the tear gas canisters hit Eldridge Cleaver in the shoulder and exploded, and his companions tore his clothes off to see whether he was burned. When they decided to surrender, Cleaver left his clothes off, and urged his companions also to go out naked—so that there could be no question of concealed weapons” (p. 50). In a second early article, Marine (1968b) erroneously
reported: “Pursued by cops who were determined to get at least Eldridge, the eight took
refuge in the basement of a house, and the cops laid siege. There were at least 50 cops;
machine guns bullets tore out part of the wall of the house, so heavy was their fire. The
Panthers were afraid to surrender; they knew that some of them, at least, would be shot
“trying to escape.” But a tear gas canister hit Eldridge Cleaver in the shoulder and
exploded. They didn’t know at first what it was, and his companions frantically tore his
clothes off to see whether he was more seriously injured (a bullet had already torn into
his foot). His nakedness gave Eldridge an idea; there must be, he reasoned, reporters and
spectators on the scene by now. If the eight went out naked, the cops couldn’t claim that
they thought the Panthers had guns or that they shot in self-defense. The other Panthers
agreed that nakedness might be their only chance, and in the besieged basement, their
eyes streaming from the tear gas, seven of them took off their clothes. . . . 17-year-old
Bobby Hutton didn’t” (p. 223). In both articles, Marine (1968a, 1968b) was especially
incorrect regarding the number of Black Panthers trapped together in the basement of the
house located at 1218–28th Street. Further, on the right of the political spectrum, the
conservative Epstein (1971) reluctantly admitted in a hit piece against the Black Panther
Party that “there are two cases in which Black Panthers were killed by policemen whose
lives were not being directly threatened by those men. These are the cases of Hutton,
who was shot while allegedly running from the scene of a ninety-minute gun battle in
which three policemen had been wounded, and Hampton, who was apparently hit by
stray bullets in a reckless and uncontrolled fusillade” (p. 77).

21 Less than one month after Hutton’s death, Huey P. Newton published a tribute to him
in The Black Panther. Newton (1968) wrote: “Lil Bobby was the beginning—the very
first member of the Black Panther Party. He gave not only his finances, but he gave
himself. He placed himself in the service of his people and asked nothing in return, not
even a needle nor a piece of thread. He asked neither for security nor high office; but, he
demeaned those things that are the birth right of all men: Dignity and Freedom. He
demanded this not only for himself but also for his people” (p. 1). He added: “Like a
bright ray of light moving across the sky, Lil Bobby came into our lives and showed us
the beauty of our people. He was a living example of an infinite love for his people and
for freedom. Now he has moved on and his memory, the example he showed us must
serve as that spark which lights our way and leads us on in the struggle for life, dignity,
and freedom” (p. 1). Newton further stated: “We salute Lil Bobby and his family for
what they have given us. He was the beginning of the Party. Let us make his thinking,
his desires for his people become a way of life” (p. 1).

22 On September 17, 1960, a man had an epilepsy attack and drove into a yard and hit
four girls and one boy on Center Street in Oakland. One of the girls was Josephine Joyce
Hutton who died from injuries. The other three girls were her sister Judy Hutton and
neighbors Gwendolyn Bell Lewis and Pat Munson. The lone boy struck by the car was
her nephew Billy Goree. An insurance company reached a settlement with the Hutton
family which allowed them to purchase a home at 858—65th Street in Oakland. Hutton’s
parents were living in the home at the time of his death. The incident regarding the death
of Josephine Joyce Hutton was discussed with me by Mary Barginear. As mentioned
above, Mary Barginear was a sister-in-law of Bobby Hutton and was once married to his brother David Hutton. They were still married when Bobby Hutton died in April 1968. Mary Barginear told me that she was playing with the children during the ill-fated incident in 1960, but was not injured (personal communication, April 4, 2012). I also conducted a personal interview about the ill-fated incident with Gwendolyn Bell Lewis by telephone (personal communication, April 13, 2012). We were both in Oakland when we spoke by telephone. It should be noted that Mary Barginear and Gwendolyn Bell Lewis are blood sisters. Further, David Hilliard has disclosed that Dollie Mae Hutton became very depressed following the death of her son Bobby Hutton. Hilliard also said that his wife Pat Hilliard provided comfort and financial support to Hutton’s mother and helped to plan and organize the funeral. Reminiscing about the shootout, Hilliard remarked: “Our failed assault sparks no revolutionary upsurge--actually the ghetto rebellions end that week--but the community does rally behind us, protesting Li’l Bobby’s murder, upholding our right to self-defense. The shoot-out turns into another colossal event. Telephone calls from BSUs and community organizations flood the office, everybody wanting to start Panther chapters. The reporters and magazine writers demand unlimited interviews. Contributions soar. Suddenly we’re celebrities, a cause” (Hilliard & Cole, 1993, pp. 196-197). It should also be noted that the Hutton family eventually filed an unsuccessful lawsuit for wrongful death against the police chief of Oakland and six officers. The defendants in the lawsuit included Chief Charles R. Gain; Captain “John Doe” McCarthy; Sgt. “John Doe” Howerton; Patrolman Robert Fredericks; Patrolman Robert Alan Coffman; Patrolman John R. Schlim; and Patrolman Owen Carlton Brown. Of the eight, Brown was the police officer not from the Oakland Police Department. He was with the Emeryville Police Department. See “Slain Panther’s Kin,” 1968.

23 In 1998, the It’s About Time Committee, under the leadership of former Black Panther Bill “Billy X” Jennings, began to hold an annual commemoration in Oakland to honor the life and times of Bobby Hutton. The annual commemoration was known as “Bobby Hutton Day” until a member of the Hutton clan made an ill-advised threat to file a lawsuit against the committee. As a result, the annual commemoration was renamed the “Let Us Not Forget” event in 2012 (Claudia “Sheba” Grayson, personal communication, April 26, 2012; Bill “Billy X” Jennings, personal communication, May 6, 2012).

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The Black Panther Party and Empirical Research: 
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ABSTRACT


INTRODUCTION

During the tumultuous late 1960s and early 1970s, a body of survey research on the Black Panther Party began to emerge. On the one hand, some of the literature was produced by insiders such as Garry (1970) and the Black Panther Party (1972, 1973). On the other hand, some of that literature was produced by outsiders that included the American Civil Liberties Union (1969/1970); Market Dynamics, Inc. and ABC-TV (1970); Harris and Associates (1971, 1975); Gallup (1972); Levine, Fiddmont, Stephenson, and Wilkinson (1971, 1973); and Epstein (1971). The research generated in this body of literature was released in books (American Civil Liberties Union, 1969/1970; Garry, 1970; Harris & Associates, 1971, 1975; Gallup, 1972); newspapers (Wall Street Journal, 1970); magazines and journals (“The Black Mood,” 1970; Epstein,
1971; Levine et al., 1973); television (ABC-TV, 1970), and in special research reports (Levine et al., 1971).

This paper will present a secondary data analysis of empirical research on the Black Panther Party with special reference to the 1970 and 1971 Louis Harris surveys. This paper will discuss the two Harris surveys as snap shots of the attitudes of nationwide samples of Black people toward the Black Panther Party. In addition, it will discuss some external surveys conducted by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in 1969; Wall Street Journal in 1970; Market Dynamics, Inc. and ABC-TV in 1970; Gallup in 1970 and 1971; Daniel Levine and his colleagues in 1971; and Edward Jay Epstein in 1971. Furthermore, this paper will discuss some internal surveys conducted by the Black Panther Party in 1970 and 1972, and Charles R. Garry in 1970.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

For the purpose of analysis, this review of the literature will be divided into two the following categories: internal surveys and external surveys. Hence, it will discuss some surveys that were developed inside of the Black Panther Party as well as surveys developed outside of the Black Panther Party.

Internal Surveys

Garry (1970), a longtime lawyer for the Black Panther Party, used documents in the form of organizational records to construct what he termed a “survey” of Black Panthers killed by the police, Black Panthers arrested by the police, and bail-bond premiums paid out by the organization. According to Garry, some 28 members of the Black Panther Party were killed directly or indirectly by the police between December
1967 and December 1969. Garry related that during that same period, the Black Panther Party spent over $200,000 in bail-bond premiums.

Citing a February 21, 1970 special issue of *The Black Panther*, which included a list of dates, cities and states, names, charges or acts, bails, and dispositions statuses he titled “Evidence and Intimidation of Fascist Crimes by U.S.A.,” Garry said that between May 2, 1967 and December 25, 1969 at least 87 Black Panthers were arrested for a variety of charges that were eventually dropped. In Garry’s view, the purpose of those arrests was “to intimidate, to frighten, to remove from operations and activities the Panthers, and to hope that the hysteria against the Black Panther Party would produce convictions and imprisonments” (p. 258).

In his survey, Garry (1970) discussed the cases of Ralph Cobb, Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, David Hilliard, Frances Carter, Rose Smith, and Loretta Luckes. Likewise, he discussed the tragic deaths of Mark Clark, Fred Hampton, and Alex Rackley. When Black Panthers were involved, Garry asserted that, “constitutional rights fly out the window” (p. 261). He explained that, “. . . in the case of the Black Panthers the old rules do not apply. Any methods will be resorted to, in defiance of the constitutional rights of the Panthers, in the drive to destroy that Black Panther Party” (p. 262). Garry further explained:

But we will not sit by and allow these onslaughts on American democratic rights to continue. We have demanded that there be a special Congressional investigation of the actions of all the police departments, together with the Department of Justice and its auxiliary agents. And not by the House Committee on Un-American Activities or by the House Internal Security Committee, or whatever else such bodies call themselves, but by men and women in Congress who we feel have some integrity. There are not very many of them, unfortunately, but there are some in Congress who should do the investigating and the other work that is necessary to bring out the facts. We also intend to file a
petition with the United Nations charging violation of human rights by the
government of the United States. (p. 262)

Garry and his associates mounted many court battles as they sought to help members of
the Black Panther Party stay out of jail and prison.

In the Fall of 1972, the Black Panther Party conducted what it called a skills
survey of the membership and used a questionnaire it called a skills sheet. Although the
primary purpose of the skills survey was to identify the skills set of the membership, it
also provided other information about the respondents, including educational attainment;
student status; parole and probation status; employment history; additional skills;
unemployment benefits status; and welfare recipient status. In a report of the findings to
June Hilliard by Ericka Huggins (1972), it was said that, “The average age is 20 1/2
years. More people are 22 than any other age; in general, most comrades are between the
ages of 19-33” (p. 1).

With regard to educational attainment, that same report by Huggins (1972) further
stated that: 38 respondents were high school graduates; 20 respondents had finished 11th
grade; 5 respondents had finished 10th grade; 16 respondents had 1 year of college; 17
respondents had 2 to 2 and a half years of college; 2 respondents had AA degrees; and 2
respondents had BA degrees. In terms of parole and probation, Huggins said that 14
respondents were on probation, 4 were on parole, and 1 was out on an appeal bond.

Looking at the membership results for the employment questions, Huggins reported that
nine were factory workers; eight were poverty program workers; seven were teacher’s
aides, post office workers, typists, receptionists, or clerks; two were computer
programmer workers; and two were maintenance workers.
For the additional skills category among the membership, Huggins (1972) said 27 had clerk skills; 24 had dishwasher skills; 23 had cook’s helper skills; 20 had carpenter’s helper skills; and 20 had typist skills. She also added that quite a few of the members had worked as waitresses or waiters, grocery stock workers, cashiers, and service station attendants. In addition, Huggins related that 18 members were on welfare; two on unemployment; and 36 were students. Huggins closed her report by informing Hilliard that, “All of these things are as factual as possible, however, every single cadre did not turn in a sheet” (p. 1). The total number of respondents appears to have been 100.

During the Spring of 1973, the skills survey was replicated by the Black Panther Party. The unsigned internal report of the results states that the average age of the respondents was “22 years, 10 months” and the average educational level reached was “12.74 years (Freshman year in college)” (Black Panther Party, 1973a, p. 1). The unsigned internal report included the following data for the membership in terms of the jobs held and the number of members who held: (1) cooks helper, 22; (2) dishwasher, 22; (3) clerk, 22; (4) waitress/waiter, 17; (5) typist, 16; (6) grocery stockwork; (7) cook, 14; (8) carpenter’s helper, 12; (9) gardener, 11; (10) grocery cashier, 11; (11) grocery clerk, 10; (12) service station attendant, 9; (13) car wash, 9; (14) electrician’s helper, 8; (15) plumber’s helper, 8; (16) gardener’s helper, 7; (17) carpenter, 4; (18) electrician, 3; (19) presser; (20) plumber; (21) auto mechanic helper; and (22) launderer. The unsigned internal report also stated that the following two jobs were not printed on the survey questionnaire, but were written in often: (1) secretary, 8; and (2) switchboard operator, 5. The unsigned internal report closed by identifying people who had experience with the organization’s Lampost Restaurant: busboys—Bernard Patterson, Henry Smith, William
Elder, and Solomon Jones; waiter---Larry Ulmer; waitress—Tamara Lacey; and, cooks—
Melvin Dixon and Donna Howell. The unsigned internal report added: “No one was
found with bookkeeping skills who is not already in this area” (Black Panther Party,
1973a, p. 1).

On March 6, 2007 and March 7, 2007, the present writer analyzed the material in
Series 2, Subseries 3: Internal Documents, Box 4, Folder 4 and Folder 5 of the Dr. Huey
P. Newton Collection at Stanford University (Black Panther Party, 1973b) and found 114
completed questionnaires in the form of skills survey sheets. The respondents included
67 men (54 percent) and 52 women (46 percent). Of the 67 men, some 62 of them
addressed the following question: “How far did you get in school?” In regard to those 62
men, 50 percent had some college. All 52 of the women answered the question and 60
percent had some college. As was the case with the 1972 skills survey, very few of the
respondents of either sex indicated that they had completed four years of college or a
B.A. degree. On the one hand, the vast majority of the employed respondents had jobs
that fit into the working-class and lower-middle class social categories. On the other
hand, a sizable number of the respondents could be placed in the poverty class or lower-
class social category because they were on welfare. The findings suggest that many of the
members fell into the category Newton (1973) described as the lumpenproletariat.

It should be noted that LeBlanc-Ernest (1998) has stated that she also analyzed
the material in Series 2, Subseries 3: Internal Documents, Box 4, Folder 4 and Folder 5 of
the Dr. Huey P. Newton Collection at Stanford University. She has written that,
“Between October 1972 and May 1973, women represented approximately 45% of the
total membership and more than 85% of the female membership had some college
education” (p. 332). Kathleen Cleaver (2001) has reported that Bobby Seale conducted a survey within the Black Panther Party in 1969. Kathleen Cleaver said that Seale found that “two-thirds of the members of the Black Panther Party were women” (p. 125). Without further comment or mention of a survey, Seale (1978) stated in his second autobiography that in 1969, “The majority in the Party, sixty per cent, were sisters at the time” (p. 171).

**External Surveys**

On December 29, 1969, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) issued a news release and disclosed that it had conducted “a spot check survey of ACLU affiliates in 9 major metropolitan centers” (p. 263). The ACLU explained that it was a national survey and included the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Connecticut, Wisconsin, and Michigan. To conduct the survey, the ACLU used case materials, letters, and notes from ACLU in affiliates in locations such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York City. The ACLU said that its findings from the survey revealed a pattern of harassment and civil rights violations (American Civil Liberties Union, 1969/1970).

The pattern of harassment included “defying the constitutional right of Panthers the right to make political speeches or distribute political literature” (American Civil Liberties Union, 1969/1970, p. 263). The ACLU noted many incidents wherein Black Panthers, in the process of selling newspapers or other political materials, were challenged by the police and arrested repeatedly for “distributing papers without a permit, harassment, interfering with an officer, loitering and disorderly conduct” (p. 263). The ACLU also noted that the charges had seldom held up in court and the prosecutor had
often dropped them prior to trial. The ACLU concluded that this style of law enforcement was inflammatory and very susceptible to escalating into violent confrontations.

On January 13, 1970, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that four of its reporters had conducted interviews in a nonrandom sample survey of 100 Black people in the following four metropolitan areas: Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and San Francisco. The four reporters were David Dupree in San Francisco, Ed Henry in New York, Jim Hyatt in Cleveland, and Jonathan R. Laing in Chicago. The survey focused on attitudes toward the Black Panther Party and the “testing of black sentiment, admittedly an unscientific one” (“Panther Supporters,” 1970, p. 1).

The survey revealed that “a clear majority of blacks strongly support both the goals and methods of the Black Panthers. An even larger percentage believes, moreover, that police officials are determined to crush the party by arresting or killing its key officials” (“Panther Supporters,” 1970, p. 1). The results of the survey indicated that about “60% expressed full support for both the philosophy and tactics of the Panthers, including the Panthers’ asserted willingness to resort to violence” (p. 1). The results also showed that, “A dozen others said they admired the goals of the party while disagreeing with some of its methods--specifically, in most cases, the emphasis on violence. Only 26 said they flatly opposed the Panthers” (p. 1).

The four reporters reached the conclusion that many young people supported the Black Panthers because they were attracted to (1) their distinctive uniforms of black berets and black leather jackets; (2) their ostentatious display of guns; (3) their avowed determination to overturn the American “system;” and (4) their refusal to back down
under intense police pressure. The four reporters also concluded that, “Many over-30 blacks also express admiration for the tough-mindedness of the Panthers” (“Panther Supporters,” 1970, p. 1). The four reporters further concluded that “a sizable number of blacks support the Panthers because they admire other, less-publicized activities of the party such as its free-breakfast program for ghetto youngsters, its free medical care program and its war on narcotics use among black youth” (p. 1).

In April 1970, ABC-TV disclosed a survey conducted for it by Market Dynamics, Incorporated. The survey examined the attitudes of Black people in Birmingham, Baltimore, Detroit, New York, and San Francisco. It sought to discover the organization that the respondents regarded as having done most for Black people over the previous two years. The results indicated that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) came in first, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) came in second, and the Black Panther Party came in third. Of those three organizations, the Black Panther Party was the only one rated to increase in its effectiveness in the future. The other two organizations were rated to diminish in their effectiveness in the future. It should be noted that 60 percent of the respondents said that they admired what the Black Panthers were doing (Foner, 1970).

On July 26, 1970, Gallup (1972) released the results of a nationwide sample survey of the general public that looked at the popularity of organizations, including the Black Panther Party. The respondents, who were surveyed between June 18, 1970 and June 23, 1970, were asked, “How would you rate each of the following organizations?” The organizations included the Black Panther Party, NAACP, KKK, John Birch Society, and SDS. Although the rating scale included multiple categories, Gallup only released
“the highly favorable and highly unfavorable ratings for each organization tested” (p. 2257). The findings were as follows: Black Panther Party (2 percent highly favorable, 75 percent highly unfavorable); NAACP (23 percent highly favorable, 16 percent highly unfavorable); KKK (3 percent highly favorable, 75 percent highly unfavorable); John Birch Society (4 percent highly favorable, 38 percent highly unfavorable); and SDS (7 percent highly favorable, 42 percent highly unfavorable).

On February 7, 1971, Gallup (1972) released the results of a nationwide sample survey of college students that looked at the popularity of organizations, including the Black Panther Party. The respondents, who were surveyed between November 2, 1970 and November 30, 1970, were asked to rate the following organizations on a multiple category scale: Black Panther Party, NAACP, KKK, John Birch Society, and SDS. The results were as follows: Black Panther Party (8 percent highly favorable, 42 percent highly unfavorable); Weathermen (8 percent highly favorable, 47 percent highly unfavorable); KKK (2 percent highly favorable, 80 percent highly unfavorable); John Birch Society (2 percent highly favorable, 48 percent highly unfavorable); and SDS (6 percent highly favorable, 37 percent highly unfavorable).

On February 13, 1971, Epstein (1971) published a report in the New Yorker as a response to Garry (1970). Epstein began his report by criticizing the New York Times, Washington Post, Time, Newsweek, Nation, Christian Science Monitor, and other media. He charged that those media outlets had committed a folly for following Garry and reporting that 28 Black Panthers had been killed directly or indirectly by the police. Epstein also took issue with those media outlets for citing the Garry and Black Panther Party’s charge of police murders and genocide.
Epstein (1971) related that Garry explained to him in September 1970 that “he chose the number twenty-eight when newsmen called him for a statement after the shooting of Hampton and Clark because that ‘seemed to be a safe number’” (p. 48). Epstein said that Garry also told him that “he believed ‘the actual number of Panthers murdered by the police is many times that figure’” (p. 48). According to Epstein, when he pressed Garry for names “Garry found he could ‘document’ only ‘twenty police murders’ of Panthers” (p. 48). Epstein reported that he was sent a list of 20 names by Garry’s office with the warning that “‘the facts are not necessarily empirical,’ actually comprises only nineteen Panther deaths, and one of the nineteen deaths--that of Sidney Miller, in Seattle--is attributed by Garry not to police but to ‘a merchant who claimed he thought Miller was going to rob the store’” (p. 48).

To eliminate what he referred to as confusion, Epstein (1971) proceeded to provide “some detail” of the circumstances surrounding the deaths of the list of Black Panthers that Garry sent him (p. 51). In his subsequent report, Epstein offered case histories of the deaths of Alex Rackley, Nathaniel Clark, Arthur Morris, John Huggins, Alprentice (Bunchy) Carter, Sylvester Bell, John Savage, Franko Diggs, Larry Roberson, Bobby Hutton, Steven Bartholomew, Robert Lawrence, Thomas Lewis, Walter Toure Pope, Welton Armstead, Spurgeon (Jake) Winters, Fred Hampton, and Mark Clark.

Epstein (1971) raised the issue of whether the Black Panthers had been killed by police as a part of a nationally coordinated pattern in the form of planned police raids and the like. Based on his analysis, Epstein concluded that “Hampton and Clark were the only Panthers killed as a direct result of a planned police raid” (p. 76). Epstein also made the conclusion that “at least some of the deceased Black Panthers were armed and
presented a threat to police” (p. 76). Additionally, he somewhat reluctantly made the conclusion that “there are two cases in which Black Panthers were killed by policemen whose lives were not being directly threatened by those men” (p. 77). Epstein explained that the two cases were “Hutton, who was shot while allegedly running from the scene of a ninety-minute gun battle in which three policemen had been wounded, and Hampton, who was apparently hit by stray bullets in a reckless and uncontrolled fusillade” (p. 77).

In May 1971, Levine et al. released a research report about a five-city questionnaire survey they had conducted during the spring of 1970. The sample included 759 respondents. The study sought to compare the attitudes of Black youth toward the Black Panther Party and the NAACP. The respondents were asked to the following open-ended item: “What groups do you feel are doing the most to help black people?” The respondents were classified as supporters of one of the two organizations if they cited one organization and did not cite the other at all. The results indicated that 25 percent of the respondents were supporters of the Black Panther Party and 25 percent were supporters of the NAACP. Thus, the two organizations were receiving equal support from the Black youth in the sample. The researchers published their results in a special research report and a journal (Levine et al., 1971, 1973).

**METHODOLOGY AND THE 1970 AND 1971 HARRIS SURVEYS**

In this paper, secondary analysis has been employed as the research method. As Babbie (2004) has noted, secondary analysis involves “the analysis of survey data collected by someone else” (p. 243). Babbie has also pointed out that secondary analysis often involves one researcher reanalyzing the data of another researcher for a different purpose. In the case of the present paper, the researcher does not have a different purpose
than the original researcher. Just like Harris (1971, 1975), the present researcher is interested in showing what the 1970 and 1971 snapshots revealed about the attitudes of Black people toward the Black Panther Party.

As for the 1970 Harris survey, it involved “an in-depth study of black opinion conducted in March 1970. The nationwide study of blacks was based on interviews with 1,255 black men and women, representing a national cross-section of that minority” (Harris & Associates, 1971, p. 217). The 1970 Harris survey also included “the attitudes of the general public, both white and black, probed at several points during the year” (Harris & Associates, 1970, p. 217).

In terms of the 1971 Harris survey, it involved “a special nationwide survey of 1,191 blacks, in June, 1971” (Harris & Associates, 1971, p. 319). Like the 1970 Harris survey, the 1971 Harris survey probed the attitudes of the general public, both black and white, at different points during the year. The 1971 Harris survey and the 1971 Harris survey followed the same research protocol. In the report for the 1970 survey, Harris and Associates (1971) made the following statement about research protocol:

All interviews are conducted in person, in the homes of the respondents. At each household the respondent is chosen by means of a random selection pattern, geared to the number of adults of each sex who live in the household. Interviews last approximately one hour in length. When the completed interviews are received in New York, a sub-sample of the respondents are re-contacted to verify that the data has been accurately recorded. Questionnaires are edited and coded in the New York office. The coded questionnaires are key punched and the data tabulated by standard computer equipment. In essence, the Harris sampling procedure is designed to produce a national cross-section which accurately reflects the actual population of the country 18 years of age and over living in private households. This means that the results of a survey among a national sample can be projected as representative of the country’s civilian population 18 years old and above. (p. 511)
They repeated that statement in the report for the 1971 survey. Harris and Associates (1975) wrote:

All interviews are conducted in person, in the homes of the respondents. At each household the respondent is chosen by means of a random selection pattern, geared to the number of adults of each sex who live in the household. Interviews last approximately one hour in length. When the completed interviews are received in New York, a sub-sample of the respondents are re-contacted to verify that the data has been accurately recorded. Questionnaires are edited and coded in the New York office. The coded questionnaires are key punched and the data tabulated by standard computer equipment. In essence, the Harris sampling procedure is designed to produce a national cross-section which accurately reflects the actual population of the country 18 years of age and over living in private households. This means that the results of a survey among a national sample can be projected as representative of the country’s civilian population 18 years old and above. (p. 447)

Thus, the 1970 and 1971 Harris surveys constituted a sample survey using a random selection procedure. The technique utilized in both surveys was a structured interview.

**FINDINGS OF THE 1970 AND 1971 HARRIS SURVEYS**

The 1970 and 1971 Harris surveys of “Blacks in America” contained a number of questions and/or declarative statements pertaining to the Black Panther Party. Some of the questions and statements appeared in both surveys while others did not. One of the repeated survey items for all respondents included the following declarative statement: “I’d like to read you a list of some black leaders and organizations. For each, tell me if you respect them a great deal, some but not a great deal, or hardly at all.”

A second repeated survey item for all respondents was the following question: “Do you personally feel the Black Panthers represent your views or not?” For the respondents who said that the Black Panther Party “did not represent own views” or “not sure,” they were given the following survey item: “Some people have said that even though they don’t like the tactics of the Black Panthers, the Panthers give them a sense of
pride in being black by standing up for the rights of black people and by saying things
about white people that ought to be said. Do you intend to agree or disagree with that
statement?” A third repeated survey item for all respondents included the following
question: “Do you feel the Black Panthers are gaining more sympathy among Black
people you know, less sympathy, or about what they always had?”

Both the 1970 Harris survey and 1971 Harris survey offered a breakdown by age
cohort for several interview items, including the item which addressed whether the Black
Panther Party represented their own views and the item which addressed whether the
Black Panther Party was gaining sympathy among Black people. It should be noted that
there is no breakdown for age offered by Harris and Associates (1971, 1975) for the
survey item about respect contrary to a statement by J. Edgar Hoover cited in Newton

The age cohorts for 1970 were 14 to 21, 22 to 29, 30 to 49, and 50 and over. For
1971, the age cohorts were 18 to 29, 30 to 49, and 50 and over. In terms of their
differences, the 1970 Harris survey broke down the 29 and under respondents into these
two categories: 14 to 21 and 22 to 29. In contrast, the 1971 Harris survey only included
one category: 18 to 29. Thus, the present analysis will aggregate the data related to the
age cohorts into the following two categories: (1) 29 and under, and (2) 30 and over.

In response to the declarative statement about respect for the Black Panther Party,
the surveys revealed the following results: 25 percent in 1970 and 23 percent in 1971 said
“respect them a great deal;” 24 percent in 1970 and 25 percent in 1971 said “some but not
a great deal;” 37 percent in 1970 and 32 percent in 1971 said “hardly at all;” and 15
percent in 1970 and 20 percent in 1971 said “not sure.” Again, contrary to the statement
of J. Edgar Hoover cited in Newton (1980/1996), there is no breakdown for age offered by Harris and Associates (1971, 1975) for the survey item about respect.

The responses to the question about whether the Black Panther Party represented their own views were as follows: 25 percent in 1970 and 28 percent in 1971 said “represent own views;” 53 percent in 1970 and 49 percent in 1971 said “do not represent own views;” and 22 percent in 1970 and 23 percent in 1971 said “not sure.” When the responses for the question about whether the Black Panther Party represented their own views were broken down by the first age cohort category, the following results were yielded: 33 percent of the 29 and under in 1970 and 40 percent of the 29 and under in 1971 said “represent own views;” 47 percent of the 29 and under in 1970 and 48 percent of the 29 and under in 1971 said “do not represent own views;” and 21 percent of the 29 and under in 1970 and 12 percent of the 29 and under in 1971 said “not sure.”

The results yielded the following data for the second age category: 18 percent of the 30 and above in 1970 and 23 percent of the 30 and above in 1971 said “represent own views;” 52 percent of the 30 and above in 1970 and 53 percent of the 30 and above in 1971 said “do not represent own views;” and 25 percent of the 30 and above in 1970 and 19 percent of the 30 and above in 1971 said “not sure.”

As mentioned above, the respondents who selected “not represent own views” or “not sure” were asked to address whether the Black Panther Party gave them a sense of pride. The results were as follows: 53 percent in 1970 and 45 percent in 1971 said “agree;” 25 percent in 1970 and 33 percent in 1971 said “disagree;” and 22 percent in 1970 and 22 percent in 1971 said “not sure.”
In response to the question about sympathy for the Black Panther Party, the survey revealed the following results: 43 percent in 1970 and 29 percent in 1971 said “more sympathy;” 19 percent in 1970 and 21 percent in 1971 said “less sympathy;” 23 percent in 1970 and 33 percent in 1971 said “about what they always had;” and 15 percent in 1970 and 17 percent in 1971 said “not sure.”

In a breakdown of the responses for the first age cohort category, the following results were yielded: 51 percent of the 29 and under in 1970 and 38 percent of the 29 and under in 1971 said “more sympathy;” 18 percent of the 29 and under in 1970 and 16 percent of the 29 and under in 1971 said “less sympathy;” 22 percent of the 29 and under in 1970 and 38 percent of the 29 and under in 1971 said “about what they always had;” and 9 percent of the 29 and under in 1970 and 8 percent of the 29 and under in 1971 said “not sure.”

For the second age cohort category, the results were as follows: 36 percent of the 30 and above in 1970 and 25 percent of the 30 and above in 1971 said “more sympathy;” 21 percent of the 30 and above in 1970 and 21 percent of the 30 and above in 1971 said “less sympathy;” 24 percent of the 30 and above in 1970 and 33 percent of the 30 and above in 1971 said “about what they always had;” and 20 percent of the 30 and above in 1970 and 21 percent of the 30 and above in 1971 said “not sure.”

**IMPLICATIONS OF THE 1970 AND 1971 HARRIS SURVEYS**

One of the significant consequences of the 1970 and 1971 Harris surveys is that they both provided empirical data on one of the most important organizations in the Black Power Movement. The release of this empirical data certainly had an upside and a downside. On the upside, the release of the data helped to demonstrate that the Black
Panther Party had gained the respect and sympathy of millions of Black people. On the downside, the release of this empirical data triggered hostility towards the Black Panther Party by the FBI, CIA, and various police agencies. The upshot is that a major portion of the hostility was directed towards idealistic teenagers who were interested in providing badly needed community services to socially and economically disadvantaged people.

Newton (1980/1996) has pointed out that a major reason for the hostility of J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI in 1970 and 1971, towards the Black Panther Party was the empirical data produced by Harris and Associates (1970, 1971). Hoover is on record as having said:

The most active and dangerous Black extremist group in the United States is the Black Panther Party (BPP). Despite its relatively small number of hard-core members . . . the BPP is in the forefront of Black extremist activity today. Moreover, a recent poll indicates that approximately 25 percent of the Black population has a great respect for the BPP including 43 percent of Blacks under twenty-one years of age. (Quoted in Newton, 1980/1996, p. 94)

With the aforementioned statement, Hoover appears to have misread the initial report of the survey which appeared in *Time*. The report actually said something different.

In the April 6, 1970 issue, *Time* reported that 25 percent of the Black population stated that the Black Panthers represented their own views. It also reported that the 43 percent of the Black population under 21 years of age stated that the Black Panthers represented their own views. The magazine further reported that 64 percent of the Black population said that the Black Panthers gave them a sense of pride.3 The language used in the report was as follows:

One measure of the blacks’ sense of alienation from white-run institutions is their sympathy for the Black Panthers. One in four categorically states, “The Black Panthers represent my own personal views,” and the figure rises to 43% among those under 21. Sixty-four percent of all blacks agree that the “Panthers give me a sense of pride.” (“The Black Mood,” 1970, p. 29)
Although Foner (1970) has written that the results of the survey were published in the March 30, 1970 issue of *Time*, they actually were published in the April 6, 1970 issue as pointed out in this paper.

Another significant consequence of the 1970 and 1971 Harris surveys is that the empirical data show that younger Black people were more likely to have respect and sympathy for the Black Panther Party than older Black people. Whereas Hoover expressed alarm about Black people under 21 having a great respect for the Black Panther Party, the empirical data indicate that Black people who were 29 and under generally had more respect and sympathy for the organization than Black people who were 30 and over.

This finding may represent a generation gap that was present at the time. Relatively shortly before the surveys were conducted, Jack Weinberg, a young White leader of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, told a *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter, “Don’t trust anyone over 30” (Quoted in “Don’t Trust,” 2000, p. 1). Although the membership of the Black Panther Party did have some members who were 30 and over, the ranks of the organization were mostly filled with people in the 29 and under category during its heyday (Cromartie, 2006; Abu-Jamal, 2004).

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

This paper has presented a secondary data analysis of empirical research on the Black Panther Party with special reference to the 1970 and 1971 Louis Harris surveys. It has discussed the two Harris surveys as snap shots of the attitudes of nation-wide samples of Black people toward the Black Panther Party. Additionally, it discussed some external surveys conducted by the ACLU in 1969; *Wall Street Journal* in 1970; Market Dynamics,

Like the surveys conducted by *Wall Street Journal* and ABC-TV, the 1970 Harris survey showed that the Black Panther Party enjoyed widespread support. However, it is also clear that the support proved to be a double-edged sword. The support caused J. Edgar Hoover to become alarmed and to declare the organization to be most active and dangerous. As an organization consisting of many young people in their late teens and early 20s and many women, the Black Panther Party was faced to confront an array of counterintelligence program operations launched against it by various law enforcement campaigns. The campaigns, included but was not limited, dirty tricks that led to conflict within the ranks of the Black Panther Party. Those campaigns, which included the FBI’s Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), also led to conflict with other Black organizations in the USA.\(^4\)

Despite the resulting confusion and Black on Black violence caused by COINTELPRO, the Black Panther Party has left an indelible mark on the history of the USA. As a social movement, it should not be overlooked or ignored.\(^5\) The 1970 and 1971 Harris surveys have provided us with valuable snap shots of what Black people in the USA thought about this important social movement during its heyday.

**NOTES**

\(^1\) See Pearlman (2011) for a detailed discussion of Garry’s role in the Huey P. Newton murder trial.
2 Foner (1970) played a major role in helping to identify some of the empirical research on the Black Panther Party in his introduction to his landmark anthology on the organization. For example, Foner mentioned empirical research conducted by *The Wall Street Journal*, Louis Harris and Associates for *Time*, and Market Dynamics, Incorporated for ABC-TV. In many respects, I am standing on the shoulders of Foner.

3 It should be noted that the article in *Time* does not offer a table which shows the 43 percent or 64 percent. See “The Black Mood,” (1970).

4 For discussions of COINTELPRO and the dirty tricks campaigns, see Payne (2006), Newton (1980/1996), Churchill and Wall (1990), and Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations (1976). In the case of Payne (2006), she has explained that COINTELPRO “was established in 1956 to combat the Communist Party of the United States” (p. 160). Payne also reported that some of the FBI objected to tactics used by COINTELPRO against the Black Panther Party. She stated that “there was a significant disconnect between Washington and its resident agencies on the subject of the Panthers. Indeed, I discovered, COINTELPRO duty was not always popular among agents in the field. While typically playing along, some agents questioned not only the legality of certain government activity but also its very necessity, given the ‘domestic enemy’ in question” (p. 162). Payne interviewed one former San Francisco FBI agent, William A. Cohendet, who informed her, “The FBI should not have had COINTELPRO against the BPP. They should have not caused harm and told lies. I didn’t like COINTELPRO. It was like hazing, it demeans a person. If you had a smart guy in the FBI you don’t need to go so far. I thought breakfast for children was a good program. FBI Headquarters wanted to stop [it]. The San Francisco Office let it go on and we were inspected by Washington and told to stop it. We wanted to do better things than try to stop a breakfast program” (p. 168). Cohendet told Payne in no uncertain terms that, “I opposed some of the policies” (p. 168). Based on his assessment of the cadre of the Black Panther Party, he concluded: “You get down into some of those cribs and you get a bunch of teenagers, some of them, you know, kids just living together and not doing much” (p. 166).

5 Jones (1998) has informed us that the Black Panther Party “suffers from the dismissive attitude of scholars and activists. Its historical role in Black liberation activism in particular and leftist politics in general does not receive adequate attention” (p. 7). Jones criticized the *Encyclopedia of the American Left* for only having one entry on the Black Party and said that, “None of the major Party leaders has biographical entries and the massive volume does not mention a single female member of the Party” (p. 7). Jones also charged that, “The near invisibility of the Panthers also plagues several other scholarly accounts of the freedom struggle” (p. 7). Since Jones made his statement, a number of scholarly accounts have appeared on the Black Panther Party, including Williams (2000), Cleaver and Katsiaficas (2001), Cromartie (2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2010), Austin (2006), Ogbar (2006), Lazerow and Williams (2006), Alkebulan (2007), Rhodes (2007), Jeffries (2007, 2010), Williams and Lazerow (2008), Murch (2010), and Davenport (2010).
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The Black Panther, 1-27.


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**SRATEGIC OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY**
WITH THE IMAGE OF FOOTBALL CLUBS IN THAILAND PREMIRE LEAGUE

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Abstract

This objective of this research were studies factor for the strategic of corporate social responsibility (CSR) with the image of football clubs in Thailand Premier League for study case Muang tong United football club. The sample size of research was 400 of Mung Tong United football club by using random method. A questionnaire based on 4 session totally 12 items and were used to test the study objectives with Cronbach Alpha and validity was .90 and .92 with the questionnaire. The Statistic of this research was descriptive research are percentage, standard deviation and inferential statistic was the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The result of this research found the responsibility in the improvement of football clubs’ image is relevant with variable.

Method:
The data was collected from 400 people with the Muang Tong United fan club who in Thailand Premier League. This research was a quantitative research was constructed, used a measurement with five part as follow: part one are general information with the respondent, part two was factors relevant the CSR, part three opend opinion in the factor were development, Lastly comments and suggestions.
Results:
The analyzed results of the personal information part one were mostly male respondents or equal to 60.5% who were during 20 to 30 years old or equal to 40.5%, bachelor degree 70% and 1-2 years for do activity in football club or equal to 80.5%. Part two almost significant factors with the use of strategic corporate social responsibility to with the image of football club in Thai Premier League.

Recommendations for further research:
The study of the factors that affect the strategy used to develop the image of social responsibility in the Thailand Premier League football club by using another variable that are more important factors. The results were analyzed and compared for benefit of the club's supporters and management team. But beyond what the club is trying to generate profits with the development in various fields, then the image was a good thing for society is still a part of the profits come back.

Keyword
Social Responsibility, Image, Thai Football Premier League
1. a. Title of the Submission:

Recruitment & Retention of American Indian & Alaskan Native Social Work Students

Examine the insights of American Indian and Alaskan Native social work students on their college experience to answer the question “How can colleges and universities recruit and retain American Indian and Alaskan Native students in social work programs?”

Methods

A mixed methods approach was used to query 47 current graduate and undergraduate American Indian and Alaskan Native (AI/AN) social work students by the administration of a questionnaire in face-to-face interview, phone, or postal mail. Data was collected 2008-2011. The closed-ended survey responses queried the students on background data, family history of college attendance, scholarship awards, experiences with coursework, faculty, culturally relevant curriculum and social work placements. Short answer survey responses were entered into SPSS and analyzed using frequencies and descriptive statistics.

Quantitative Results

- The majority of participants (72%) indicated their classmates did not have the knowledge and therefore were not culturally competent to work with the AI/AN population.
- Of the students who received scholarship awards, the majority were funded through their Tribal Nations (59.6%). Only 36% of the students with scholarship awards received support from both university based sources and their Tribal Nations.
- The majority of the students were enrolled in both social work and American Indian Studies Programs (57%).
- Although 57% of students reported their social work program offered Tribal Nation field placements; only 34% of the AI/AN students were placed in an AI/AN tribal based agency.

Qualitative Results

Thirty-three of the 47 subjects indicated that it was “very important” or “important” to have AI/AN professors. The most prevalent reasons for this included:

- AI/AN students would rely on the AI/AN professors for mentorship and assistance in navigating the college experience (10)
- AI/AN professors would teach AI/AN topics more accurately than non-tribal professors (9)
- It is important to bring AI/AN professors’ worldview for diversity purposes (7)

Some of the most commonly reported barriers to AI/AN collegiate success included:

- Lack of supportive groups/supportive faculty (14)
- Managing travel, long distance from family, and tribal communities (12)
- Feelings of cultural isolation (11)
- Lack of mentor from an AI/AN background (10)
- Institutional racism, stereotypes, lack of respect (9)
- Lack of adequate financial aid (7)
Recommendations for Social Work Programs

- Initiate efforts to increase the number of AI/AN faculty to provide role models, mentorship for students, and share their knowledge and expertise of Tribal Nations both on and off-reservations.
- Increase the development of field placement opportunities with the AI/populations in urban and reservation communities.
- Lessen the AI/AN students’ feelings of cultural isolation by providing peer support with their reference group and networking opportunities on and off campus.
- Foster efforts to reduce racism, stereotypes and the lack of respect that AI/AN students continue to encounter in academic settings.
- Collaboration with Tribal Colleges and Universities (TC&U) to conduct further research as to how the TC &U’s employ culturally relevant strategies for the recruitment and retention of AI/AN students.

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http://www2.nau.edu/jar/AIE/Ind_Ed.html


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b. Topic Area of the Submission: Social Work

c. Presentation Format: Poster Session
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A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF HIV/AIDS PREVENTION, CARE, AND SUPPORT PROGRAMS IN CAMBODIA PROVIDED BY KHANA, 2008-2010

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ABSTRACT

Prevalence of HIV in Cambodia declined from 1.1 percent in 2006 to 0.8 percent in 2010 among general population after the epidemic peaked at 2.4 percent in 1997-1998. This can be viewed as positive results of both the government's and the society's responses to the HIV epidemic in Cambodia. Among these responding organizations and agencies, KHANA, one of the well established Cambodian NGOs, has been providing critical HIV/AIDS prevention, care, and support programs since 1997. KHANA has been working with 38 community based NGOs, and by 2010, is providing care, prevention, and support programs in 20 out of 24 provinces/municipalities in Cambodia. However, it is found that there are substantial spatial disparities in the provision of these programs throughout Cambodia. In this paper, it is shown that these disparities are largely caused by different levels of accessibilities to health facilities and to home and community based care services. To this effect, we examine the spatial variation of services provided by KHANA from 2008 to 2010. Choropleth maps generated using ArcGIS are used to illustrate these spatial disparities. The results of this study may serve as a road map or advocacy tool for not only KHANA, but also for other NGOs, government agencies, or any organizations with the interests of providing HIV/AIDS prevention, care, support, or research programs in Cambodia.
INTRODUCTION

The epidemiological context of HIV in Cambodia has been changing recently; prevalence of HIV in Cambodia declined from 1.1 percent in 2006 to 0.8 percent in 2010 among general population after the epidemic peaked at 2.4 percent in 1997-1998 (NCHADS1 2011). In response to the epidemic, the joint efforts in the provision of prevention, care, and supports programs by various government agencies and NGOs have achieved significant levels of success, and Cambodia has reached its universal access target for Anti-Retroviral Treatment (ART).

Khmer HIV/AIDS NGO Alliance (KHANA) is the largest national non-governmental organization (NGO) providing HIV prevention, care, and support programs in Cambodia, and has been providing and coordinating these programs since 1997. Through a network of 38 implementing partners (IPs) and 4 strategic partners, KHANA provides these services to affected communities (KHANA 2011). These programs have focused on

(1) prevention among most at risk population (MARP), such as men who have sex with men (MSM), illegal intravenous drug users (IDU), and entertainment sector workers (EW).

(2) integrated care and prevention for people living HIV (PLHIV) and orphan/vulnerable children (OVC) through home and community based care (HCBC).

(3) impact mitigation, policy dialogue, and advocacy networking.

Generally, health programs/services are provided evenly throughout the geographic areas (communities) where we serve, while needs emerged regardless geographic location. Moreover, overlapping areas of coverage among health related service providers were also an important issue, which poses challenges in terms of cost effectiveness and response to the communities’ needs. To understand the geographic patterns of our service areas, maps of the communes where we serve are generated in this paper. Our hope is that these maps will become a road map for not only KHANA but also for other NGOs and stakeholders who are currently or will be providing HIV/AIDS related health services to various communities. The major objectives of these maps are two-fold:

(1) to prevent, or at least to minimize, overlapping area coverage between NGOs and other organizations, and

(2) to provide the most-updated locations and spatial distribution of coverage for the NGOs or other organizations who wish to expand their service area.

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1 A glossary of abbreviations is provided at the end of this paper.
METHODOLOGY

In order to achieve the goals in the three-year (2008-2010) strategic plan, a number of efforts were implemented and monitored in terms of prevention, care, and support indicators for PLHIV, OVC, MSM, IDUs and EW. Although our data have been quarterly collected from IPs at a spatially disaggregated hierarchy - provincial, district, commune, and village levels, we felt it would be too costly to collect sufficient and reliable data at the village level; therefore we decided to select commune as the level of resolution for our spatial analysis. The data collected are pertained to the prevention, care, and support programs across various interventions, such as regular self-help group (SHG) formation and meeting, referral to health related services, and HIV prevention.

Commune level data were retrieved from KHANA Database Management System (DBMS). Under the management of the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Team, data are quarterly collected from implementing partners (IPs) (both electronic and hard copy) through Program Management Team and double check by Regional team leaders before submitting to Database Management Officer for final review and consolidation. Both annual and onsite trainings on data entry and management are provided to build capacity of IPs’ M&E staff. In addition, spot checks to IPs are scheduled each quarter to enhance data quality assurance and control.

In this paper, the total number of targets reached in each commune is the sum of all types of target groups, including PLHIV, OVC, and MARP, for each year from 2008 to 2010. A descriptive spatial analysis is then facilitated by choropleth maps generated by ArcGIS. An examination of the temporal changes in these three years is also carried out by observing trend diagrams generated using these data.

RESULTS

In this section, the geographic patterns of AIDS/HIV prevention, care, and support programs administered by KHANA from 2008 to 2010 are presented using visual tools (namely maps and graphs) and tabulations. For reference purposes, an administrative map of Cambodia is provided (see Figure 1). The communes with target populations reached in these three years are divided into five categories and a sixth category with no targets reached:

1. no targets reached (no coverage) communes
2. ≤50 targets reached communes
3. 50-100 targets reached communes
4. 101-250 targets reached communes
5. 251-500 targets reached communes
6. >500 targets reached communes
In 2008, KHANA with collaboration with its IPs reached targets in 581 communes (36 percent of the communes nationwide) in 17 provinces (out of 24 in the whole nation). The communes covered were predominantly in southeast, central, and northwest parts of the country. The majority of the communes were Categories 4 and 5 above - 101 to 500 targets reached (see Figure 2). Coverage in 2009 was extended to the Southwest of the country (see Figure 3) with a total of 652 communes (40 percent of the communes nationwide) in 19 provinces. In 2010, the coverage expanded to the northern part of Cambodia (see Figure 4). In total, 738 communes (46 percent of the national total) in 20 provinces were reached.
Figure 2: Commune Coverage 2008

KHANA Coverage 2008: Commune Level

Number of Target Reached

- No Coverage
- < 50
- 51 - 100
- 101 - 250
- 251 - 500
- >500

Author: KHANA
Data Source: KHANA

Map Created By: Menglong Ung, Jan 20, 2011
Figure 3: Commune Coverage 2009

KHANA Coverage 2009: Commune Level

Number of Target Reached
- No Coverage
- < 50
- 51 - 100
- 101 - 250
- 251 - 500
- > 500

Author: KHANA
Data Source: KHANA

Map Created by: Nengzhong Cao, Jan 29, 2011
Figure 4: Commune Coverage 2010

KHANA Coverage 2010: Commune Level

Number of Target Reached

- No Coverage
- < 50
- 51 - 100
- 101 - 250
- 251 - 500
- > 500

Author: KHANA
Data Source: KHANA

Map Created By: Mengziq Ung, Jun 29, 2011
The coverage from 2008 to 2010 had increased significantly in both numbers of communes and the total numbers of home and community based care (HCBC) covered (see Table 1).

Table 1: KHANA Coverage by Province, Commune, and HCBC, 2008-2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KHANA National %</td>
<td>KHANA National %</td>
<td>KHANA National %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commune</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCBC</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the maps (Figures 2 to 4) show the geographic patterns of communal coverage in Cambodia, Figure 5 below illustrates the increase in numbers of HC with HBC and in numbers of provinces/municipalities covered from 2008-2010.

Figure 5: Coverage of KHANA Services 2008-2010

Under HCBC and their support services, both PLHIV and CIA (children infected with AIDS/HIV), whose CD4 level is below 350, have been referred to anti-retroviral treatment (ART) sites. As illustrated in Figure 6, from 2008 to 2010, the number of CIA increased from 1499 to 1813 (21% increase), while CIA receiving anti-retroviral treatment increased from 1069 to 1272 (19% increase). It seems like, in the future, there are rooms for improvement in referring CIA for anti-retroviral treatment.
Likewise in the same period of time (2008-2010), the number of PLHIV increased from 13757 to 16686 (21.3% increase), while PLHIV receiving ART increased from 9131 to 11878 - a significant 30% increase in three years. It can be concluded that KHANA has done a much better job in referring PLHIV to anti-retroviral treatment than referring CIA. Table 2 tabulates the numbers of PLHIV and CIA, and the percentages of these groups receiving ART from 2008 to 2010.

**Figure 6: Coverage of Community Based Care and Support Services**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of PLHIV</th>
<th>Number of PLHIV Receiving ART</th>
<th>Percent PLHIV Receiving ART</th>
<th>Number of CIA</th>
<th>Number of CIA Receiving ART</th>
<th>Percent CIA Receiving ART</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>13757</td>
<td>9131</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
<td>1499</td>
<td>1069</td>
<td>71.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>16271</td>
<td>9860</td>
<td>60.6%</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td>1185</td>
<td>66.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>16686</td>
<td>11878</td>
<td>71.2%</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>1272</td>
<td>70.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both PLHIV Self-Help Group (SHG) and OVC Support Group (SG) are established with the collaboration between KHANA and the Implementing Partners (IPs), which allocate resources based on the number of SHG and SG they operate and carry out day-to-day operations. Most of the services (care, prevention, and support) are provided through the structure of SHG and SG. The numbers of these groups are shown in Figure 7. From 2008 to 2010, while the number of PLHIV SHG increased from 541 to 833 (54% increase), the number of OVC SG more than doubled from 445 to 985 (121% increase). These data suggest a rapidly expanding infrastructure of grass root organizations that provide critical AIDS/HIV care, prevention, and support programs to the population of Cambodia who may or may not have been infected.
In addition to being referred to anti-retroviral treatment (ART), PLHIV, OVC, and MARP are also referred to a number of other health services, which include Voluntary Counseling and Testing (VCT), Opportunistic Infection (OI)/CD4, Tuberculosis (TB), Prevention from Mother-to-Child Transmission (PMTCT), Sexual Transmitted Infection (STI), and Family Planning (FP) (see Figure 8). While the proportions of referrals to FP, PMTCT, TB are small (less than 5%) and appear to be constant in the three-year period, we see significant increase in ART and STI referrals. In 2008, both ART and OI/CD4 referrals were at 35%; in the next two years, ART referrals increased to 43%, while OI/CD4 referrals decreased to 21%. Furthermore, we see the most significant increase in STI referrals, which stood at 0% in 2008 and increased to more than 10% in two years. VCT referrals experienced a decline in these two years from 25% to 20%.

Services are also provided to most at risk populations through outreach, drop-in-centers, and Information, Education and Communication (IEC) materials (see Figure 9). Although we must admit that there was a decline of targets reached from 2009 to 2010 after an increase from 2008 to 2009. Overall, the total targets reached have decline from 25784 to 22975m (-10.9%). Although the numbers of targets reached for ATS and IDU have held relatively steady, the numbers for MSM and EW have shown significant decline of 12.9% and 17.0% respectively. To avoid a loss of momentum in these outreach programs, KHANA and its IPs should re-evaluate the strategies and implementations of these services in order to revamp their operations in the near future.
Figure 8: Referrals to Health Services

Source: KHANA SID Referral lists, Jan-Sep 2010

Figure 9: Target Reached Through Various HIV Preventing Services

Source: KHANA DBMS, 2010
CONCLUSION

With assertive involvement of both government agencies and NGOs in providing care, prevention, and support programs to its population, Cambodia has achieved significant success in controlling the AIDS/HIV epidemic; prevalence in Cambodia has been declining steadily in the past decades. To this effect, KHANA has played a pivotal role in the on-going campaign. Using the latest available data on adult AIDS/HIV prevalence rates to compare Cambodia with countries in the same region (Southeast Asia), it is shown that Cambodia is right at the average of seven countries². In this region, Thailand has the highest rate at 1.3 percent, while The Philippines has the lowest rate at less than 0.1 percent (see Table 3).

Table 3: Comparing AIDS/HIV Prevalence of Cambodia with Countries in Southeast Asia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Adult (Ages 15-49) Prevalence Rate 2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines, The</td>
<td>&lt; 0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.5%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 2012

To further illustrate Cambodia's success in lowering prevalence of AIDS/HIV, we compare its rates with countries with similar population sizes and GDP per capita. It is found that comparing to 10 other countries with similar population sizes, only one country has lower AIDS/HIV prevalence rate (Ecuador 0.4%), and it is not by much! The other nine countries have higher AIDS/HIV prevalence rates, and many are significantly higher (e.g., Malawi 11.0%, Zambia 13.5%, Zimbabwe 14.3%). The average AIDS/HIV prevalence rate among the eleven countries (Cambodia and 10 others) is 4.4 percent. For comparison purpose, the average population size for these eleven countries is approximately 14 million, while population of Cambodia is 14,138,000 (see Table 4).

Table 5 compares the AIDS/HIV prevalence rates of Cambodia and 10 other countries with similar GDP per capita. The average GDP per capita for this group of countries is US$2254; while GDP per capita of Cambodia is estimated to be US$2300. The average AIDS/HIV prevalence rate of these countries is 1.8%, which is significantly higher that Cambodia's 0.5%. Two of the 10 countries have lower rates than Cambodia, and they are both in South Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan), while the other eight have higher, and some significantly higher rates (e.g., Chad 3.4%, Nigeria 3.6%, Cameroon 5.3%).

² Although Brunei, Laos, Vietnam, and Timor-Leste are in the same region (Southeast Asia), their AIDS/HIV prevalence rates are not available.
### Table 4: Comparing AIDS/HIV Prevalence of Cambodia with Countries with Similar Population Sizes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>16287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>15891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>15370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>14901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>14377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>14138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>13775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>12926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>12861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>12644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>11506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.4%</strong></td>
<td><strong>14061</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 2012; Central Intelligence Agency, 2012

### Table 5: Comparing AIDS/HIV Prevalence of Cambodia with Countries with Similar Gross Domestic Product per capita

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Adult (Ages 15-49) Prevalence Rate 2009</th>
<th>GDP per capita in US Dollars 2011(^3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Djibouti</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>2600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>2600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>2300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>2300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>2200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia, The</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.8%</strong></td>
<td><strong>2254</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 2012; World Bank, 2012

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\(^3\) Although the following countries have similar GDP per capita compared to Cambodia (US$2300), their AIDS/HIV prevalence rates are not available: Western Sahara (US$2500), Yemen (US$2500), Federated States of Micronesia (US$2200), Sao Tome and Principe (US$2000)
In sum, Cambodia compares well with countries within its region and very well with countries with similar demographic and economic attributes in regards to declining AIDS/HIV prevalence. In Cambodia, KHANA has been providing prevention, home and community based care (HCBC), referrals, and related services to MARP, PLHIV, OVC, and their affected families in approximately 46 percent of the communes nationwide. In addition, our data show that KHANA covers approximately 55 percent PLHIV on ART at the national level. Nonetheless, referrals to health related facilities need to be improved in response to the prevention, care, and support; moreover, data quality from the DBMS needs to be improved to provide evidence-based support to the implementation of these critical programs.

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We would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to our donors: USAID, GFATM, EU, AusAID, and WFP. We also wish to thank our implementing partners (IPs) as well as the communities who have been collaborating with KHANA.

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>Anti-Retroviral Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATS</td>
<td>Amphetamine-Type Stimulants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CD4</td>
<td>Cluster of Differentiation 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Children Infected with AIDS/HIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DBMS</td>
<td>DataBase Management System (of KHANA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>Drug Users</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EW</td>
<td>Entertainment Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FP</td>
<td>Family Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBC</td>
<td>Home Base Care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>Health Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCBC</td>
<td>Home and Community Based Care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDU</td>
<td>Intravenous Drug User</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>Implementing Partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARP</td>
<td>Most At Risk Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M&amp;E</td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSM</td>
<td>Men who have Sex with Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCHADS</td>
<td>National Center for HIV/AIDS, Dermatology and STD</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OI</td>
<td>Opportunistic Infection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVC</td>
<td>Orphan/Vulnerable Children</td>
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<td>PLHIV</td>
<td>People Living with HIV</td>
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<td>PMTCT</td>
<td>Prevention from Mother To Child Transmission</td>
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<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Support Group</td>
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<td>SHG</td>
<td>Self Help Group</td>
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<td>STI</td>
<td>Sexual Transmit Infection</td>
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<td>TB</td>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
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<tr>
<td>VCT</td>
<td>Voluntary Counseling and Testing</td>
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ABSTRACT

WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN GENDER PERSPECTIVES; A CASE STUDY OF AFRICA

Over the past twenty years despite being marginalized women are increasingly active in political life playing a leading role in the emergence of groups, organizations and movements. There is a worldwide drive to promote women’s representation in the electoral process through political education and awareness and to sensitize on Gender issues. Women’s studies in Africa clearly show their unequal status socially, politically as well as economically. It also represents the view that they are at disadvantageous position for any gains in the society. Remaining out of formal politics for long it was in the 1990’s the African women is said to have entered the male domain of politics of Africa with determination. Their urge to hold political office got encouragement through a series of International Conferences. Multi party system also brought a major change and played a significant role in enhancing women’s representation in many African countries. Repressive nature of society, social and cultural restrictions hold them back from entering into politics. Women are both educationally and economically unequal to men to stand against them in politics. Women also lack exposure. Triple burdened women, do not have enough time for political carrier and feeling of insecurity, fear of rape, violence etc. also discourages them. Poor governance, political instability and economic uncertainties in African countries have not acknowledged women’s hard work. The system of reserving quotas for women has been introduced without taking into consideration their participation both in private and public spheres. The objective of this paper is to assess women’s political participation in contemporary Africa. The purpose is to analyze and identify the socio-cultural, politico economical factors, which are responsible for their low participation and suggest measures to improve To make women’s political participation a complete success comprehensive change in outlook and attitude is needed to put women in their role in society. Nothing can deter them from reaching their goal that ultimately lies in their participation in political affairs allowing them enjoying their power without any road blocs. Rather than allocating temporary measures like quota system or similar steps there should be emphasis on permanent solution. There is a need to bring reforms in the legislative policies that directs towards women’s empowerment. The struggle for socio-economic development in empowering women is incomplete without their meaningful participation in policy making.
1. Title of the submission

The Influence of China’s Housing Policy on Taiwanese House Brokerage Companies’ Strategy—Take Sinyi and Yungching Housing Brokerage Companies as Cases

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The Influence of China’s Housing Policy on Taiwanese House Brokerage Companies’ Strategy-Take Sinyi and Yungching Housing Brokerage Companies as Cases

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Abstract

Discussion of Research Background and Outcomes

Because of the impacts from Chinese Government’s continuous Macro-economic Control Policy, there is no more raising space for China realty market and most people agree there housing market prosperity will continuously go on the declining trend. In January of 2011, The State Council proposed “State 8 Rules”. Besides, Chongqing and Shanghai firstly launched the realty taxes, Beijing's 15 restrictions for purchase limitation, Shanghai and Shenzhen’s restrictions for price rising, and other policies reveal the density, severity and schedule of China housing adjustment and control in 2011 were out of market expectation. Especially, the housing price control and purchasing restrictions are two main significant measures, and we can be very sure that China’s policy for adjusting and control housing price had become a normal pattern in 2011.

In 2011, the westward strategies of Taiwanese realty brokerage industry, including Sinyi Housing, Yongqing Realty Group, House and Business Realty and others still focused on active market expansion, and mainly on direct operating. Till to 2011, the companies with fastest development speed of expansion were still Sinyi Housing, Yongqing Housing. After experiencing north-south setting up direct operating stores at Beijing, Shanghai, Suzhou and Hangzhou cities along the coast of China, Sinyi housing jointed venture with third local realty developer of Qingdao city in Shandong province, City Construction Group, to set up City Construction Sinyi Housing in the end of July in 2011. In addition, this company also announced that it will follow the strategy with horizontal deployment in China after 2011 and provide refined and technological services with technology realty brand. Yongqing housing plans to achieve more than 60 percent of annual growth rate of total store numbers in China from 2011 to 2012 and lock the new cities of Hangzhou, Chongqing, Jinan. It expects to deeply cultivate high-density regions, combining with the services model closer to the market to gain market recognition, in order to become a brokerage group which operates across the strait and integrates vertically from up, middle to downstream. The company has also been actively planning to assess in applying IPO.
listed in Hong Kong or Shanghai\(^1\).

Because Shanghai's realty development is seen as an index of China's realty market, this study will aim at two Taiwanese house brokerage companies invest in China, Sinyi and Yungching realty agencies for study. This study is to understand the impacts of Chinese housing pressing policy on there Taiwanese realty brokerage companies’ strategies including not only sales but also human resource and operating model. Because these companies have deployed and located in both sides, their adjustment of strategy is the main interest and objective for our study.

Research Objectives

1. To know the influence of China housing pressing policy on Taiwanese house brokerage companies’ strategy.

2. To explore into Taiwanese house brokerage companies’ strategies for sales, human resource, and operational model under China’s housing pressing policy.

Proposed Methodology

The study expects to use case study method and depth interviews. Firstly, we will collect information about case companies and to collect secondary materials regarding the status of China's realty and government policies, and secondly, conduct in-depth interviews with the workers and clients of two house brokerage companies from the supply and demand perspectives. We plan to adopt content analysis for interview data, and finally, to propose conclusions and recommendations as reference for Taiwan's house brokerage companies’ strategies when they want to foot into China realty market.

\(^1\) Industry Economics Services from Taiwan Institute of Economic Research, 2011.
1. Title of the submission

Use Content Analysis Method to Analyze the Influence of Environment on Taiwanese Private Education Industry-A Case Study of an EMBA Consultancy Company

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Topic Area: Education
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Abstract

Many researches had dedicated into the finding of the internal organization relations between leadership, organization culture, employee satisfaction, leaving factors and performance etc. But in practical field, we found many outside attractiveness and pressure result in the leave of employees. The impacts may be great as internal constructs. So, we want to adopt a qualitative method to find out the real world’s situation. In the Social Science Research Method course, we just demonstrated a case of Taiwanese private education consultancy company which is a professional EMBA tutoring center by content analysis method to supplement many quantitative, internal organization models. We have constructed some valuable and systematic preliminary models which could be the targets for following research to verify by suitable tools.

1. Why we adopted qualitative research method to explore into the influence of environmental factors on leadership, organization culture and employee satisfaction?

Chen (2004) used a quantitative survey to examine employee behaviors associated with two kinds of leadership: transformational and transactional, and the roles of organizational culture and commitment. It focused on the organization internal model to explore these constructs’ relationship.

Toor and Ofori (2009) also studied ethical leadership related factors from internal organization perspectives such as contingent reward dimension of transactional leadership, organization culture, employee willingness and satisfaction and so on. Their findings also showed that ethical leadership mediates the relationship between employee outcomes and organizational culture. Others also researched the
relations between internal factors including leadership, culture, satisfaction, etc. (Wallace and Weese, 1995; Harold, 2008).

But we guess that some potential factors still have complicated impacts on leadership, culture and performance more than internal elements. If a company has good culture and leaders have suitable behaviors or traits, it is still possible that employees have some chances from outside attractiveness or pressure to leave. That’s why we designed a qualitative research with in-depth interview to explore into the environmental conditions to figure out if these factors influence the internal organization constructs as leadership, culture and employee satisfaction even leave.

2. In-depth interview questions structure—a theoretical perspective

We designed an in-depth interview outline based on Porter’s (1990) Diamond Model to explore the impacts of environmental variables on the model. The Diamond Model has four country-specific determinants and two external variables.

(1) Factor conditions such as human resources, capital resources and infrastructure etc.

(2) Demand conditions such as: (a) the composition of demand in the home market; (b) the size and growth rate of the home demand; and (c) the mechanisms through which domestic demand is internationalized and pulls a nation's products and services abroad.

(3) Related and supporting industries such as: (a) the presence of internationally competitive supplier industries that create advantages in downstream industries through efficient, early, or rapid access to cost-effective inputs; and (b) internationally competitive related industries which can coordinate and share
activities in the value chain when competing or those which involve products that are complementary.

(4) Firm strategy, structure, and rivalry such as: (a) the ways in which firms are managed and choose to compete; (b) the goals that companies seek to attain as well as the motivations of their employees and managers; and (c) the amount of domestic rivalry and the creation and persistence of competitive advantage in the respective industry.

The two outside forces, also affecting the competitiveness of a nation, but not direct determinants, are these:

(1) The role of chance as caused by developments such as: (a) new inventions; (b) political decisions by foreign governments; (c) wars; (d) significant shifts in world financial markets or exchange rates; (e) discontinuities in input costs such as oil shocks; (f) surges in world or regional demand; and (g) major technological breakthroughs.

(2) The various roles of government including: (a) subsidies; (b) education policies; (c) actions toward capital markets; (d) the establishment of local product standards and regulations; (e) the purchase of goods and services; (f) tax laws; and (g) antitrust regulation.

Figure 1 provides an illustration of the complete system of these determinants and external variables. As can be seen, each determinant affects the others and all, in turn, are affected by the role of chance and government.
We applied this model due to its well-organized environmental structure that can provide a system view for designing interview question outline. We modified slightly as following:

(1) Factor conditions such as human resources in labor market.

(2) Demand conditions such as: the composition of demand in the market; the size and growth rate of the home demand.

(3) Related and supporting industries such as: upstream and downstream industries.

(4) Firm strategy, structure, and competitions.

(5) The role of chance as caused by developments such as: new inventions, significant shifts in society or market.
(6) The various roles of government include education policies, regulations and related laws.

3. Coding Rule

We analyzed and interpreted the content of primary raw data collected by In-depth interviews analysis. During the interview process, we have to get respondent’s agree to let us record in whole process. And then, we organized into transcripts (see Appendix). When analyzing, in order to increase the reliability and validity, we encoded the contents of raw data collected by recording so that readers can compare and track to the source to enhance its reliability.

The interview questions referred to Porter's diamond model, and classified into six dimensions, respectively are Labor Conditions, Demand Conditions, Supporting Industries, Competitive Strategy, Opportunity, and Government Role. Under each dimension, we designed several questions. In order to make content analysis can be clearly and easily identified the source of its question, our coding principles are designed four sections. The first code is according to six dimensions’ names, such as Labor conditions is “L”; “Demand conditions is “D”; Supporting industries is “I”; Competitive strategy is “S”; Opportunity is “O”; Government's role is “G”.

The second code is about question under each dimension. For example, we coded the first question in Labor Conditions: “Is employees moving between competitors (rival’s recruiting for your talent) serious in your industry?” as "L-1". The second question “When this kind of recruit occurs, what are the impacts on your organization especially from the perspectives of organizational culture and leadership?” was encoded as "L-2", and so on.
The third code represented the respondent. For example, Mr. A’s answer for the first question of Labor Conditions was encoded as "L-1-A"; Mr. C’s answer for the second question of Government's Role was encoded as "G-2-C".

The last code is encoded from the content that respondent’s answer for the question. Every sentence or grouping sentences which can express full meaning is called as a meaningful unit. We encoded every unit as the last code. So, the contents of answers under every question may include several units.

Transcripts content of four encoding are shown in appendix. It should be noted that one unit may appear in different dimensions. And some units in the actual analysis process are not all necessarily used. Because the reason of being a "unit" just is it has an independent and full meaning in the context of the paragraph but not necessarily means it can be as a useful interpretation of the dimension.

4. Sample Selection

The research focuses on education industry and related companies in Taiwan, including private universities, language cram school, EMBA cram school. Our in-depth interview subjects are also planned to aim at managers of these institutions. Subject selection of in-depth interview in a qualitative research is according to its specialty and representativeness of a case rather than broadly selecting samples for generalization. Therefore, when we conducted the interview and content analysis, we choose Mr. C to be a representative respondent, who is an owner of an EMBA consulting company.

Mr. C is now working for "K Management Consulting Company", which helps on-job people to apply EMBA program. There are no other consulting companies doing the same customerized and consulting training service.
Other competitors do the business as traditional cram school, and sell correspondence materials. Company K adopts virtual organization to be its operation mode. Usually, the consultants do not work at the same location, neither as their work time. The service is flexible to the needs of their customers. Therefore, they are highly special and representational. Leadership and communication are very important in this kind of virtual organization operation, and it's highly related to the company’s performance and operational efficiency.

Mr. C is a Management PHD candidate, and has seven years experience in EMBA consulting and teaching. He also used to be a researcher and lecturer of teaching strategies at the Industrial Technology Research Institute. He has practical and academic experiences and insights of management field. In 2004, he founded K consulting company, and used differential strategy from the cram school mode to became the project consulting mode. This is an initiative in domestic market and nor any company to take the same mode up to now. Because such operation needs to have a high rapport and expertise of the team. Currently, there are seven employees in K company, and all are EMBA students or alumni in well-known Universities. They are also counseling students of K company in the past. After entered the school, they decided to join the company as a full-time or part-time consultant. Because these consultants all have entrance exam experiences and same learning experiences, so that they have a highly unspoken consensus for cooperation. This is a major advantage of the company's human resources. They do not recruit consultants in public labor market, but they absorb the outstanding students as their consultants, so that can maintain a very high human resource quality.

5. Data Analysis
When we analyzed interview raw data, although we apply the six dimensions of Diamond Model as our structure, but we have to focus on the research core: the influence of leadership and culture on organization performance. Besides quantitative method for verifying assumed model, the reason of adopting qualitative interview and content analysis was to find the influence ways approach of environmental factors on leadership, organization culture and performance. So, we tried to build up the propositions or models of environment influences on leadership, culture and performance to provide later researcher to verify it.

(1) Labor Conditions (L)

In the private education industry, competitor’s recruiting for our employees will depend on certain conditions. From the perspective of respondent’s industry, the competitive recruiting is subject to business’s type. If the company is correspondence or cram school type, the competitive recruiting is not serious (L-1-C-1, L-1-C-4, L-1-C-9). We thought the reason is that most of this kind organizations just sell paper materials and DVD. But in the consulting type companies, service specialists have high professional ability (L-1-C-2). If rivals want to steal or imitate the other’s know-how or uniqueness, this recruiting will probably occur (L-1-C-3).
Either competitors’ recruiting or voluntarily leaving have impacts on organizations (L-2-C-1). If the leader does not have a good reacting ability and leadership, corporate system is also not sufficiently well (L-1-C-5, L-2-C-5), when the important cadres left with hostility, it will result in a big challenge for a leader (L-2-C-2), such as trademarks, copyright, and patent theft, leakage of trade secrets, business model to be imitated, and the loss of customers and other market. If organizational culture is harmony, health, positive (L-2-C-4, L-2-C-6, S-2-C-17 ~ 21), together with the leader's proper management and reacting ability (L-2-C-7), with well-organized, opening operation of the system (L-1-C-5, L-1-C-6, L-2-C-5, S-2-C-9 ), the impacts of competitors’ recruiting or employee quit can be reduced (L-2-C-8).

If an organization wants to maintain innovation momentum (L-2-C-9, L-2-C-10), it should hold a positive attitude towards the appropriate staff turnover (L-2-C-11, L-2-C-12). However, if the leave is malicious, for example, competitors’ recruiting or internal staff leave to start their own business as a new competitor (L-1-C-4), this will be a great challenge for the organization (L-2-C-1, L-2-C-2), especially on the loss of intellectual property and trade secrets (G-1-C-2, G-1-C-6).

If leaders without empathy, turning a blind eye to the needs of employees (L-1-C-6,
L-2-C-7, S-2-C-10, S-2-C-11), or management system is not perfect (L-1-C-5, L-2-C-5, S-2-C-9), organizational culture (L-2-C-4, S-2-C-17 ~ 21) and the working atmosphere are not good (L-2-C-3, L-2-C-6), then the employee's departure will have a negative impacts on the other staff’s morale and organizational performance (L-2-C-1, L-2-C-2), and malicious leaving is more likely to endanger the survival of the enterprise (G-1-C-6).

Figure 3 Leaving Reasons of Employees and Strategy Model in a Private Educational Institution

(2) Demand Conditions (D)

In the private education industry, if a professional consulting company advertises their customized services, it must respond to different customer needs (D-1-C-1) to help customers solve problems (D-1-C-2). If it is a general cram school, it as long as
uses a standardized process to serve customers (D-1-C-3).

There are a variety of customer expectations, they can be mainly divided into two kinds, one is their self-expectation on project goal (D-1-C-4), the other is for our service expectations (D-1-C-5). In the process of meeting customer expectations, the most difficult for us is the psychological care of clients (D-1-C-6, D-2-C-3, D-2-C-7). Especially when they encountering difficulties in the middle of the project, it may make the customers lose confidence, and give up halfway (D-1-C-7). Therefore, we can infer that the customers’ psychological factors are often the key determinants to the success of the project.

A professional consultant to a successful project is very important (D-2-C-1), because he has to not only manage project well, insist on project requirements (D-2-C-2), but also focus on the customer's psychological status (D-2-C-3). If the consultant has same learning experience (D-2-C-4), plus a wealth of counseling experience (D-2-C-5), he is relatively easy to have empathy and understand customer expectations and feelings (D-2-C-7). Of course, each customer's problems are different, if the leader can fully trust the consultants and authorized them when facing customers (D-2-C-8, D-2-C-9), that will be a great help on instant gratification for the customer or solving customer’s problems.
(3) Supporting Industries (I)

The institutions of private educational industry to meet customer demand will expand its business scope (I-1-C-2, I-1-C-4). If it is not their professional area, they will use strategic alliances or outsourcing approaches to cooperate with other professional institutions (I-1-C-1, I-1-C-3). From the point of view of respondent’s company and industry, cost, service variety and flexibility (I-1-C-8) are the principle of partner selection. If the company can operate independently without a formal contractual cooperation relationship (I-1-C-5, I-1-C-6, I-1-C-7), it will be able to reduce external dependence and also reduce the risk to the organization (I-2-C-1). Leaders just need lead their subordinates to do customer service well, so it can also avoid the complexity of management.
(4) Competitive Strategy (S)

Because of the private education industry's highly competitive market (S-1-C-1, L-1-C-1), more and more practitioners had emulated the business model from each other (S-1-C-2, L-1-C-4), such as: tutoring mode (S-1-C-3, L-1-C-3 D-1-C-2), one to one training mode, and so on. But after reviewing the industry, a highly professional type of consulting company (L-1-C-5, G-1-C-5), for example, K (EMBA counseling) consultancy firm, with customized service patterns (D-1-C-1, D-1-C-5, O-1-C-14), systematic and disciplined process of counseling, has basically built a very high entry barrier that is not easy to imitate (L-1-C-3, L-2-C-8). Therefore, it is also not yet have totally same business model as K company within the industry (S-1-C-4, L-1-C-3, O-1-C-1).
Facing numerous industry competition, we can see that their company’s leader mainly adopts open leadership (S-2-C-1, D-2-C-9, L-1-C-5), and hopes their consultants to serve clients on first line by professional ability (S-2-C-2, D-2-C-8). In selecting employees, they need to meet many different characteristics, such as: complete counseling qualifications and practical experience (S-2-C-3, D-2-C-5), with a centripetal force of the organization (S-2-C-5, L-2-C-6), emphasis on integrity (S-2-C-4), exquisite thoughts (S-2-C-6, L-2-C-3, D-2-C-7), willing to serve the people and so on (D-1-C-6). We can imagine that it will cost considerable time and efforts to train, inspect and test an omni bearing professional consultant (S-2-C-7, D-2-C-1). In particular, due to the heavy workload of the consultant group (S-2-C-8, D-2-C-4), its leader and motivation system (S-2-C-9, L-1-C-5), also need much investment in (S-2-C-10, L-1-C-6). For example, good leaders should first think of the needs of collages (S-2-C-1, D-2-C-3, L-2-C-7), provide them a broad stage to play their roles (S-2-C-12), not be afraid of hindered setbacks (S-2-C-13), fully authorize staff (S-2-C-14, L-2-C-12), so that the staffs can have the flexibility and space in the business (S-2-C-14, L-2-C-6, D-2-C-8). The leaders can convey the mind of full support to their staffs (S-2-C-15, D-2-C-9) to let employees not worry at work. Leaders can also work together with the staffs on the front lines (S-2-C-16), therefore, it can cultivate an excellent unspoken consensus for each other.

In addition, we know that every business has its own unique corporate culture and organizational characteristics, because it represents the organization's core values. We understood the K consulting company's culture traits are "Mutual assistance (S-2-C-17, L-2-C-4), Sharing (S-2-C-18), Good tacit agreement (S-2-C-19, L-2-C-3), High efficiency (S-2-C-20), Strong cohesion and united", etc. (S-2-C-21).
If there is no good operation of the core values in the organization, company will gradually collapse and can not be sustainable, especially in the virtual organization, it is very important to maintain this kind of interaction (S-2-C-22).

Figure 6 K Company’s Strategies and its Relations with Culture and Selection Rules

(5) Opportunities (O)

From respondent’s understanding, today's educational reform, declining birthrate and opening cross-strait exchanges don’t affect adults’ on-job education (O-1-C-1, L-1-C-1, L-1-C-2) Because the objects of educational reform are set on high school and below level (O-1-C-2), and the cross-strait student exchange is for general
students, not on-job students. Instead, the greater impact is the recognition of academic qualifications in mainland China (O-1-C-3, S-1-C-1), and the more and more convenient cross-strait transportation (O-1-C-8). Both may result in many Taiwan people living and working in China (O-1-C-4). And the visibility of China schools (O-1-C-5) will pull Taiwan people to choose China EMBA program (O-1-C-6), or choose Taiwan’s schools’ EMBA program set there (O-1-C-7).

Moreover, the China schools’ international rankings are very outstanding (O-1-C-9), are quite welcome to the Taiwan people to enter their schools (O-1-C-10). This is indeed a threat to Taiwan schools (O-1-C-11). Of course, for the counseling industry, this is an also adversely affect (O-1-C-12). Unless consulting companies can also think transformation and foot into the China market (O-1-C-13, L-2-C-10), or they may not be able to catch more opportunities (L-2-C-9). It’s worth mentioning that each school’s admissions policy may change in every year, and also has a greater impact for the consulting companies. Because the institutions must respond to the test system changes of every schools to adjust their counseling methods (O-1-C-14, D-1-C-2, D-1-C-5). This is a particular matter.

Globalization is the most important characteristics in 21st century. In another words, it also represents opportunities and challenges (O-2-C-1). Frequent cross-strait interaction promotes cross-strait personnel exchanges (O-2-C-2). The Taiwanese who has good economy capacity will considered to study in mainland China (O-2-C-3, L-2-C-14), but Chinese people would not choose to study for Taiwan EMBA (O-2-C-4).

From this perspective, globalization becomes a threat and challenge (O-2-C-5); but from another point of view, if the institutions can catch the future trend for increased
demand for China EMBA and explore China market (O-2-C-6, O-3-C-1), it becomes an opportunity (O-2-C-7). Of course, if the institutions want to provide EMBA service in mainland China, they must spend a lot of time to understand the cross-strait cultural backgrounds, social systems, thinking logics (O-2-C-8, D-2-C-7, G-1 -C-5). If not ready, they will be quite hard, furthermore, if there is no one for help, they are not easy to success (O-2-C-9, I-1-C-7).

If Taiwanese institutions who are considering into China, (O-3-C-1), it needs to make more adjustments on the guiding form and contents (O-3-C-2, D-1-C-1, D-1-C-6) including strategy (O-3-C-3), the teaching mode (O-3-C-4), the applicable system (O-3-C-5), and China legal norms. The current work process of the institutions focuses on the improvement for internal procedure and raising work efficiency (O-3-C-6) to avoid too much job loading on specific few employees.
Figure 7 Opportunities or Challenges for Taiwan EMBA Consultancy?

(6) Government Role (G)

Intellectual Property (IP) is not only the lifeblood of knowledge-based organization subsistence (G-1-C-1), but also an intangible asset. It is a very important value and competitiveness for an organization (G-1-C-6). If the staffs embezzle organizational IP such as copyright, patents, trademark and business secret to start a new competitive business with lower price (G-1-C-2, G-1-C-3, D-2-C-4, D-2-C-5,
O-1-C-12), it will cause a huge impact for enterprise.

In order to avoid this situation, organization should sign confidential contract with staffs (G-1-C-4, L-2-C-5, O-3-C-5), especially the organizations providing knowledge and skills (G-1-C-5) should pay much attentions on this to avert loss of core competitiveness (G-1-C-6, S-2-C-22).

Therefore, organizations should not only emphasize their trademark (G-2-C-1), they should employ patent to protect specific technology (G-2-C-2), so that organizations can get basic law safeguard (G-2-C-3). Even so, when this matter occurs, it still results in bad influence on both sides (G-2-C-4). So, if organizations can sign a confidential contract with employees in advance to clearly define and inform staffs, it can prevent similar incidents (G-2-C-1).

Figure 8 Approaches of Protect Core Competitiveness for Private Education Institution
6. Conclusions of Qualitative Research

The unverified models from qualitative research can be seen as supplements for many internal quantitative models which had verified and researched by previous researchers. We thought these models can’t be interpreted totally just from internal perspectives. From the respondent’s experience and answer, it is indeed too complicated to figure out the internal and external relations between leadership, organization culture, employee satisfaction, leaving and environment conditions. So, our qualitative research findings of several models can provide following research to use quantitative method to verify.
## Appendix The Interview Raw Data of Mister C(with coding)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Questions and Answers</th>
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| Labor Conditions | 1. Is employees moving between competitors (rival’s recruiting for your talent) serious in your industry?  

*It depends! I think other cram school is not so serious (L-1-C-1). But our company’s consultants is very professional (L-1-C-2), and our business model is very unique (L-1-C-3). There have been a consultant to go out to start a company and asked other employees to go with him (L-1-C-4). But our management system is well sound (L-1-C-5) and puts much attention on employees care (L-1-C-6). Although that people discredited false content and attempted to influence other employees (L-1-C-7), but colleagues remained unmoved (L-1-C-8). This makes me very impressed and fortunate. Of course, there were some cram schools wanted to recruit our employees, but they didn’t work(L-1-C-9)*  

2. When this kind of recruit occurs, what are the impacts on your organization especially from the perspectives of organizational culture and leadership?  

*Of course, this matter will be a huge challenge for our company (L-2-C-1). Even the employees don’t leave to competitors, but if important consultants go out with personal reason, it will definitely influence on morale (L-2-C-2). To prevent bad impacts, it depends on usual solid and well consensus of a team (L-2-C-3), good corporate culture (L-2-C-4) and tangible management system (L-2-C-5) to go through the transition period. Our company is very open and with strong team cohesion (L-2-C-6). When I lead people, I always ask myself to try to take care of the needs of colleagues with empathy (L-2-C-7). So, totally speaking, it’s influence is so big(L-2-C-8). After all, if people leave to find other jobs, it means a new vitality will come into the organization (L-2-C-9). If the company is too stable as dead water, the organization is hard to innovate (L-2-C-10). Therefore, my attitude towards people leave with good intentions is blessing of gratitude (L-2-C-11). This also can give others a space to play more (L-2-C-12). If these people want to come back after leaving a period of time, we all welcome them (L-2-C-13). In the past, we had a consultant leave for her career goal (L-2-C-14), but came back when she finished her goal. I think this very normal in an organization.*
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<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Questions and Answers</th>
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<tr>
<td>Demand Conditions(D)</td>
<td>1. What are the difficulties when you achieve your customers’ expectations?</td>
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<td><em>Each customer's needs and situation is different (D-1-C-1). Since we advertised customized services, we must go all out to help customers solve problems (D-1-C-2). Otherwise, we are just like other cram schools to use standardized processes (D-1-C-3). Each customer has high expectations, either for their project goals (D-1-C-4), or our services (D-1-C-5). I think the most difficult for us is how to help customers in the process of achieving their goals to overcome their psychological obstacles (D-1-C-6). Because we take the most rigorous training, many of them are not suited to this study due to high pressure and give up halfway (D-1-C-7).</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>2. How do you lead your staff to satisfy customers’ expectations? If conflicts exist between employees and customers, what will you do?</td>
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<td><em>Consultant's role is very important (D-2-C-1). One hand, they must adhere to our training requirements (D-2-C-2), on the one hand, they need to take care of customer's psychological (D-2-C-3). However, because our consultants are someone who has same learning experiences (D-2-C-4), and also have extensive counseling experience (D-2-C-5), this is not a big problem for them (D-2-C-6). I always told my consultants, as long as you can judge clients’ feeling by your own, you can understand what customers want, what they expect, why they fell anxious (D-2-C-7). How to help them through it, I let my consultants themselves face it by themselves (D-2-C-8)! I believe them (D-2-C-9).</em></td>
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<td>Dimension</td>
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| Supporting Industries(I)      | 1. What are your related industries surrounding your business?  

Basically, our formal partners should be only one, which is a statistical consulting company (I-1-C-1). After our students admitted to the institute, they may have the demand for the research paper (I-1-C-2). If their learning problems are relevant to quantity, we will transfer them to that company (I-1-C-3); if those are qualitative related issues, we can solve for these clients (I-1-C-4).  

However, because we usually hold some learning activities and these activities are held in the cafe, so these cafes can be regarded as our supporting manufacturers (I-1-C-5)! In addition, our counseling information is obtained from a number of valuable databases or media news articles. These are achieved by accessing to the school library database with our consultants’ student identity (I-1-C-6). These should also be very important, but no formal cooperation contract partners (I-1-C-7)! For us, these partners are not only low-cost, but also various, flexible (I-1-C-8).  

2. Do you have any troubles when your team cooperates with them? How do you lead your team to cooperate with them?  

Basically, because our company is almost independent, and not rely on any one company, so no problems (I-2-C-1).
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<tr>
<td>Competitive strategy (S)</td>
<td>1. Please brief us with the competitive situation in your industry?</td>
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<td><em>It can be said very fierce (S-1-C-1)! There are more and more counseling companies appeared (S-1-C-2). And there are more and more people after entering their schools, they intend to emulate our consulting service model (S-1-C-3). However, as far as I know, there is still not a formal institution with consulting type and sound project counseling discipline (S-1-C-4).</em></td>
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<td>2. While competing with rivals, how do you lead your employees? You can stand on the point of leadership, motivation or organizational culture to think about it.</td>
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<td><em>Indeed, this is not very easy to answer. My leadership style is &quot;laissez-faire&quot;(S-2-C-1), and I hope front-line consultants can use their expertise to face clients(S-2-C-2). Of course, to become a front-line advisers, they must have considerable guidance qualifications (S-2-C-3), high integrity personality (S-2-C-4), loyal to the organization (S-2-C-5), exquisite thoughts (S-2-C-6) and so on. To nurture a good consultant is not easy, it takes a long time to observe and nurture (S-2-C-7). Our consultants are all with heavy workload (S-2-C-8). My incentives way is not only with the system (S-2-C-9), but also with mind(S-2-C-10). I ask myself to think of their needs first (S-2-C-11), set up a broad stage to let them enjoy playing roles (S-2-C-12). They do not be afraid to fall down (S-2-C-13). I told them that I can fully authorize to you, you can decide to keep or withdraw any case if they don't like (S-2-C-14). As a leader, I must support them totally (S-2-C-15), and let them know that they can fight in the front line without worrying about anything. I will even accompany with them on the battlefields (S-2-C-16).</em></td>
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<td><em>I think our organization culture is very excellent, it has several characteristics &quot;mutual assistance (S-2-C-17), sharing (S-2-C-18), good tacit agreement (S-2-C-19), high efficiency (S-2-C-20), strong cohesion and united&quot; (S-2-C-21). Without these, our company is very easy to collapse and separate. It is not easy to maintain these in a virtual organization (S-2-C-22)!</em></td>
</tr>
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Opportunity (O) 1. How do you think about declining birthrate, educational reform, cross-strait students exchange?

The low birth rate in adult on-job training has little influence (O-1-C-1). And education reform is mainly aimed at the "high school and below level. The cross-strait students exchange is for general student (O-1-C-2). The greatest impact on us is the recognition of qualifications of China Universities (O-1-C-3). Because many Taiwan's people work in China (O-1-C-4), and their schools high reputation (O-1-C-5), Taiwanese people may select domestic EMBA program (O-1-C-6) or Taiwanese schools’ EMBA set there(O-1-C-7). Especially for the more convenient cross-strait transportation (O-1-C-8), and China schools’ international ranking are all very good (O-1-C-9), they also welcome Taiwan people to apply their EMBA (O-1-C-10). This is a major threat to the Taiwan schools (O-1-C-11). For we counseling Institutions are also has a bad effect (O-1-C-12), unless we make a transformation of exploring China market (O-1-C-13).

In addition, school's admissions policy has relatively large impact for us, and we must respond to every schools exam to change and adjust counseling methods (O-1-C-14), this should be noticed.

2. Do you view globalization as opportunity or hurdle?

Globalization is a threat and chance (O-2-C-1). Just like I mentioned, because talent exchange in cross-strait is more and more often (O-2-C-2), if Taiwanese have good economic condition, they may apply China schools (O-2-C-3). But Chinese people will not definitely come to Taiwan for EMBA (O-2-C-4). From this point, globalization is a threat (O-2-C-5). But if we change to another angle, China market is becoming hotter. Should we go there with our clients to grasp chance(O-2-C-6). If so, it becomes a chance (O-2-C-7). But if we want to provide EMBA service in China, I think we Taiwanese institutions is very hard due to not familiar to there market and system (O-2-C-8). If we don’t have guide, it is easy to fail (O-2-C-9).
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<td>Opportunity (O)</td>
<td>3. When you face these trends, do you have to change working process or job contents of your employees?</td>
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<td><em>I think if I want to explore China market (O-3-C-1), my company has to face great adjustment and reform (O-3-C-2), such as strategy (O-3-C-3), procedure (O-3-C-4), system and so on (O-3-C-5). Our current adjustment of working process and content for consultants is for internal efficiency (O-3-C-6).</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Government Role (G)</td>
<td>1. What is your view on the intellectual property protection law and limitations on employees moving to competitors?</td>
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<td><em>This is very important (G-1-C-1). In particular, we have experienced employee embezzled our intellectual assets and trademarks (G-1-C-2), also experienced important cadres left to start a low-price competition (G-1-C-3), so we has signed confidential contracts with current consultants to control this (G-1-C-4). We such a knowledge-based service providers must pay particular attention to this place (G-1-C-5). If we made a slightest mistake, the core competitive advantage will be lost (G-1-C-6).</em></td>
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<td>2. Did you have sign any agreements with employees or designed any mechanism about IP protection?</td>
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<td><em>We have got trademark right to protect our brand (G-2-C-1), and already had patent protection for our core technology (G-2-C-2). Our criminal lawsuit against former employee has been successful, now we are in the progress of Civil claims (G-2-C-3). However, this is a very bad thing for both sides (G-2-C-4), and it will be better if it can be avoided in advance by use of the system and contract (G-2-C-5).</em></td>
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Reference


Title: Cannabis in context: Individual trajectories, patterns of use and dynamic systems

Topic area: Medical Anthropology

Presentation format: Paper session

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ABSTRACT

Objective: This post-doctoral research project examines the relationship between socio-cultural context and individual trends in shaping different cannabis consumption patterns among experienced adult users. The aim is to gain a deeper, holistic appreciation of the contextual dynamics underlying problem use and dependency, compared to more recreational and counter-cultural patterns of use.

Method: The data for this project is based on ethnographic fieldwork, semi-structured open-ended interviews and participant observation among experienced adult cannabis users (at least 10 years of continuous use, aged 30+). Both well integrated recreational users and more problematic, marginalized users are included. Participant observation, informal interviews, conversations and observations from public spaces as well as private spheres provide the point of departure for relevant themes. A purposive sampling of 12 adult cannabis users with dissimilar lifestyles, regular (at least monthly) to heavy (daily) patterns of use, and varying degrees of integration/marginalization were interviewed in-depth to further assess trends, patterns and recurring themes.

Results: Preliminary findings indicate that individual trajectories of cannabis consumption are deeply embedded in complex, dynamic systems that evolve or devolve interdependently, resulting in adaptive or maladaptive patterns of use. These patterns of use are not static, but often change and vary for the same individual at different phases in their lives. Most respondents reported user patterns that reflect recreational as well as heavy and/or problematic patterns of use at different stages in their lives. Also, the extent to which respondents experienced their own use as problematic was not based primarily on the amount of cannabis consumed but on a range of individual and contextual dynamics related to fluctuations in fundamental protective systems that play a key role regarding the manner in which individual users respond to, assimilate and integrate cannabis consumption over time. These protective systems are comprised of several key factors including (but not limited to) attachment relationships, agency and mastery motivation, stress and emotion regulation, social inclusion and interaction with core groups as well as the ability to find meaning, coherence and continuity in ones current situation.

Conclusion: Operational protective systems seem to play a key role in shaping cannabis consumption patterns, in addressing the multidimensional and dynamic nature of these systems, social policy, treatment, and prevention efforts might improve their effectiveness substantially. This will require a full-scale collaborative and multidisciplinary agenda to integrate ways of understanding and responding appropriately.

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a. The Evolutionary Nature of Social Science and Theory

b. Communication

c. Paper Session

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Abstract

Of the many responses to the received view two perspectives have attempted to explicate the process that occurs following normal science. A division emerges between the ideas of evolutionary vs. revolutionary science. Proponents of evolutionary science suggest that scientific advancement occurs through an evolutionary process. Within this process theories build upon one another and evolve in ways that chart paths for theoretical goals. The opposition to evolutionary science argues that the post normal science process is revolutionary. In revolutionary science theories either work or they are abandoned. Theories cannot borrow from one another within revolutionary science, and paradigmatic changes result in reconstruction of the entire theory. The idea of revolutions is problematic for numerous reasons, but the following essay will provide two fundamental reasons to abandon the revolutionary perspective: examples of evolution in practice and evidence showing that the metaphor of “revolutions” is flawed for various reasons. The thesis for this essay suggests that the process which occurs after normal science is evolutionary not revolutionary.

This paper will argue that historical examples of post normal science identify the process of evolutionary science supported by Toulmin (1972). In contrast, Kuhn (1996) argues that after normal science is established, a revolutionary process takes place. Examples such as the development of a Weltanschauung, history, and communication theory will be provided to establish evidence for why the revolutionary perspective is flawed. The counterargument to the evidence and a response will be provided.

In addition this paper will present further evidence to identify the problems with Kuhn’s (1996) “revolutions” metaphor. This metaphor views science as anarchy, rather
than a vision of scientific growth, which is presented in the evolutionary perspective. Revolutions require abandonment of paradigms and theories when unsolvable anomalies emerge. This "negative" metaphor becomes a fundamental concern for the appearance of growth in social science. The metaphor creates a cutthroat environment for social scientific development.

Proof in the Examples

Past scientific examples support an evolutionary view of scientific development. For each scientific community a specific worldview is adopted to produce science and study phenomena. A Weltanschauung is a worldview by which phenomena can be observed and studied. The members of a scientific community adhere to a Weltanschauung. When an anomaly or crisis within the paradigm ensues, changes in the Weltanschauung are common. These changes are a form of adaptation to the crisis and provide support for the evolutionary perspective. Toulmin (1972) provides two examples that illustrate worldview changes as evolutionary: pre-Copernican astronomy to Galileo and Newton and the change from classic physics of Newton and Maxwell to quantum physics of Einstein, Heisenberg and others.

The changes that took place in these scientific communities were not systematic conversions that happened overnight. The changes were, "discussed, argued over, reasoned about, and criticized at great length" (Toulmin, 1972). The representatives of these respective scientific communities were concerned for the well being of the theoretical foundation. Toulmin (1972) suggests that if a breakdown in communication had occurred during the Weltanschauung change it would be documented in history. No such documentation exists, in fact, the historical examples provide, "arguments that
sanctioned their change of theoretical standpoint" (Toulmin, 1972). In other words, the members of the scientific community agreed to change their Weltanschauung to advance their existing research and increase their puzzle solving potential. If revolutions cannot be thoroughly explicated using examples in hard sciences, how are they to exist in simple science?

Toulmin (1972) juxtaposes evolution through an analysis of zoological and intellectual disciplines. He points out that evolution within conceptual development requires explanation of disciplinary distinctions and, "the profound long-term changes by which they are transformed or superseded." In general, these points are explained by the Weltanschauung and process by which science grows. These two points are thoroughly explicated throughout this essay.

The history of uses and gratifications theory offers a communication research example of the evolutionary nature of science. This theory was used to evaluate how viewers of television used the medium. With time, the theory became exhausted and very little research was conducted using the perspective. With the emergence of the internet uses and gratifications theory has revitalized and is now being applied to how internet participants use the medium. The theory evolved and it was adapted so that adherents to the paradigm could pursue new applications and goals using the same foundational perspective. Again, this example supports the evolutionary thesis by providing evidence of cumulative evolution rather than non-cumulative abandonment.

Counterargument

Scientific examples support a revolutionary view of scientific development. Kuhn (1996) contends that normal science exists through paradigms that are constructed
over time by communities of science. These paradigms are used to examine phenomena and solve puzzles. When a paradigm encounters an anomaly or crisis, a revolution is imminent. The researchers that adhere to the paradigm will try to explain the anomaly using their disciplinary matrix or Weltanschauung. If the crisis becomes incommensurable, a paradigm shift occurs and a new paradigm is created. The abandonment of the old paradigm and embracement of the new paradigm is an example of revolutions in practice. Kuhn (1996) defines 'revolutions' as, "those non-cumulative developmental episodes in which an older paradigm is replaced in whole or in part by an incompatible new one."

According to Kuhn (1996), a scientific community contains a specific worldview or Weltanschauung, which he calls a disciplinary matrix. The development of a disciplinary matrix happens through the study of exemplars. Exemplars are the concrete problem solutions studied and accepted by a scientific community. These worldviews and exemplars are separate and incommensurable; therefore, changes in a paradigm create new meanings in the disciplinary matrix. If meanings are changed, a new paradigm must be created and adopted, a revolution occurs. Kuhn points to the Copernican revolution.

Pre-Copernican astronomers relied on Ptolemy's system to predict the changing positions of the stars and planets. Although the system was successful at predicting the changes, there were minor discrepancies that emerged within the paradigm. Copernicus set out to identify a new paradigm. Promoting a paradigm shift within a mature science was not easy for Copernicus, but when his new system responded to the anomalies encountered in Ptolemy's system a theoretical new construction was established and
accepted. Ptolemy’s system was abandoned and thus died in the process. The revolution within this scientific community occurred in response to crisis and furthered the advancement of astronomy theory.

A second example is provided in the history of physical science. Newton's relativity theory was challenged numerous times by experts in the scientific community. When the proposed paradigms fell short, the existing paradigm prevailed. The quasi-revolutions did not provide the appropriate responses to the crises in question, and therefore died with their proponents.

For electrical scientists, normal science existed through theories derived from accessible phenomena. Competition amongst the scientific community ensued in the quest for a paradigm. Numerous possible paradigm structures were being worked on simultaneously. The Leyden jar was a predominant theoretical discourse, which argued that electricity could be bottled in liquid form. There were anomalies present within the field of research and it was not until drastic revisions occurred within the theory that a true paradigm for electricity emerged. This new paradigm required completely different procedures and had nothing to do with electrical fluid. The revolutionary process within this example rejected the previous research and theory, and established a working paradigm.

The uses and gratifications theory mentioned in the first argument does not contain the elements of a revolution. The paradigm obviously transcended the two different phenomena and continued to work. There was no rejection of the paradigm, the anomaly was overcome the theory stood the test of time. The magic bullet theory, spawned in communication research, is a much better example of a revolution in science.
The theory suggested that television messages had a direct cause and effect impact on viewers. The messages shot out of the television with immediate impact on viewers. When it was quickly discovered that empirical data supporting the cause and effect relationship was in short supply, the theory died. Proponents of the theory changed their paradigm and endorsed the two-step flow of communication. The magic bullet theory was abandoned and a new incompatible theory was adopted.

Response

Kuhn's view of what is revolutionary is a misinterpretation of the examples. Toulmin (1972) asserts that Kuhn's views on Weltanschauung revolutions are simply exaggerations of the changes that occur within a worldview. In response to Kuhn's 'Copernican Revolution' example, Toulmin (1972) asserts:

The so-called 'Copernican Revolution' took a century and a half to complete, and was argued out every step of the way. The world-view that emerged at the end of this debate had--it is true--little in common with earlier pre-Copernican conceptions. Yet, however radical the resulting change in physical and astronomical ideas and theories, it was the outcome of a continuing rational discussion and it implied no comparable break in the intellectual methods of physics and astronomy. (p. 105)

This statement implies that drastic changes occurred in the Copernican perspective, but the amount of time (i.e. 150 years) between changes creates an anomaly in itself. In addition, Toulmin argues that changes transpired but the methods remained foundational. The changes that occurred in physical science from Newton to Einstein show an evolutionary process in which a paradigm is altered by experts in the scientific community over time. The theory evolved to observe phenomena despite the fact that
some of the proposed paradigms were inadequate. The previous research was not simply rejected; it aided the evolutionary process. In his critique of Kuhn's contributions, Toulmin (1970) points out that, "no conceptual change in science is ever absolute" the changes are modifications not revolutions.

The electricians' paradigm is really an example of evolutionary scientific development. The points raised by Kuhn exaggerate the process of change within the example and a reexamination points to evolution in practice. There were not two scientific communities working on an electrical paradigm at the same time. The entire electrical scientific community worked together, despite competition, to establish a working paradigm. The emergence of the Leyden jar was just another evolutionary piece of the process. Without the research that accompanied the electrical fluid experiments, it would be difficult to claim that Franklin would have been capable of creating the new paradigm. The previous observations worked as a culmination of possibilities that ultimately led to the paradigm construction.

The magic bullet theory example only shows that evolutionary development exists. The theory was rejected, but the foundation that led up to the theory, and components created within the theory transcended into new perspectives. The communication researchers did not abandon everything they had operationalized to that point; they adapted those meanings to pursue the puzzle solutions. This is evolution.

Revolution: The Wrong Metaphor

The evolution metaphor is the most appropriate metaphor for describing science. Metaphors are used to provide meaning and explanation to a phenomenon. The evolutionary metaphor describes scientific advancement as a growing system. As a
perspective ages or changes the system alters and adapts in an evolutionary process. This process was generated through Darwin's theory of evolution. Toulmin (1972) posits that changes within the discussions of social, cultural and intellectual communities should be identified through their populational mechanisms by which transformations occur. The populational mechanisms are those elements that make up the history of a worldview. The researchers that make up a worldview history were attempting to establish a methodological construction of rational science; thus, growth is apparent.

The evolutionary metaphor allows scientific communities an opportunity to observe how coherence and continuity exists through real changes in science. It is a system that identifies and creates patterns in scientific advancement and reappraises the categories of analysis. It creates a worldview that requires human understanding to comprehend the interaction that exists and the changes that occur in science.

Counterargument

The revolution metaphor describes the way science is, rather than the way science ought to be. This metaphor points out the drop and add process of scientific advancement. When theories do not work, a revolution occurs that redirects and reconstructs the paradigms and meanings within the perspective. A revolution implies newness, a revolt against the old, nonworking paradigm. Although a "growth" paradigm would seem more "appropriate" for the structure of science, it simply does not provide the right juxtaposition of how science really works.

The revolution metaphor provides a comparison to the non-cumulative advancement of post-normal science. Kuhn suggests that there are three types of phenomena within which new theories are developed. The first is phenomena that have
already been observed using existing, developed paradigms. The second is phenomena that have existing paradigms, but require further explication for the theory to solve specific problems. Finally, the third is phenomena that have paradigms that are experiencing anomalies. The revolution metaphor lends itself to each of the three types of theory development. The first type is probably the least likely to undergo a revolution, but if a new paradigm is generated which does a better job of explicating the phenomena, a rejection of the existing paradigm is possible. The second type is subject to revolution because there are clear holes in the existing paradigm. The scientific community will eventually have to accept a new paradigm to observe the whole nature of the phenomena. The third type is probably the most common environment for which revolutions exist. If the existing paradigm cannot explain the anomaly, a new paradigm must be adopted.

Kuhn (1996) adds depth to his choice of the revolutionary metaphor by comparing it with revolutions in the political spectrum:

Political revolutions are inaugurated by a growing sense, often restricted to a segment of the political community, that existing institutions have ceased adequately to meet the problems posed by an environment that they have in part created. (p. 92)

In comparison to scientific revolutions Kuhn contends that:

Scientific revolutions are inaugurated by a growing sense, again often restricted to a narrow subdivision of the scientific community, that an existing paradigm has ceased to function adequately in the exploration of an aspect of nature to which the paradigm itself had previously led the way. (p. 92)

In both instances revolutions occur from irreversible crisis. Additionally, Kuhn suggests that conflicting political camps are often like conflict in scientific communities in regard
to the acceptance of a paradigm. Mass persuasion is used in both perspectives to generate support for the respective Weltanschauung. Each sub-community argues for their paradigm, which become circular until one paradigm is accepted and the others are rejected. A similar situation happens in political realms. Competing political institutions make circular arguments in favor of their stance; therefore, evaluative procedures, such as those in normal science, cannot be used for comparison. Each party uses their own stance to argue that very stance; therefore, persuasion plays a major roll in the acceptance of a new perspective.

Response

The evolution metaphor describes the way science is. Toulmin (1972) outlines his perspective on this issue:

Normal science involves no unavoidable incomprehension between rival scientists; nor does it lead to radical changes in the Gestalt of our sensory experiences. Its tasks are essentially consolidatory, with all the scientists of the particular school concerned operating according to a common framework of rational ground-rules. (p. 101)

The notion of 'consolidatory' lends tremendous support to the evolution metaphor. Science is cumulative and thus a consolidation of past research is evolutionary. The knowledge builds off that of the past.

Political revolutions provide an inappropriate comparison for the structure of science. A political agenda cannot be properly compared to a paradigmatic agenda. The proof of paradigm effectiveness is provided through the results of the phenomenological observation. If the paradigm fails to analyze the phenomena in question, then another paradigm will undoubtedly be considered. This is not to say that the foundational
infrastructure of the paradigm is worthless, it simply fails to accomplish the goals of the scientific community; thus, it must be built upon. A political agenda uses persuasion to attain acceptance, but the proof of positive implications is only assumed until the plan is implemented.

In addition, the three types of theoretical construction through phenomena, outlined by Kuhn, all lend support to an evolutionary process. In the first type, theories have been established over time and accepted by a scientific community. If a new theory is adopted that does a better job of explicating the phenomena, undoubtedly it will be based or have comparable elements with the original paradigm. The second type is an example of evolution in practice. The scientific community acknowledges the holes in the theory and work, perhaps in competition, to repair the problems. This applies also in the third type where a crisis exists and a new paradigm is imminent. The scientific community will not reject the system that has taken them so far, they will try to adapt it to answer the anomaly.

Conclusion

The process that occurs after normal science is evolutionary not revolutionary. The evidence and examples show that science evolves, shares, and builds upon existing theory. Theories do not die, they adapt. Science is a cumulative, connective process. The revolutionary process operates through assumptions that previous research completed in scientific communities has no bearing on the construction of new thoughts. If nothing else, the existing work established before a "revolution" has reduced the observational possibilities of a phenomena.
The rejection of revolutionary science is important because this perspective offers a flawed approach to scientific advancement. Rather than theoretical development branching out and growing as a cumulative unit the revolutionary perspective suggests non-cumulative development, which requires replacement of older paradigms and construction of "new" theories when anomalies or crisis occur. The revolutionary process creates a complex forest of old, young and dead theories. In contrast, the evolutionary process produces one tree with deep roots and a healthy network of branches. This process creates unity and focus for the scientific communities that adhere to the perspective and allows for scientific growth, not the proverbial axe.
References


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1. Title of the submission

The relation between traumatic life events and depression and anxiety of Korean children in out-of-home care: The moderating effects of protective factors

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6. Abstract

This study investigated the negative life events that Korean children in out-of-home care experienced before the entry into the care system, using life event method, and analyzed the effects of the experiences of the events on the level of depression and anxiety of the children. In addition, the study explored that self esteem, caregiver monitoring, positive relationship with friends, and social support had moderating effects as protective factors.

For these purposes, the survey was conducted on the cluster sample of 494 children aged 12 who were living in residential facilities, group homes, or foster homes. The data were analyzed utilizing χ²-test, ANOVA, multiple regression analysis, and pick-a-point method to explore the patterns of interaction.

The study results revealed that the children experienced three kinds of negative events in average. The most commonly experienced events were parents' divorce, and separation from parents. The experiences of traumatic events showed significant effects on the level of depression and anxiety. Self esteem and caregiver monitoring showed moderating effects that suppressed the negative effects of experiencing traumatic event. Based on the results, practice implication for children in out-of-home care was discussed.
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The Budgets of Out-of-Home Child Care Services of Korean Local Governments

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6. Abstract

Korean government implemented welfare decentralization reform in 2005 and, by the results, local governments were delegated responsibilities and power to allocate child welfare budget. We concerned there would be a large disparity in the structures and sizes of the budget of the out-of-home care services across the local areas and the types of the services (foster care, residential care, and group homes) since the welfare reform. Accordingly, the purposes of the study were to analyze the sizes, items, and structures of out-of-home care budgets of 19 local governments in Korea. In addition, the study explored the experiences and opinions of child welfare workers securing and operating the budgets for children in care.

We analyzed budget items of the local governments related to out-of-home care services and estimated the size of the budget for each local government. We also utilized focus group interviews with three groups of child welfare workers or foster parents. As we expected, the study results reveal wide differences in the items, sizes, and structure among the local governments and the types of the care services. Focus group participants also pointed out the problems of wide disparity among the local area and the care types. Based on the results, we raised the issue of equity for children in care, equal treatment of equals and suggests that Korean central government should provide standardized levels of services and expenditures for children in care.
Practical Options for Integrated-skills Instruction

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Abstract
The benefits of integrating the four skills (reading, writing, listening and speaking) has been a topic of much discussion in second language learning contexts. Content or theme-based instruction and project-work have often been cited as useful pedagogical approaches for skills integration. However, for many teachers who are required to follow a structural, grammar-based syllabus, these approaches for integrating skills can be very challenging to implement. This paper looks at ways the four skills can be integrated in common classroom activities focusing on controlled practice of particular language items. The authors will give particular attention to ways that principles of cooperative learning can be used to integrate all four skills during these activities.
Japan’s New Course of Study 2009 and its Implications for EFL Reading Development

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Abstract
At the centre of the current national curricular reforms in Japan is the new Course of Study for Foreign Languages: English 2009 (Shin Gakushuu Shidou Youryou, Gaikokugo: Eigo 2009), which will be required curriculum at the senior high school level from April 2013. One overarching goal of the new Course of Study is to raise the English language ability of elementary and secondary school students in order to ultimately facilitate the establishment of more content subjects taught through English at the university level. In order to achieve this goal, the new policy proposes several important changes to the English curriculum in both elementary and secondary education. This paper will briefly outline Japan’s previous curricular and then focus on the key features of the new 2009 curriculum in relation to the senior high school context. The authors will then discuss how central features of the curriculum aim to provide and develop four key components of the fluent reading process, namely, the transfer of cognitive and academic literacy skills from Japanese to English; vocabulary knowledge and word-recognition; grammatical knowledge; and discourse structure knowledge.
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(I’d like to change my paper’s topic area from social work to political science or public administration.)
Institutional legacies, Welfare politics and the Welfare regimes reforms: 
focus on the case of South Korea and Brazil 

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INTRODUCTION

According to the World Bank in 2010, Brazil and South Korea are emerging economic superpowers based on the GDP for the world’s 8th and 15th largest economy. Brazil and South Korea achieved a rapid economic growth in authoritarian regimes. The welfare provided by the government, however, had been underdeveloped compared to the economic achievements before suffering the acute economic crises in the 1980s and in the late 1990s. More democratic government came into Brazil and South Korea after the economic crises and new governments conducted some economic and social reforms, towards pursuing the more economic liberalism. Ironically, as a result, the welfare provided by the government had been rapidly growing unlike the western welfare states had undergone the welfare retrenchment as a neo-liberal reforms. These reforms had influences on the changes of welfare mix of the two countries. Welfare expending of the government in Brazil and South Korea pays attention to the world recently.

New democratic government of Brazil and South Korea had continued to promote structure reforms, while the other hand, to expand social spending at the same time. On the surface Brazil and South Korea had undergone similar reforms to cope with an economic crisis but the pattern is quite different. Expanding welfare spending of South Korea is one of the best in East Asia and the most welfare programmes have concentrated on the social insurances and social services base on the contribution. On the other hand, welfare expanding of Brazil has more focused on the non-contributory tools for expanding social rights of the poor and vulnerable groups. Where does that result from these differences?

The purpose of this article is to analyze these differences of welfare expanding patterns of Brazil and South Korea under the similar conditions; economic crises and democratization.
Specifically, this paper is focused on the institutional legacies related to the development strategy. South Korea in East Asia adopted export-oriented growth strategy and achieved a rapid development. This development strategy is closely related to the South Korea’s welfare regime formation. South Korea belongs to the so-called ‘the productivist welfare regime’ which is more oriented to the economic growth rather than welfare and social rights before the economic crisis. Meanwhile Brazil in Latin America adopted import substitution industrialisation and this strategy related to the so called ‘the protective welfare regime’ which is welfare and social benefits provided only formal groups before the neo-liberal reforms. These legacies were an important role in an institution design during the welfare reforms. Welfare politics also reinforced the impact of institutional legacies.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Most debates on the development of welfare states have often been based on the advanced capitalist countries(Esping-Andersen 1990; Pierson 1996, 2000). Two types of approach have dominated in explanations of welfare states; one stresses structures and whole systems, the other, institutions and actors(Esping-Andersen 1990:13).

1. The system/structuralist approach

Systems or structuralist theory seeks to capture the logic of development holistically(Esping-Andersen 1990:13). It is the system that ‘wills’, and what happens is therefore easily interpreted as a functional requisite for the reproduction of society and economy(Esping-Andersen 1990:13). According to the so-called ‘logic of industrialism’ perspective, welfare state will emerge as the modern industrial economy destroys traditional social institutions(Flora and Alber 1981; Pryor 1969; Esping-Andersen 1990 recited). Versions of economic determinism have been prominent in discussions of the contemporary welfare state(Pierson 1996:148). The claim that a new ‘logic of industrialism’ encourages a convergence of national social policy models in based on asserted consequences of global economic change(Pierson 1996:148).

However, there are critical objection to the economic determinant arguments. Countries have maintained widely different levels of economic performance for very long periods of time, without marked pressures toward convergence(Pierson 1996:149). Actually, Developing countries of East Asian and Latin America had already industrialized in the 1980s and their income level had also rapidly risen. Yet while it was so slow toward the growth of welfare state. Policy outcomes cannot be derived directly from economic trends(Pierson 1996:150). Expansive claims of economic determinism pay insufficient attention to the politics of policy change(Pierson 1996:150).

Developing countries such as South Korea and Brazil, it would be a more important consideration to analysis changes of welfare regime that they had adapted what kinds of
development strategies for modernization rather than the degree of industrialization and economy growth. The capacity to ‘commodify’ is likely to be the key factor differentiating less developed countries welfare states(Rudra 2007: 382). Rudra(2007) explains argues that less developed countries welfare states took qualitatively different forms depending on how governments chose to address the lack of proletarianization and pursue their primary objective of creating a modern industrial order. Government intervention in the economy was guided by one of two goals: making firms intenationally competitive or insulating firms from international competition(Rudra 2007;383). First case less developed countries have ‘productive welfare regime’ which is commodification is high but decommodicification is low. But the latter less developed countries have ‘protective welfare regime’ which is commodification is low but decommodicification is high. Ruling elites pursued social benefits compatible with the chosen development strategy, and key to this compatibility was the cooptation of potentially powerful groups(Rudra 2007;383-384). It suggests that the welfare regime of developing countries could vary if development strategy is changed.

Productive welfare states prioritize commodification and initially evolved from systems which actively encouraged participation in export markets. The goal of encouraging international competitiveness of domestic firms creates an emphasis on cost containment and requires governments to surrender some control over the economy. The range of social policies is then much more limited as rulers are constrained from pursuing worker benefits that are independent of employer interests(Rudra 2007;384).

The two central aspects of the ‘productivist welfare regime ‘are a growth-oriented state and subordination of all aspects of state policy, including social policy, to economic/industrial objectives(Holliday, 2000: 709). Social policy is not conceived of as an autonomous sphere of policy concerned to de-commodify and extend social rights(Gough, 2004: 182). Therefore in the Productivist welfare regime social policy could be changed depending on the degree of economic development. In the earlier stages of light industrialization social policy is minimal save for education, and wages are kept low. However, the very success of this strategy pulls more into the employed labour force, raise employment and tightens the labour market. The result is a rise in wages and the eventual necessity to shift to a higher-productivity industrial strategy which entails a more expansive social wage and/or enterprise welfare(Gough, 2004: 186). According to this, Korea is belongs to the ‘productivist welfare regime ‘. The developmental strategy of Korea was emphasis on export-oriented industry(export-oriented growth model). During the 1960s-70s, Korea used social policy measures-and specifically, health insurance-to ensure and reproduce a healthy workforce for industrialization(Peng & Wong, 2008:69).

Protective welfare states, in contrast, have roots in a political economy that historically eschewed emphasis on international markets and ultimately focused government efforts on decommodication. The focus upon insulating domestic firms from international competition allowed politicians to exercise maximum discretion and control over the economy, particularly in the early stages. Absent the threat of international market competition and pressures of cost
containment, rulers could provide allowances to both workers and firms in the major industrializing sectors. Politicians had the flexibility to employ direct and immediate benefits to workers contrary to employers’ economic interests, mostly because the latter were compensated through other means (Rudra 2007:384).

The development strategy adopted by Latin America was emphasis on the import substitution industry. A dominant feature of L.A. countries was the role of social insurance and employment protection for workers in formal employment, and its counterpart, the restricted coverage of formal welfare production, resulting in the exclusion of wide sections of the population, and especially poor and vulnerable groups (Gough, 2004:124). Social insurance developed for selected groups of workers in the form of social insurance funds. Brazil developed the stratified social insurance funds very early, in the 1920s. In addition to social insurance, L.A. countries have extensive employment protection regulations though it protects jobs rather than workers and public provision of education and healthcare. L.A countries share the aspiration to provide universal, integrated health and education programmes, but this is just that-and aspiration (Gough, 2004:133). On the contrary this, social assistance is very rare.

2. The actor-oriented approach

There are some approaches oriented on actors such as Power resource model or class-mobilization theory. It differ from structuralist and institutional analyses in its emphasis on the social classes as the main agents of change, and in its argument that the valance of class power determines distributional outcomes (Esping-Andersen 1990:16). According to power resource theory, strong unions and left parties contribute to the growth of welfare state. In class-mobilization theory, the power of organized labor class is an important variable. It is held that parlaments are, in principle, effective institutions for the translation of mobilized power into desired policies and reforms. Accordingly, parliamentary politics is capable of overriding hegemony, and can be made to serve interests that are antagonistic to capital (Esping-Andersen 1990:16). A ‘social democratic’ welfare state will, in its own right, establish critical power resources for wage-earners, and thus strengthen labor movements (Esping-Andersen 1990:16).

There are some objections to the class-mobilization theory. The one is about the theory’s assumptions: class formation. We cannot assume that socialism is the natural basis for wage-earner mobilization (Esping-Andersen 1990:17). It has also been criticized for its Swedocentrism that is it too much on the basis of the rather extraordinary Swedish experience. The other is that the power of organized labor and left parties has shrunk considerably in many advanced industrial countries empirically since 1980s. There is very little evidence that this decline has had a fundamental impact on welfare states (Pierson 1996:150). Analysis of the contemporary welfare state’s supporters must include not only organized labor and left parties but also the more varied constituencies of individual programs. The rise of these interest group is one of the clearest examples of how policy feedback from previous political choices can influence
contemporary political struggles. Groups of program beneficiaries did not build the welfare state, but the welfare state contributed mightily to the development of these groups (Pierson 1996:150-151).

Thus, it is difficult to explain the growth and changes of universal welfare states using the class mobilization theory that has a linear view of power. The class-coalitional approach, however, could resolve the combined linearity and working-class minority problems. In this thesis, social democratic welfare state edifice have been traced to the capacity of strong working-class movements to forge a political alliance with farmer organizations; additionally, it is arguable that sustained social democracy has come to depend on the formation of a new-working-class-white-collar coalition (Esping-Andersen 1990:18). After the economic crisis, regime change took place in South Korea for the first time in the 1997 presidential election. After the democratization of Brazil, in the 2002 election, the Lula government of Labour Party won the election. These political changes mean that it is due to the political structure changes such as the change of internal ruling coalition.

WELFARE REGIME CHANGES OF SOUTH KOREA AND BRAZIL

According to the Esping-Andersen`s welfare regime typology, South Korea and Brazil share the characteristics of the conservative-corporatist regime, emphases on family responsibility of welfare supplies & distributions, occupation based social insurances and so else. South Korea and Brazil had respectively suffered economic crisis in the late 1990s and 1980s and after the crisis, more democratic regime came to power. New government carried out a large-scale restructuring. Structural reform of Brazil encompassed trade liberalisation, macro-economic stabilisation, privatization, and labour and capital market liberalization. The South Korean government applied the prescription of the neo-liberalism based on the Washington consensus in the economic reform (Takegawa, 2009:93). The focus of reforms of South Korea and Brazil was towards increasing economic liberalism alongside with globalization.

1. South Korea

In the South Korea, Park Chung-hee government adopted ‘export oriented growth strategy’ in the 1960s and the ‘productivist welfare regime’ had begun. Economic growth is the first goal to pursuit in the authoritarian regime. Park Chung-hee government`s first and second ‘Five-Year Plan period(1962-1971)’, South Korea ranked more than 9% of average annual economic growth rate. It has been truly amazing. As a result, the absolute poverty rate was dramatically decreased from about 41% in 1965 to 14.4% in 1976. These economic achievements were helpful for authoritarian regime to gain the legitimacy. During this time, more jobs had created and social poverty had reduced as economic growth. Government never felt the need to
provide universal welfare services to citizens because the family was still a main welfare provider for their members.

Accordingly, social policy was considered and designed to improve productivity, in particular, within the economically productive areas of society. Social policy making processes were centralized and insulated from popular pressure (Peng and Wong 2008:73). In the Korean case of productivist welfare capitalism, there is a heavy reliance on private-sector delivery (Kwon & Holliday 2006: 243). The private sector, especially family was in charge of welfare services such as income transfer, children and elderly care, nursing so government was put emphasis on building a social insurance system based on job-oriented and contributions. South Korea’s social security system was based on the social insurance system rather than tax base. Government’s social spending had mainly funded on the human capital investments such as education, public health owing to directly helpful to economic growth rather than the expansion of public assistance for reinforcing the social security net for vulnerable groups. Despite an gradual expansion, the scope of coverage for social insurance remained less than 40% of the population in South Korea during the late 1980s (Peng and Wong 2008:72).

After the economic crisis, in South Korea, labour demand fell sharply and, though real wages fell, the major impact was on unemployment. At the same time, the types of jobs also changed from shrinking full-time work and toward expanding part-time employment. Rising unemployment, declining full-time employment and growing inequality constituted key aspects of a systemic shock that was felt throughout Korean society (Kwon & Holliday 2006:244). The economic crisis also was an opportunity to increase new social risks such as low birth rate and the aging of society, the changes of family structure, the flexibility of labour as well as old social risks; unemployment, poverty, inequality. Family and the labour market is the two pillars of providing welfare have been shaken.

Following the crisis, coinciding with the election of Kim Dae-jung as president, DJ government (1998-2003) claimed the ‘Productive welfare’, so called ‘workfare’ and conducted a series of reforms. This paradigm combines an equitable market system, government redistribution of wealth, with social investment for self-support and to enhance the quality of life (Gough, 2004: 200). The previous governments was reluctant to provide welfare considered a cost, but DJ government had began to take an active role in providing and distribution of welfare in order to cope with the deepened social risks using a new paradigm. It was also IMF and World Bank’s demands. IMF had demanded to expand the social security nets in order to achieve successful economic reforms in 1998.

As a result, first, public assistance was reformed by introducing the self-support program (pursuit of workfare) in the new public assistance system (Takegawa, 2009). Second, Social insurances are expanded and social expenditure increased rapidly. Expenditure on unemployment insurance, wage subsidies and public works programmes escalated, to a remarkable 4% of GDP in 1999. In addition, the national health system was restructured and expanded, pension entitlements were liberalized and an expanded Labour Standard Law
introduced (Gough, 2004: 195). Meanwhile, DJ government promoted the policy in order to make the labor market more flexible. The efforts to make the labour market flexible meant the pursuit of workfare, at the request of globalism (Takegawa, 2009:93). Under the flexible labor market, worker retraining and education programmes are becoming more important.

The most prominent reform was the implementation of the ‘National Basic Livelihood Protection Program (NBLP). The NBLP created an entitlement as a social right, regardless of age or the ability to work, leading to a minimum income guarantee (Kwon & Holliday 2006: 245). The threshold level of income for eligibility was explicitly based on the minimum cost of living for the household. The NBLP clearly extends the social rights of the poor and constitutes the most distinctive change in the entire reform package. Under the new programme, those whose assessed income, incorporating both income and property into a single measure, is below the specified minimum cost of living are eligible for welfare benefits regardless of age or the ability to work. However, there still exists a clause on ‘conditional recipients’, which mandates that benefits be provided to those who have the ability to work but earn less than the minimum cost of living, conditional on their actively searching for jobs or participating in a vocational training/community service programme. The NBLP also includes the clause on family support, which requires that family members should not be available to support the benefit recipient. This clause, together with rather strict income criteria, means that a mere 3% of the population is covered by the NBLP (Kwon & Holliday 2006: 244-245). Roh Moo-hyun government (2003-2007) succeeded DJ government’s productive welfare state.

The fact that productive welfare (workfare) is a concept which more emphasizes on the linkage of labour rather than a social right. Social policies of DJ government had a principle that welfare benefits would be closely connected with the motivation for working not to strengthen the welfare dependency of beneficiaries. Although welfare programmes inevitably had been introduced to prevent social risks, welfare must be combined with the labour market to promote economic growth. This is the legacy of productivist welfare regime. South Korea is still pursuing the export oriented growth strategy. The more important is a growth rather than the distribution, as the more economy is difficult.

Democratization and regime change surely was a trigger of change in social policy but the effects was marginal relatively. DJ government was quite progressive comparing to the previous regimes and actively coped with social problems. Civil society, however, still did not play an important role in social policy process. The welfare state had emerged as the working class had grown in the Western developed countries. However, the socialist party could not exist in South Korea. There were no party representing labour unions and farmers. In fact, IMF was the most crucial actor in the formation of social policy during the economic crisis in South Korea. DJ government’s social policies had been considered as a strategic policy to fulfill the economic restructuring so the linkages between economy policies and social policies was decided the direction and contents of welfare reforms.
2. **Brazil**

Brazil had adopted the ‘import substitution strategy’ and developed the ‘protective welfare regime’ until 1980s; the economic crisis hit the Latin America. There are sever collusion between politicians and businessmen because the political power could determine which kinds of industries protect. Politicians pay attention to well-organized power groups and offers many benefits rather than poor, rural, vulnerable groups to win the voting competitions. A dominant feature of Latin American counties before the recent reforms was the role of social insurance and employment protection for workers in formal employment, and its counterpart, the restricted coverage of formal welfare production, resulting in the exclusion of wide sections of the population, and especially poor and vulnerable groups (Barrientos 2004: 124).

From the 1930s until the 1960s, Brazil had pursued industrialization and various social policies had been implemented. During this period, political spectrum was wide form authoritarian to liberal, but social security system of Brazil had still concentrated on the formal labor forces. As to accelerating industrialization, authoritarian regimes had achieved a rapid growth, the average annual GDP growth rate over 10% since the mid-1960s until the late 1970s. But unlike South Korea, this economic growth did not contribute to poverty reduction.

After the economic crisis, L.A. also showed negative rates of GDP growth, falling real wages, and rising unemployment, poverty and inequality. The ‘third wave’ of democratization spread to most L.A. countries during the debt crisis of the early 1980s (Haggard and Kaufman 2008:262). Difficult economic conditions posed major policy dilemmas. Governments were pressed to address the inequities in the distribution of social insurance and services, while at the same time facing demands form stakeholders seeking to defend entitlements (Haggard and Kaufman 2008:262). The economic crisis paved the way for a welfare regime shift (Gough, 2004: 146). L.A. would consent to a radical change of the existing welfare mix. They shifted the development strategy from import substitution industrialisation to export-oriented growth. Trade liberalization drastically reduced the barriers preventing the integration of the economies of the region within the global economy. It enforced extensive employment restructuring, and encouraged de facto de-regulation in the labour market, which in turn resulted in rising levels of poverty and inequality (Gough, 2004: 141). Deficits in public finances led to deep cuts in government programmes, including health, education and social security. L.A. has almost universal rates of enrolment in primary education. Public expenditure in education and health has risen in the 1990s, but the key issue is the acute segmentation and inequality in access and the quality of provision in health and education (Gough, 2004: 151).

In these circumstances, many politicians and technocrats viewed the ‘liberal agenda’ as a way to reconcile demands for greater fiscal discipline with pressures to address the needs of previously excluded groups. On the one hand, reforms of costly social-insurance programs—particularly pensions and linked health entitlements—promised to relieve fiscal constraints by increasing efficiency and stabilizing public finances over the long run. At the same time, these
could be supplemented by targeted antipoverty programs that reached new constituencies but were relatively cheap and often externally funded. Over the course of the 1990s and early 2000s, reforms of core social-insurance programs, efforts to expand basic social services, and the adoption of antipoverty programs constituted a ‘modal pattern’ of social policy that was distinct from that of either East Asia (Haggard and Kaufman 2008:265).

Brazil also had suffered from the economic crisis in the 1980s coincide with regime changed from authoritarian to democratic government. The 1990s were prosperous of innovations in the social area in Brazil (Romos and Lobato 2004:2). New paradigm of social policy sought more efficacy and efficiency, as the search of guaranteeing social rights of previously excluded groups. ‘New Constitution’ enacted in 1988 was a big role in these changes. If the social security system was previously strongly linked to the legal placing of the workers in the work market(formal segment), the New Constitution tended to extend the coverage to all citizen, that is, to the universalization(Romos and Lobato 2004:6). ‘New Constitution’ settled social-democrat guidelines for social policy, stressing the universality of coverage and benefits nevertheless the use of selectivity criteria to distribute benefits to the most needy was also introduced. Furthermore, the ‘New Constitution’ deepened the ongoing decentralization process, strengthening the fiscal and administrative autonomy of sub-national governemnts(Pero & Szerman 2005:4).

Under these changes, conditional cash trasfer(CCT) program; ‘Bolsa-Escola Program(BEP) was first put into practice in Brazil in 1995 by the municipal governments. The implementation of CCT programs was an important innovation in social policy. It attempts to alleviation poverty while giving incentives to improve human capital, deviating the focus from social assistance to social development. CCT programs target the poor, but education and health consider as a social rights. It ultimately seeks to expand social rights and universal welfare. The interaction of positive evaluations with the variations in performance of the various municipal BEPs, and the growing consensus on the need of educational and anti-poverty policies, created a favorable political environment for federal interventions in the BEP’s financing(Pero & Szerman 2005). President Cardoso(1995-2002) launched the National Bolsa-Escola Program(NBEP) in 2001.

Lula (2003-2010) in Brazil Worker Party(PTB: Partido Trabalhista Brasilerio) was elected president in the 2002. The economic policy of the Lula administration has not been qualitatively different from the previous administration’s: inflation control through tight fiscal and monetary policies remains the main guideline. Social policy, however, was about to disregard its past progress(Pero & Szerman 2005). Lula government integrated a variety of CCT programs into one: ‘Bolsa-Familia’. This would allow for a more comprehensive treatment of poverty, as the program is jointly an educational, heath, and nutrition policy. The overall effectiveness could be enhanced both in terms of poverty alleviation and long-term poverty reduction(Pero & Szerman 2005).
CONCLUSIONS

South Korea and Brazil had suffered a huge economic crisis while more democratic regime came to power. These new government carried out structure reforms in the whole of society. Economic crisis and the democratization had triggered the need of social security nets to protect the vulnerable groups from business fluctuations. The direction of the two countries is to expand social rights and the universal welfare towards welfare state regime. As a result, the both countries had established a minimal social security net and expanded welfare providing by the governments. For South Korea, however, has been deepening social polarization and shrinking middle class in the 2000s, while in Brazil, poverty and inequality have been reducing and expanding middle class. The cause of these differences could suppose the institutional legacy of the existing welfare regime especially related to the development strategy and welfare politics.

In the case of South Korea belonged to the productivist welfare regime, the governments had focused on a limited welfare providing directly related to the productive sectors; education, public health, while the private sector was in charge of the almost welfare providing: children and elderly care, a nursing, an income transfer, a job security and so on. But the change of family and a stable labor market played a key role in providing welfare has been accelerated by the economic crisis with an industrial restructure. Accordingly, it is no longer unable to maintain the welfare regime as the past and resulted in an increase of public welfare spending. Most of these public expenditures, however, had concentrated on public health and pension. Other social services had been entirely dependent on the private sector. This is because the direction of DJ government’s initial reforms was a ‘Productive welfare’ which is labor and welfare are linked with. Social policy must be combined with labor market in order to promote economic growth. The workfare is in fact a different concept apart from social rights. It emphasizes a doing labor rather than expanding a social right. In addition, workers and farmers did not have a political party representing of their interests. Their influence was marginal on the process of reforms.

In the case of Brazil belonged to the protective welfare regime, the government had provided excessive welfare to only formal labour while most of the poor, vulnerable groups had very limited accessed to social services. But the endemic problem, poverty and social inequality, had rather deepened owing to the neoliberal reforms to break economic crisis. Democratization was an opportunity to fulfill the social needs of citizens. Sever social inequality and poverty would be considered to hinder the national development. As a result, anti-poverty programs such as Bolsa-familia had implemented to expand social rights of the poor. In this process, workers party took power through blue and white-collar alliance effectively.
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ASSESSING CHINA IN AFRICA

China’s involvement in Africa has been in focus for sometime. Surpassing UK & France and now USA China has become the largest trading partner with trade of US $160 million (Macauhub 2012). From $64 billion in 1999, China’s business rose to $73 billion in 2007 and its bilateral trade going 28% per year from 2001 to 2010. (Peoples daily online Daily 2011). The involvement of China into Africa has brought neighboring countries under pressure to compete and also doubt especially in the minds of west about its policies in motives in Africa.

The Chinese Presence in Africa is said to be from the times of Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) or even earlier. Sino-African relations could be traced back to 1950’s (Mao’s time) (Snow.1988). The Bandung conference of 1955 exemplified the relations (Camiilleri.1980). From the very beginning China’s foreign policy had three major objectives i.e. the struggle against superpowers, export of Chinese model, and China’s third world policy (Yu.1977). At the Bandung Conference five principles of peaceful co-existence were adopted. Establishment of Afro-Asian solidarity organization in 1957 marked the beginning of significance of Africa to China. While China was confronting with US in the 1950’s and 1960’s, it was competing ideologically with USSR in the 1960’s and 1970’s (El-Khawas. 1972). Africa was getting more and more important to China for wider International recognition and to encourage social revolution.

To undermine Soviet and Western charity, China started giving assistance to African countries through educational grants, military experiments, loans etc. (Built railway link between Tanzania and Zambia with 15000 Chinese workers). In 1971 China earned a seat in UN with
the backing of 26 African States. (Taylor.1998) Relations with the developed world were given priority at the cost of Africa. While in the 1970’s formal relations with US was encouraged, 80’s marked the beginning of normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. It was Tiananmen Square uprising that revitalized Sino-African relations once again (West criticized China of abusing Human Rights). (Taylor.2004) Post Tiananmen era dramatically boosted China’s aid program to Africa. As compared to 13 in 1980, 24 African states received aid from China in 1990. Trade and investment rose with no political stings attached (only condition was completely break off with Taiwan). (Broadman.2007)

30 African heads visited China between 1997-2004. President (Muekalia.2004) Hu Jin Tao visited 17 countries of Africa between 2006-2007. In the year 2000 permanent forum on China-Africa cooperation, was established. (China Facts and Figures. 2002) China reasserted its faith in state sovereignty and freedom from hegemony also reaffirmed the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China also felt the threat of unipolar world and US hegemony in the post-Cold War period. The renewed relationship got a positive reaction from African leaders in the post-cold war period marked by the collapse of Soviet Union and waning American interest in Africa. Reason behind China’s second scramble of Africa is the sustenance of its economic boom; to find resources, market for its own goods and to accommodate surplus labor and surplus capital.

Oil is the major focus of China’s involvement in Africa. Africa has 8% of world proven oil reserved. 85% of Africa’s exports to China come from Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, Sudan and the Republic of Congo. (IRIN.2006) China and US are clashing over oil deposits in Angola. China has become second biggest consumer of oil after US (China now need 40% of total growth in global oil demand) (Gerstenfield.2007) After the breaking up of US diplomatic ties with
Sudan in 1997, half of Sudan’s oil export is to China and approximately 10,000 Chinese works in the country.

Other non-oil commodities such as coal from South Africa, copper and cobalt from Congo and Zambia, timber from Gabon, Cameroon and raw cotton for its textile industries comes from West and Central Africa. (The Economist.2006) China has also invested in other sectors such as fisheries and mining. Recently, China has started buying African manufactured value added goods like processed food and daily consumer items. The Chinese telecom company is multiplying its outlets in Africa. Chinese labor are involved in projects in Botswana, Angola, Kenya, Sudan etc. (Alden.2005) It is also said that Chinese has taken over construction industry in Botswana. (Financial Times.2006) China has also invested heavily in infrastructural projects in Angola such as low cost housing roads, schools, railway etc.(PINR.2006)

China has established several trade promotion and Industrial Development Centers in Africa. More than 800 Chinese firms are operating in 50 countries of Africa and many joint ventures have been started with African companies. (Akwe.2007) China has also seen Africa as market for its textiles footwear and furniture. This has provided Africa cheap goods although resulted in large scale African loosing their jobs. China is also a biggest supplier of arms to Liberia and Sudan. It has sold $1 billion worth arms to Ethiopia and Eretria during armed conflict in 1998-2000. (Esther.2006) It also sold arms to Namibia, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe and Sudan and helicopters to Mali and Angola. Its total arms sale in 2003 was US $ 1.3 billion (more than double of UK). (Scobell.2006)
Investment and development aid go hand in hand. China has been a constant aid partner to Africa. Significant amount of aid goes to medical sector. China is the world third largest food donor according to World Food Program. Liberia and Guinea are receiving food grant regularly. (WFP.2006) However, there are no accurate figures available for China’s aid to Africa from Chinese official sources. Besides these many bilateral agreements regarding promotion and protection of investment are signed. It has also established diplomatic consultative system in 28 African countries.

For China, the rediscovery of Africa means an access to raw material and new markets for its manufactured good, to sustain its economic boom, to expand its global influence and counter western political and economic influence, to promote south-south cooperation, to further isolate Taiwan diplomatically, to explore commercial opportunities and to secure supplies of natural resources. It desire to garner strategic support against the ‘American hegemony, to garner valuable diplomatic support at multilateral forums like UN where African nation constitute a powerful voting bloc.

China sees the world threatened by unchallenged US hegemony, which needs to be contained. For this it needs to gain African support. Unlike France and US, China makes no political demands and let these countries enjoy their sovereignty. Its only condition is break off with Taiwan. Taiwan is loosing its supporters in Africa. In 2005 Senegal broke off its diplomatic links with Taiwan. China has not sold arms to any country that has recognized Taiwan (e.g. Burkina Faso, Gambia, Malawi and Swaziland). China aspires to lead Third world by taking permanent seat in UN Security Council. Africa seems to be good beginning. Sale of arms to oil producing countries help China achieves its political goals. Military dealings help China gain important allies like Sudan, Zimbabwe,
and Nigeria in UN on the one hand, and bloc Taiwan’s independence on the other and divert attention from its own human rights violation record.

West sees China as a threat to their interests in Africa. China’s involvement in Africa has invited criticism not only from the west but also from Africa as well. Many are questioning the motives of China in the region. According to the western critics China in order to secure oil and other natural resources is supporting corrupt authoritarian regimes at the cost of human rights. China is criticized of monopolizing Sudan but involvement of Indian and Malaysian companies seems to negate this.

However intervention of China in Africa has both negative and positive impacts. It is alleged that use of Chinese labor instead of local labor to build roads, mines etc. has deprived Africans of employment opportunities. Though China has reopened copper mines for Africans but workers were exploited, safety standards were often ignored. Public has protested over alleged poor working conditions and low salary by Chinese firms in Zambia and Namibia. In 2005, 50 Zambian workers died in blast. (Industry Week.2007) Chinese companies are also accused of selling cheap and low quality goods, which is disadvantageous to the home industry. Many are running out of business (Lesotho, South Africa). As said by Zambian leader ‘Chinese investment – have not added any value to the lives of Zambian people’. China is also accused of concentrating mainly on oil and other raw material, which has prevented the growth of agro-business. But post Beijing Summit 2006 China has expanded its activities in Agriculture as well. It has involved itself in financing, training and commercial farming (Zambia, Zimbabwe).

On the whole there seems to be asymmetry between volume of trade African countries and China. For e.g. export to Kenya is $45 million
in 2005, while imports are only $7.6 million. Africa should demand more equitable economic relations with China. But irony is most African countries do not have much to sell. Had it not been oil, the trade imbalance would be extreme. $1 million worth arms were exchanged for 8 tones of Zimbabwean ivory in 2000 (to secure Mugabe’s position). (Taylor.2004) Each of the Sub-Saharan country has responded in its own way. On a positive side China’s unconditional aid to Africa is significant. It is a way of generating positive feelings towards China to further its claim for leadership. Huge development fund has been created. China has also cancelled $1.27 billion debt of 31 countries. (Alden.2008)

China has altered its earlier policy of blocking UN Security Council resolutions and adopted UN cooperation policy. It persuaded Sudan to allow UN peacekeeping force in Darfur. (Goodman.2004) This also shows China’s limitation to its approach of non-interference in domestic affairs. China has also contributed to peacekeeping UN missions across Africa including Darfur and Liberia. It is also said that China’s assured support at UN has led Sudan to avoid UN sanctions over Darfur and continue with ethnic cleansing.

In 2005 China offered $2 billion soft loans to Angola to tackle corruption and to be used in infrastructural projects. (The Economist.2006) Sierra Leone is happy since UK has denied aid to it on the condition of Progress towards democracy. China wrote Zambian debt off $211 million as a part of three-year aid package to Zambia. (IRIN.2006)

China’s aid program has been continuing since 1960’s. However except the Tan-Zam rail line and some stadiums the impact left by Chinese aid has not been much. This aid giving could have negative economic and political effects on the African countries. Increased
Chinese aid could be harmful for sound economic policy making and democratic accountability in Africa.

China’s involvement in Africa has increased African development. It has helped Africa in turning potential wealth into real wealth. Nigeria has paid off its loans. Sudan has become oil exporter from oil importer. China has promoted African industries. It has created a global interest in Africa. It has put Africa on the centre of global politics. Chinese interest in Africa has enabled Africa to attract more investors. The western dominance in the region has been broken. African elites and leaders are highly appreciating and admiring China’s intervention.

Undoubtedly China has a huge impact on the African continent. Its influence in all spheres, military, economic and political has grown tremendously. But it surely can’t be viewed as hegemonising Africa. Firstly, China is so far insisting on South-South cooperation aiming at creating a just and equitable International order. Secondly, many African leaders have their own ambitions for global leadership role (Angola). Thirdly, establishment of China Africa Forum indicates serving China’s foreign policy needs in Africa but not competing with US. Fourthly, China’s benefits of Africa are much small to indicate hegemony efforts. Fifthly, China is giving aid but it is not the biggest donor to the continent. Further China has contributed public goods in the sector long ignored by the west. China’s participation in UK peacekeeping missions also indicates negatively towards hegemony. Above all China has so far resisting attempts to get involve it in the internal affairs of the African countries.

Yet there are enough indicators, which suggests growing influence of China and China rising globally and deepening Sino-African relations changing world order. It has threatened the west and posed a great challenge to other competitors. Its engagement in Africa is surely not a
sign towards enhancement of peace and democracy. If it wants to sustain in Africa its strategy should be in favor of citizens.

For Africa to turn win-win partnership in its favor it should manage and exploit international competition. It should be Africans setting the rules and determining the nature and depth of China’s engagement in Africa and not the westerners. Otherwise the economically marginalized Africa and socially excluded China will be fighting for gains. No wonder then it will prove to be a negative development for the continent guided by narrow interests.

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In 2011 China became Africa’s biggest trading partner, with trade of US$160 billion, and will continue to boost ties with African countries, increasing trade, investment and cooperation.

A text published this month by the economic and trade attaché for the Chinese embassy in Angola said that, “China, as the biggest developing country, and Africa, as the continent with most developing countries,” have been on “a common and highly effective pathway.”

Trade rose from US$129.6 billion in 2010 to US$160 billion last year making China, “the biggest trading partner in Africa.”

According to the text published by the Chinese embassy in Luanda, investment in Africa currently totals US$40 billion, of which US$14.7 billion was direct investment, with over 2,000 Chinese companies investing in the continent.

**10:58, November 18, 2011**

*Edited and translated by People's Daily Online*

Beijing, Nov.18 (People's Daily Online) --China has become Africa's largest trading partner, with bilateral trade growing 28 percent per year from 2001 to 2010, the Chinese Ministry of Commerce said on Nov. 16.

China-Africa economic and trade relations have developed explosively in recent years, and their bilateral multi-level, multi-sector cooperation has been playing an irreplaceable role in the social and economic development of both sides.

An official from ministry said that China and African countries all belong to the developing world, and they share common experiences and development tasks.
Judges Use Religion as Evaluative Criteria

Amanda ElBassiouny1, Debbie Van Camp1, and Lloyd R. Sloan1

Psychological research indicates that humans frequently use social categories in their interpersonal judgment of others and that we are generally biased in favor of our own ingroup. The research reported here investigated the degree to which a target person’s religion would be noted in evaluating job suitability of the target and whether religion would produce the same sorts of biases that are observed for other intergroup differences. Participants (Christian) read a job application from a candidate who was Christian, Muslim or Atheist and who was either Black or White and estimated their job suitability. Participants often reported explicitly using the target’s religion but seldom their race in making their judgments. Those who did report using religion showed that the Christian target was evaluated as more suitable for the job than the Muslim or Atheist targets. This was not influenced by the participant’s own religion or by the target’s race. Notably, participants who did not indicate explicitly using religion in judgment, showed minimal effects of target’s race and no effects of religion. These findings impact our understanding of religious intergroup relations and biases and of religious social identities and their influences upon us.

A consistent finding in social psychology is that people categorize others, which carries significant impacts in interpersonal judgments, attitudes, and behaviors. These categorizations of the self and others are generally based on social identities (Fiske, 1998; Kinzler, Shutts, & Correll, 2010; Messick & Mackie, 1989; Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glass, 1992). The consequences of these categorizations based on social identities result in intergroup processes, including group serving bias, prejudice, and discrimination that influences intergroup and interpersonal relations (Dovidio, Kawakami & Gaertner, 2002; Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005).

Much of the research on intergroup processes has centered on gender, race, social class, sexuality, age and language (Frable, 1997; Howard, 2000; Kinzler et al., 2010). Current trends in psychology are focused on cultural categories (Frable, 1997) and religion is among one of these categories. Religion has been shown to function as a social identity such that it provides a sense of belonging and a belief system to guide life (Ysseldyk, Mathson, & Anisman, 2010). Even though religion is an important social identity, this does not imply that we acknowledge others’ religions or use it in making judgments. Does religious affiliation influence our judgments about a target’s job suitability beyond any other relevant dimensions? Such social

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information has been shown in previous research to be used in making judgments, even when this social information is not relevant (Fein & Spencer, 1997; Hodson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2002). Therefore, the purpose of this study is to determine whether religious affiliation will influence judgments about a target’s job suitability paralleling other important group identities and whether it will be used in similar ways as other social categories, such as race.

Religion, while it has commonalities with other social identities (Ysseldyck, et al., 2010), is unique because it is grounded in an internal belief system. Therefore, not only does religion function as a group membership, but it also provides the moral fabric to help shape one’s life. This moral grounding may influence how one with a social religious identity salient may differ from the effects of other social identities when making interpersonal judgments. For example, when one’s religious identity is made salient by noticing another’s religion, it may prompt us to be tolerant due to the very teachings of religion. However, research seems to contradict this notion by providing evidence that religiosity and prejudice towards various outgroups, including atheists, Muslims, and gay men, have been linked (Allport, 1966; Allport & Ross, 1967; Johnson, Rowatt, & LaBouff, 2011). Therefore, it is unclear if intergroup biases will be demonstrated when a social perceiver notices and uses a target’s religion. Further, will the social perceiver’s own religiosity influence this judgment?

Another aspect of interest in understanding the effects of religion as a social grouping is the level of categorization. For example, even though a Muslim person is a member of the outgroup for a Christian person, the superordinate category would be “religious person,” which would then include a Muslim person in the Christian person’s ingroup. Previous research has provided support for this common ingroup identity model as a way to reduce bias (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). There is evidence to suggest that religious individuals prefer those who are also religious (Hunter, 2001) and mistrust those without religion, in particular, atheists ((Locke, 1689/2009; Norenzayan, 2010). Such findings make atheists an outgroup of interest to further examine, especially in comparison to Muslims.

The purpose of the current study is to examine, under conditions when a target’s religious affiliation is known, whether that information would be used by a social perceiver in forming impressions and judgments of them. Particularly, will a target’s religious affiliation have as much impact as other important social categories, such as race, on judgments about the target person’s suitability for a job? Finally, if the target’s religion is used in making a judgment about the target, will the pattern of judgments be similar to the typical biases demonstrated in other intergroup contexts?
Method

Participants

There were 183 Christian Howard University undergraduate students who participated in return for partial course credit. Eighty-three percent self-identified as African American, 6% were African, 7% Caribbean, and 4% were of another ethnicity. Seventy-seven percent were female and 90% were 18-21 with all but one person in the remaining 10% aged 22-29.

Materials

Evaluation target. All participants viewed a generic job application of a female job applicant named Aisha. Based on Aisha’s work and academic experience listed on the application, she was a qualified candidate for the position. The applications were varied only based on the race and the religion of the candidate. The religious affiliation of the target was manipulated by varying her photo. In the Muslim condition she wears a hijab and in the Christian and Atheist conditions she is not wearing a hijab. In addition, the target’s hobbies were varied: in the Muslim condition the target is listed as volunteering at her local Muslim youth center, in the Christian condition she was involved with her local church and the boys and girls club, and in the Atheist condition she was listed as participating at her local soup kitchen and library. Lastly, the religion of the candidate was explicitly stated at the end of the job application. The target’s racial group was also manipulated by varying her photo (White or Black) and by explicitly stating her racial group on the application form.

Suitability rating. Participants rated on a 7-point scale the extent to which they agreed with the following statements: “I would recommend this candidate for the position” and “Overall I liked this candidate”. Internal reliability Cronbach’s alpha was 0.83.

Participants’ Reported Basis of evaluations. Participants were prompted to list three things about Aisha that were used as determinants in making their judgment about her personality. Responses were coded to the extent that religion was stated explicitly, implicitly by stating hobbies, or not referred to it all. Responses were also coded in the same manner for race.

Procedure

This experiment employs a 3 (target religion: Christian / Muslim / Atheist) x 2 (target race: Black / White) between subjects design. Upon arrival to the lab, participants were randomly assigned to evaluate a target’s job suitability based on a job application with race and religion manipulated. Participants were asked to evaluate the job application of a qualified candidate for a senior administrative assistant position at a fictional organization. Participants then assessed the candidate’s suitability for the job. Finally, participants indicated three specific criteria that they extracted from the application to use for this assessment.

Results

Fifty-eight participants explicitly mentioned the target’s religion when asked what information they used in assessing job suitability. Among these participants, there is a significant difference across the target’s religious group for the job suitability ratings, \( F(2, 55) = 3.66, p < .05 \). The pattern of means demonstrates that ingroup favoritism emerged across the measure of job
suitability, with the Christian target rated most suitable, followed by the Muslim and Atheist
targets, who were not related significantly different from each other (see Table 1).

Among those participants who didn’t indicate using religion, there was no significant difference
in the job suitability ratings across the religious targets. When race was examined, there was no
significant main effect or interaction with religion, suggesting that when religion is known, it
may be a more important source of information for people who use it than is race.

TABLE 1: *Means and standard deviations for suitability ratings of Christian / Muslim / Atheist
targets* by participants who explicitly indicated using religion in their judgments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th></th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th></th>
<th>Atheist</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>M</em></td>
<td><em>SD</em></td>
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<td><em>SD</em></td>
<td><em>M</em></td>
<td><em>SD</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suitability for job</td>
<td>6.33</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>5.84</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>5.61</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In all cases higher numbers mean higher endorsements of the item.

**Discussion**

The intent of this research was to investigate whether participants note and make use of a target’s
religious affiliation when forming impressions and making judgments. Further, it examined
whether or not target religion would display the pattern of judgments found in typical biases in
other intergroup contexts. The results from this study indicate that social perceivers noticed and
used a target’s religious affiliation when making judgments. Furthermore, in some cases they
used this social information more readily than other generally important social category
information (e.g., race). Additionally, participants who showed religion based biases openly
admitted that they were indeed using this target’s religion information in making their
judgments. There were participants who did not indicate use of the target’s religious group as a
part of their judgment and in contrast, they did not show any evidence of intergroup bias.

The overall pattern of these results suggests that a target’s religious affiliation is important,
perhaps for some persons even more so than race, when assessing a candidate’s suitability for a
job. The pattern of results revealed intergroup biases across job suitability ratings. Participants
overwhelmingly demonstrated their preference for the Christian (ingroup) target over Muslim
and Atheist targets. Specifically, Christians were rated the most suitable for the employment
position, with no significant differences between the ratings of Atheists and Muslims.
Importantly however, when participants did not explicitly indicate using religion as an evaluative
tool, then, no religious intergroup biases emerged suggesting that the often observed disconnect
between explicit and implicit criteria did not occur here for religion as a social category.
References


Title: Disproportionate Representation of African American Males in Specific Learning Disability (SLD) Programs

Topic Area: Area Studies (African Americans)

Presentation Format: Paper Session

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Disproportionate Representation of African American Males in Specific Learning (SLD) Programs

Dr. Augusta A. Clark, Dr. Darlene A. Thurston, Dr. Aairon L. Gray, and Ms. Angela N. Crumpton

With the major concern for the high percentage of minorities dropping out of high school in general, attention is more focused specifically towards minority students being labeled and relegated to special education classes. In many instances, special education classes are filled with a disproportionate number of African American males, even with mandates for inclusion. This phenomenon has increased the probability that even more minorities will decide to quit school earlier. Kunjufu (2006), in his work Keeping Black Boys out of Special Education, poses several questions that cause not only educators, but also John Q. Public (or parents, community activists, psychologists, and policy makers) to reflect on this sensitive phenomenon. Kunjufu raises such questions as:

- Is there a relationship between special education and prison?
- Is there a parallel between literacy and incarceration?
- Is there a relationship between Ritalin and cocaine?
- Why African American males are placed in special education the most and White females the least?
- What percent of special education students are mainstreamed back to the regular classroom?

The over-representation of minority students, particularly African American males, continues to be one of the most persistent and complex issues in the field of education today. African American males have consistently been over-represented in special education categories of mental retardation, behavior disorders, physical impairments, visual impairments, speech impairments, and hearing disorders for over three decades (Zimmerman, 2005; Skiba, Poloni-Staudinger, Gallini, Simmons, and Feggins-Azziz, 2006; Watkins & Kurtz, 2001).

The purpose of this presentation is to:
- Share research about over-representation of African American males in special education
- Identify factors that contribute to over-representation
- Engage in dialogue about possible recommendations to address over-representation of African American males in special education programs.

According to Blanchett (2006), African American students are:
- 2.41 times more likely than white students to be identified as mentally retarded
- 1.13 times more likely to be labeled learning disabled
• 1.68 times more likely to be found to have emotional or behavioral disorders.

According to Losen & Osfield (2002), African American students account for:

• 14.8% of the general population ages 6-21 years old, but 20% of the special education population across all disabilities
• 18% of students with Specific Learning Disabilities
• 27% of students with Emotionally Disabled
• 34% of students with Cognitive Disabled

In 2006, approximately seven million students in the U. S. received special education and related services in the public school system of which approximately 60% were identified as having specific learning disability (Pasternack, 2006).

As for plausible contributing factors, several researchers have proffered innumerable reasons:

• Racial prejudice and discrimination (Artiles, Aguirre-Muyoz & Abedi, 1998)
• Referral processes (Losen & Orfield, 2002)
• Limited teacher training in diversity (Salend, Garrick, Duhaney & Montgomery, 2002)
• Inadequate instruction (Ford, 1998)
• Poverty and environment (Kozol, 1991)
• Special education as an attractive placement (MacMillan & Reschy, 1998)
• Teacher expectation (Johnson, 2006; Moore, 2002; Rist, 1970; Rosenthal, 1973; Ferguson, 2001)
• Incentives (Johnson, 1997)

Like many of the factors, there are consequences of over-representation:

• This is very problematic due to the fact that these labels are stigmatizing, denying individuals the quality of life they are entitled (Artiles, Harry, Reschy, & Chinn, 2001)
• Low teacher expectations, reduced curriculum coverage, and there is school underachievement, (Blanchard, 2006) high unemployment, lack of work force preparation, involvement in the criminal justice system and difficulty accessing postsecondary education (Chamberlain, 2005)
• African American males are viewed often in terms of their failures rather than their successes (Thompson, 2005)

Mattie T. Decree filed a class action lawsuit in U. S. District Court in 1975 and revisited in 2003 on behalf of all the children of Mississippi. The suit was aimed to decrease the number of
minority students overrepresented in the areas of specific learning disabilities (SLD) and emotionally mentally retarded (EMR) over a seven year period (2009).

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study is to describe the individual “experiences” associated with African American males diagnosed with specific learning disabilities in an urban high school setting in the South.

Methodology
The participants are ten African American male students in grades 10-12 at two high schools within the Jackson Public School District. The research design is a qualitative phenomenological study with purposive sampling and audio recording. To measure, a 14-item interview protocol was used to assess the experience of each participant.

Findings
These were the themes generated:
- I want to be successful. Most students want to succeed
- Stigmatizing—it hurts. A name other than the given one causes pain
- Teacher low expectations. The teacher is a powerful factor
- They can’t handle me. Teachers need professional development for at risk students
- They’re helpful. Many teacher do care

Recommendations for Parents
- Understand the Individual Education Plan (IEP) process
- Find a representative/advocate that understands special education laws
- Become more involved in their child’s education
- Include their high school child in the IEP Committee meeting

Recommendations for Teachers
- Have high expectations for all students despite gender, race, or environmental influences
- Create a culturally responsive environment that acknowledges individual differences
- Become aware of the connection between culture, identity, and learning and ways to use these factors to promote student learning
- Provide differentiated instruction to meet the needs of the varied learning styles of African American students

Recommendations for Teacher Education Programs
- Provide more classes on cultural diversity and special education for ethnic minority students
- Create courses for pre-service and administrators that emphasize the importance of caring for students without lowering expectations
Conclusion
Respondent #6 states the most appropriate conclusion:

- I want to say thank you. Because to be honest, you helped me express my feelings. Because to be honest, I don’t talk to people about exceptional Ed. The teacher asked me did I want to participate and I said yeah because he’s helping me with my problem. He want to experience how we feeling here. Don’t anybody else try to do that. So I respect you more just for doing that and that’s just real. And I respect you. And I hope whatever you doing with it I hope you get something out of it. Just like I want something out of life. You want the same things. So God bless you man. Real.

The overall quality of an individual child's teacher is important. Effective teachers are however collaboratively important to children learning. Good teachers establish high expectations for academics and behavior. They are well organized and have a clear plan for what students should be learning on a daily, quarterly and on a yearly basis. They know their subject matter, and they use multiple teaching strategies to reach students who come to school with varying skills and interests. They give regular feedback to students and challenge them to achieve their personal best. At the same time, they go to great lengths to care for and support students personally. Effective teachers communicate openly and clearly with parents and work well with their colleagues.
REFERENCE


Title:

A Preliminary Study of the Relationship between Taiwan Indigenous Television and the Issue of “Chu Ti Shing”

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A Preliminary Study of the Relationship between Taiwan Indigenous Television and the Issue of “Chu Ti Shing”

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Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV) was established on December 1, 2004. TITV is at present the first ‘indigenous television station’ in Asia and broadcasts programs 24 hours daily for indigenous audiences. Nevertheless, a newly established station has many operational and management difficulties especially for a minority culture media. In the face of numerous difficulties and challenges, I am interested in what perspective and ways the TV station will achieve its sustainable development to shoulder the mission of reviving the mother tongue and conveying the indigenous culture?

In order to have any media, preferably one that is focused only on indigenous people, under such rationale, TITV is set to present the content of their own culture and voice their ideas truthfully. Chu Ti Shing, a Chinese expression denoting ‘essence, subjectivity’, is used in the discourse of indigenous broadcasting to convey the idea of a pure indigenous subjectivity. This concept has been proposed and has even becomes a symbol, a basic requirement of TITV recruitment. In my in-depth interviews, each and every one of my interviewee mentioned the concept “Chu Ti Shing” (Identity/Subjectivity) more than one time. From some extremists’ perspective, TITV’s “Chu Ti Shing” (Identity) means that the station staff must be of true indigenous blood. Nevertheless, others may argue such a concept should be more tolerant, emphasizing on the acceptance of indigenous culture, and open for elites media professionals to participate in. These two perspectives are in opposition.

Due to the upsurge in discussion of the concept of “Chu Ti Shing” (Identity/Subjectivity), indigenous identity has become one of the prime concerns for working in TITV and relevant regulations to protect them. For this reason, unique among global indigenous TV media, TITV is staffed by 90% indigenous employees is formed in TITV. However, can this recruiting standard become a measurement of indigenous cultural representation, and pave the way for further development or will this prerequisite become a bottle neck and slow down progress of TITV? This is something worth to contemplating and discussing further. Research methods include a literature review, analysis of TV programs, and an in-depth interview.

**Keywords:** Chu Ti Shing, Identity, Indigenous People, Minority Television, Subjectivity, TITV

**Introduction**

In the Taiwanese mainstream media, indigenous peoples are an ethnicity that is at a disadvantage. An indigenous person has never served in an administrative and/or executive post in Taiwan’s mainstream media. As such, negative stereotypes of indigenous people often perpetuate, and little change has been made in regards to the representations of the Taiwanese indigenous peoples. Owing to the fact that minority groups lack economic and political strength, they do not have rights such as media ownership, fair employment, and representation in the media sector. There is a need for the media to address indigenous
issues, and as Michael Meadow suggests, indigenous media has many components and “[may] represent a community cultural resource which [has] the potential not only to contribute to community management, but also to operate counter-hegemonically”(1995, p. 9).

According to a survey of 2006, there are 232 indigenous Taiwanese university students majoring in communication or media. Proportionally, 0.88% of university students majoring in communication or media are indigenes (CIP, 2008). The low numbers suggests that little difference will be made by their contribution to the media and communication field. It seems necessary that the government, social groups or indigenous media should plan long-term training programs for indigenous peoples who are capable and want to engage in the communication field, so that indigenous voice can be truly heard.

In order to have any media, preferably one that is focused only on indigenous people, under such rationale, Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV), the first “indigenous television station” in Asia, broadcasts programs for 24 hours a day for the local indigenous audience, was established on December 1st, 2004 (Guo, 2007). TITV is set to present the content of their own culture and voice their ideas truthfully. Chu Ti Shing, a Chinese expression denoting ‘essence, subjectivity’, is used in the discourse of indigenous broadcasting to convey the idea of a pure indigenous subjectivity. This concept has been proposed and has even becomes a symbol, a basic requirement of TITV recruitment. In my in-depth interviews, each and every one of my interviewee mentioned the concept “Chu Ti Shing” (Identity/Subjectivity) more than one time. From some extremists’ perspective, TITV’s “Chu Ti Shing” (Identity) means that the station staff must be of true indigenous blood. Nevertheless, others may argue such a concept should be more tolerant, emphasizing on the acceptance of indigenous culture, and open for elites media professionals to participate in. These two perspectives are in opposition.

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**The Role and Benefits of Ethnic/Minority Television**

Lasswell (1948) mentions that the mass media carries the mission of passing down the culture in a society. Its function is to convey knowledge, values and social norms so each individual can feel united with his community. In the indigenous tribes, the main source of information is TV as it is easy to access and use. This also changes the daily routines of the indigenous people and how they interact with each other because TV is used for entertainment, gaining information and killing time. In addition to work and sleep, the most of their time is spent on TV (C. G. Chen, 1977; Wu, 1994; W. S. Xie, 1998; S. C. Xu, 1986).

Similar conclusions are drawn from surveys conducted on different ethnic groups: the more one is exposed to his own cultural media, the more accepting he will be towards his culture; the more one is exposed to the mainstream media, the more one will be assimilated into the mainstream culture (Taji, 2006). The indigenous people in urban areas are surrounded by mainstream culture and media, and therefore it is more difficult for them to accept and celebrate their own culture.

Husband (1994) believes that ethnicity and cultural acceptance must be political correct. Ethnicity really needs to be connected to the basic infrastructure of this existing system in order to convey the cultural acceptance and ethnicity to the outside world. This very infrastructure means the mass media, which symbolizes power, as it can control and interpret the relationships among different ethnic groups. This is the very reason why indigenous people must have their own media to express the characteristics and value of their culture. Externally, it is to express their views; internally, it is to form a consensus and cultural
acceptance. Through all kinds of programs and news, indigenous languages and customs are passed down; the elder and young indigenous generations are connected; the development of the indigenous languages are ensured to be suitable for the modern society (W. S. Xie, 1998). To sum up, indigenous people have realized the imperative of controlling and utilizing the media.

The establishment of TITV can raise the sense of belonging and participation in tribal members’ hearts. Ethnic and residential boundaries are broken due to immediate and fast communication via TV media. Indigenous people care more about the people, events and matters that are pertinent to them (Guo, 2007). Simultaneously, the channel of getting to know other ethnic groups is provided, and then they could learn to admire and respect each other. A positive and meaningful interaction is thus established (Taji, 2006). Hence, the sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group helps to develop self-acceptance in a positive direction and also satisfies the human psychological needs of security and dependence.

In Guo’s thesis (2007), she mentions that TITV is a platform for the indigenous people to voluntarily participate and produce indigenous people-related programs. Chu Ti Shing (subjectivity/identity) is emphasized through the presentation of the program content. Indigenous culture is enveloped within the mass media and then conveyed to the indigenous communities. Hence, it can be said that TITV is the medium between indigenous people and their culture. In addition, an ethnic channel plays the role of someone who cares about the issues of the community. It attempts to empower the people. Its strength is that it brings the relationships of the community closer, as a source of public forum and an information messenger among the tribes in the viewers’ life. Its roles have different effects on different people, which extend over every aspect of the tribal life (Guo, 2007). For indigenous viewers, the ethnic media connects the sense of belongings from different generations and presents matters that they care about. TITV, a new platform, gathers many relevant issues to represent them, and therefore opens up more room for discussion and gives ethnic groups a platform to air their opinions. Furthermore, indigenous people are trained to be professionals in the media industry so ethnographies and documentaries can be filmed from
their insider’s point of view. In this way, negative stereotypes and infamous reputations, produced by outsiders, can be rectified. As such, indigenous personnel can participate and become the producers of their own subjectivity (Taji, 2006). Furthermore, regarding indigenous visual products, Faye Ginsburg indicates that “one might read this not simply as an adaptation of Western visual culture, but as a new form of collective self-production that is being used by indigenous producers to mediate historical and cultural ruptures within their own societies and to assert their presence in the polities that encompass them” (1999, p. 304).

Nowadays, the news on TITV is presented, photographed, drafted, edited and reported by indigenous journalists. It is presented to indigenous people who are regarded as the target audience. No matter which tribe the news is about, the journalists must refer to the people concerned as the “Tzu Ren (the tribal members)”. Significantly, the word “they” is never used this gives the sense of unity with the audience (Chung, 2009). As such, the rhetoric conveys a united community, in which the differences between audience groups are not addressed and a sense of union with all indigenous groups are established.

Communal mass communication and media are also established through participation in community events and activities. Their goal is to satisfy the internal needs of media and pass the information outwards (Jiang, 1996a). Reporting on community events from their own points of view can assist indigenous communities to avoid the stereotypes and build an independent media system. TITV has actually brought such an effect; however, having TITV in the tribes/communities does influence the content of causal chats among people. That is to say the content of the conversations is related to the TV program content. Gradually, this provides the opportunity of gathering different groups of people together in daily life. In other words, new relationships can be formed through caring about the same issues and this is the most obvious in parent-child relationships (Guo, 2007). After watching TITV, parents and children often discuss about their perception of traditional culture, which is similar to what Ginsburg has observed in certain works which “are aimed at cultural preservation through the documenting of ceremonies and traditional activities with elders
or creating works to teach young people literacy in their languages…” (1999, p. 302). Different generations are therefore connected together.

Guo (2007) has also found the determining factor in choosing certain TV programs by the indigenous people of Chung Kuang tribe in Hualien, is whether or not their homeland appears on TITV. The reason is that this is the land they share their life, culture and history together. Besides, when viewing the introduction of other tribes and ethnic groups, they treat those as a tribal unit and observe the features of the tribes in different times. The community sense of caring and belonging to one’s tribe is then raised through dispersion of information among the tribes.

Marianne Stenbaek researched how television and electronic media influences Inuit culture in the Arctic-Alaska, northern Canada and Greenland. She has found, “television and the electronic media have proven capable of having a powerful influence on the Inuit’s cultural survival and their political and economic conditions” (1988, p. 331). The Inuit utilize electronic media to promote Inuit culture and language. They also make use of the influence media can bring to bear on education, politics and the economy. Amateur media members successfully document their own culture in these fields. These images are sent to every household through communal media so everyone can see the true color of his community and the concerning issues.

From the above discussion, it is not difficult to see the important role an ethnic TV station plays in passing down the culture, self-acceptance, language preservation and the right to live for the ethnic minority. It produces consensus and rectifies wrongful stereotypes in the community about the minority group.

**Methodology**

Firstly, I completed a pilot study before the data collection. Corrine Glesne states: “Pilot your observations
and interviews in situations and with peoples as close to the realities of your actual study as possible” (1999, p. 38). Therefore, I presented my research plan and the interview questionnaire to indigenous friends and people, who have had years of working experience working in the media industry in Taiwan, to examine whether the focus points and language used in the plan and questionnaire are suitable for interviews and observation. This kind of preparation assisted me greatly in the data collection later.

Regarding the selection of the interviewees, I choose purposive sampling\(^1\). Key personnel related to TITV were interviewed. The interviewees were:

1. government officials, legislators and scholars;
2. representatives: the media for the four main ethnicities in Taiwan, 14 indigenous tribes, TTV, EBT, PTSF, the indigenous people in the Northern, Southern, Middle, Eastern and Western regions;
3. TITV: former and current directors, managers, employees and journalists;
4. indigenous people who currently or used to work in the mainstream media;
5. CEO of the communication and advertising companies which are managed by the Hans and indigenous people.

I spent a lot of time observing and engaging with personnel at TITV. I have been in and out of TITV more than 40 times since October, 2008. The longest stay I had at TITV was six hours and the shortest was three.

In addition to the interviews, I also observed and took pictures with a single lens camera while subjects were working and filming. Regarding the filming, I stayed in the studio to observe and sketch out the set as a reference for analysis later. Of course, all the pictures are taken with permission and I did not cause any inconvenience to staff members while photographing.

In addition to the in-depth interviews and participant observations, I started collecting relevant files and

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\(^1\) According to Patton, “the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research...” (1990, p. 169).
data when I decided to do research on this topic (2007). I analysed the body of documents to extract the most relevant information. That is to say, the thesis will determine the significance of the documents being investigated. “Most academic research based on archive research is fairly interpretive” (Stokes, 2003, p. 25). The data come from the government files, relevant regulations, relevant research projects and theses, rating statistics on TITV from TV stations and Council of Indigenous People, Executive Yuan (CIP). Fortunately such data and information is open to the public and very transparent so there was no difficulty with data collection.

**The So-Called “Chu Ti Shing” Issue**

James Tully (2000) states that an abnormal relationship exists between mainstream society and indigenous people in Canada, the U.S.A., New Zealand and Australia. Their common characteristic is that the indigenous people are internally colonized by the colonizing country. A history of oppression and marginalisation is a common experience shared among the colonized societies, which also causes anxiety regarding their cultural identity. Robert Young (2006) pointed out that after being conquered, annexed, even forced to transmigrate and abandon their own languages, the disadvantaged groups would come to realize their plight. In order to re-establish a true self, the colonized races search for their long-ignored identity/subjectivity\(^2\) and detoxify the remaining influence of colonialism.

Since the end of the 20\(^{th}\) century, non-indigenous people have inherited lands and resources from the indigenous and treated them unfairly. Having been challenged and pressured by the society, non-indigenous people are now filled with enormous guilt. This also provokes a discussion of whether the colonizing nations should apologize and seek reconciliation or not (Selby, 2004).

George J. Sefa Dei (2000) argues that indigenousness is a way of creating and improving the wisdom of

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\(^2\) The term “subjectivity” is social groups oriented. For social groups the shared interests are the identification built upon historical experiences and social location (McIsaac, 2000).
human beings rather than a symbol of ignorance and backwardness. It is the worldview and knowledge of the indigenous peoples that continues the interest and discourse against colonial hegemony. However, according to Wessells and Bretherton, “traditional Aboriginal world views and the white western world views remain fundamentally different” (2000, p. 104). This statement applies to relations between the Hans and indigenous peoples in Taiwan. In Taiwan, it is the assumption that all indigenous people should have The Harvest Festival; that everyone can sing and dance well; that everyone is a talented sportsman; that everyone loves drinking; that everyone is beautiful/handsome and has big eyes. These kinds of stereotypes may come from the media or from private speculation. Negative stereotypes of Hans also exist for the indigenous people. For example, senior indigenous people call the Hans “Bai Lang” (this means “bad people” in Taiwanese.) Many assumptions, which exist between the Hans and the indigenous people, influence how they see each other. This is usually the case when the Hans try to change the indigenous people with their own languages, culture and life styles, as the Hans consider that this is what the indigenous people need. Under the influence of the domineering race, the indigenous people in Taiwan can only live in a way that is expected by others. On the other hand, the closer the indigenous people want to get with other ethnicities, though this may uplift their own economic and social status, the lower their self-acceptance would be because tribal identity is lost through assimilation (J.-L. Xu, 2008).

Since TITV went to air on July 1st 2005, there has been a surge in indigenous public forums with unique styles. After being molded as the “disadvantaged group” by the media for a long time, indigenous people suddenly have the opportunities to express their political opinions. Chao Ming Huang, claims that “After the elites in the indigenous society integrate the resources from all walks of the society, they skillfully construct a suitable path for the development of their own culture based on the past reform movement. In this way, they also re-gain respect for their own ethnicity” (2008, pp. 1-2). The information TITV conveys provokes some viewers who are concerned about issues, which relate to indigenous people, to participate in public forums and think through ethnic content again. In the tribe, “the elders recollect the memories of their tribe and culture through watching TITV; middle-aged and young viewers can accept their own culture more
through watching TITV” (Taui, 2006, p. 135).

I would like to consider how subjectivity is interpreted in TITV. An official of Kaohsiung County government thinks that the involvement of indigenous people in the production of TV programs does show some kind of “Chu Ti Shing” (no.27/M/39/IP-Bunun). However, does it mean that TITV must protect pure indigenous identity? An associate professor (no.24/M/56/IP-Puyuma) does not agree with such a dogmatic concept. He asserts, “Do not make TITV’s content become absolutely indigenous as nothing in this world is 100% pure”. Furthermore he claims that “Compared to the Han peoples, our ethnicity has been through unique experiences and identities in the past which enable others to distinguish indigenous people’s sentiments and stimulate the mainstream society” (no.24/M/56/IP-Puyuma). His opinion is similar to the following perspectives:

...the traditions and values, the social codes and norms, the official accounts of historical events shared by a given collectivity or society...that society’s various social representations and idiosyncratic components which contribute to regulate its collective life, set its goals and define its identity (Mauss, 1969, quoted in Selby, 2004, p.148).

According to Marxism, the appearance of subjectivity is located in a social of a definite time and place with specific characteristics (Barker, 2003). In fact, indigenous peoples realize that their status and rights are inferior to the majority groups and want to reverse such a predicament. Gradually, the consciousness of “Chu Ti Shing” is deeply planted in their minds. The arguments in favour of “Chu Ti Shing” are numerous. However, “the concepts of subjectivity and identity are closely connected and, in everyday language, virtually inseparable.” Barker states, “identity is best understood not as a fixed entity but as an emotionally charged discursive description of ourselves that is subject to change” (2003, pp. 219-246). Giddens also argues that identity is created by us and is always in process (Giddens, 1991). That is to say, identities will change their meanings according to time, place and usage.

In regard to cultural identity, Hall insists in an anti-essentialist perspective and stresses that “there is no essence of identity to be discovered; rather, cultural identity is continually being produced within the
vectors of similarity and difference”(1990). As Bhabha argues, culture is not the fixed property. When two
different cultures contact each other, they will not only influence each other, but change their own essences
by absorbing the other’s characteristics. Thus, culture is seen as a dynamic force, and “all cultures are
hybrid”(Bhabha, 1994). This could be regarded as the result of intersubjectivity.

Alongside western views, Taiwan’s scholars also put forward some similar arguments. An indigenous
university associate professor proposes: “Culture is a form of dialogue among different nations. In addition,
culture is also evolutionary, interactive and influential among different nations”(no.24/M/56/IP-Puyuma).
Culture is supposed to be shared, not protected. He considers that anything protected will be extinct and
kept in a museum. In addition, he argues:

“Chu Ti Shing” often needs to have a comparison in order to perceive the contrast. When a
comparison appears, communication must take place to see the common characteristics and
different qualities. However, many people abuse the usage of the word “Chu Ti Shing” nowadays
so its real meaning has been blurred (no.24/M/56/IP-Puyuma).

The presentation of “Chu Ti Shing” is not a one-sided. It relies on interactions between a sender and a
receiver to project a contrast or comparison, thus making “Chu Ti Shing” stand out in the process. According
to Chao Ming Liao, in addition, subjectivity is demonstrated by whether the indigenes have the right to
determine their developments in politics, economy, society, culture, and education. He further indicates
that “the enhancement of indigenous subjectivity is the extreme expression of Taiwanese Localization
movements”(2008, p. 1). According to Li-Jung Wang, “in Taiwan, only aborigines are clearly non-Chinese”.
That is to say, the concept of indigenous subjectivity also indirectly encourages the formation of Taiwanese
Nationalism in which ‘Taiwan’ versus ‘China’; ‘Taiwanese’(people of Taiwan) versus ‘Chinese’(people of
China-a cultural and historical China which is also inseparable from the political China, that is the PRC)(M.-Y.
T. Rawnsley, 2003), and gradually replaces original Chinese Nationalism3.

3 Taiwan is separated from Mainland China geographically. Cheng Cheng-Kung in the Ming Dynasty ruled Taiwan so he
could gain the lost land the Mainland China. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, the Qing government ceded Taiwan to
Japan. Japan governed Taiwan for 51 years. After the democratic government retreated from the Mainland China, they
saw this island as the spring board to fight back. The local faction sees this part of history as “governing by the alien
races” because the identity of Taiwanese people has often been suppressed by other nations. Taiwan was forced to
withdraw her membership in the United Nation in 1971, and countries around the world recognize Mainland China as
Some indigenous peoples strongly suggest TITV’s staff should be all indigenous, and in this way can maintain “Chu Ti Shing” from indigenes (no.11/M/49/IP-Saisiyat; no.14/M/46/IP-Saisiyat; no.20/M/42/IP-Rukai; no.21/M/37/IP-Yami). Others, such as Jiang, suggest such an oppositional stance will mire the indigenes in ethnocentrism (Jiang, 1996b). The producer of Hakka TV expresses “If one is not indigenous, it is extremely difficult to gain [indigenous] acceptance when working or living among them” (no.19/F/49/HC-Hakka). A strong “Chu Ti Shing” may result in a stereotype that the indigenous peoples are very hard to get along with. In addition, a one-way communication, in which indigenous peoples only broadcast their programs to indigenous peoples, cannot change the negative impressions that others have of indigenous people.

However, not every indigene can approve this kind of viewpoint. A clerk of Tainai County Government considers that “the TITV’s ‘Chu Ti Shing’ should regard the connotation of TITV as the standard, but not lineage”(no.23/M/35/IP-Thao). Regarding the understanding and identity of indigenous culture, an indigenous reporter (no.18/F/26/IP-Kavalan) even argues that familiarity is more important than the “Chu Ti Shing”. If fact, many non-indigenous employees know more about indigenous culture than indigenous employees.

In relation to the discourse of blood lineage, in addition, the president of an indigenous museum provides his opinions below:

I am not a believer in blood lineage so I do not discuss matters based on this philosophy. I prefer to interpret it as a rainbow nation because we accept different cultural backgrounds and we all live in the same environment. Often, some indigenous elites marry people from other tribes. If we have to apply the concept of blood lineage, then we still have indigenous people who marry non-indigenous people. We often call this the third generation of indigenous people. The children from the first generation still have 50% of indigenous blood in them. When it comes to the only legal regime. The defeat in the diplomatic world and being seen as a legal regime by a few countries justify the ruling by the Democratic Party even more. Later, the Taiwanese government started a series of “localized” policies and produced a group of Taiwanese elites, who focused mainly on the benefit of the locals. Politically, it required more political freedom, the protection of human rights and more participation in political events, in order to seek the subjectivity of Taiwan. Arguments between the conservative party and the local faction involves sensitive issues of “unification/independence” when mentioning about the national identity in Taiwan(J.-L. Xu, 2008). Fortunately, as Li-Jung Wang said, “Indigenous people in Taiwan and the Hakkas show a multicultural Taiwan and this can be defined as a new national identity. Within this new national identity, an ethnic identity can be redefined as well” (2004, p. 304).
the third generation, it is difficult to draw the distinction (no.10/M/63/IP-Paiwan).

At present, all TITV’s staff print their own indigenous name on their business card. This represents conduct of identity. Regarding the “Chu Ti Shing” issue, nevertheless, one should focus on thoughts and beliefs instead of the blood lineage. A representative of Public Television Station Foundation (PTSF) proposes her arguments:

Whether one identifies and accepts their culture is values determines the presence of the “Chu Ti Shing”. The issue of the indigenous identity is more than just bloodline. Some people are of indigenous descent but do not necessarily maintain their culture and identity. With the excuse of indigenous lineage, refusing any other people’s help and interaction will form a closed community, which would blunder easily (no.29/F/*/HC-Mainlander).

In addition, there is a special phenomenon at TITV. According to an associate professor’s observation, some people do not have enough professional capacity but use their indigenous identity to obtain a job position (no.24/M/56/IP-Puyuma). A representative of PTSF (no.29/F/*/HC-Mainlander) further states that the word “Chu Ti Shing” has already become synonymous with immaturity and irresponsibility. He claims that to think “Chu Ti Shing” and lineage are the same thing is simply biased and aggressive. She asserts that many TITV employees do not have professional attitude towards their jobs. All they talk about is “Chu Ti Shing” and use this as an excuse to be lazy. Although the representative of PTSF is not an indigene, she believes that she accepts indigenous identity more than any indigenes themselves.

A legislator also strongly opposes judging everything by lineage. He even considers that the field of mass communication and media is new to indigenous people so they must learn a lot from non-indigenous people. However, still some people regard “Chu Ti Shing” as weapon to oppose those who hold views different from their own. Regarding this behavior, a representative of PTSF disapprovingly indicates:

It appears to be a phenomenon that “Chu Ti Shing” has become an excuse for some indigenes, protecting their mistakes and laziness. “The Han peoples cannot interfere with the internal affairs of the indigenes and govern them,” is their doctrine. The “Chu Ti Shing” has just become another new version of Fascism.

Actually, we are bound by “Chu Ti Shing”. One should adopt a perspective of multi-subjectivity to give up
the antithesis of Hans and indigene. Don’t judge anything by “lineage” and make limits between you and me. It is impossible for the indigenes to be self-contained and isolated completely; resisting the influences from the other parts of the world is simply out of the question. Hence, they must try to maintain their precious culture and resources under the influences of this world. Therefore, it is worth to strongly emphasize: “Chu Ti Shing” is not equal to the blood lineage. Regarding the concept of “Chu Ti Shing”, finally, a clerk of Tainai County Government proposes a very meaningful statement: “so long as the person identifies the indigenous culture, no matter s/he is Hans or indigene, his/her attitude represents the existence of indigenous ‘Chu Ti Shing’” (no.23/M/35/IP- Thao).

The following contents discuss the “Chu Ti Shing” issue, which is both popular among the indigenous people and complicated, from the perspective of the TITV director, its employees, outsourced organizations, production units and the VIS of TITV.

**The battle of the President of TITV**

There have been disputes in regards to leadership positions at TITV which are related to cultural identity. The position of director drew the most controversy. The Kang-Ping Yu-incident is just one example in which the indigenous society was divided into two groups: one supporting the professionally capable non-indigenous person Kang-Ping Yu to act as the director of TITV; the other group objecting to any non-indigenous person acting in important positions at TITV. The cause of this dispute was that these two groups of people have different definitions regarding the issue of “identity”. After the *Relinquishment of Government Ownership Clause* released, PTSF started to be engaged in electing the director of TITV in the summer of 2006. Through the verification at two stages, of 3 candidates including 2 indigenes and 1 Han person, the board of directors of PTS elected Kang-Ping Yu to serve as the director of TITV.

Kung-Ping Yu (HC-Mainlander) is a film director and has engaged in the production of indigenous documentary for more than 20 years. He is familiar with the affairs of tribes. In addition, he also
participated in the audio-visual training program for indigenous peoples many times. Approximately half of TITV's staff have been instructed by him.

According to the board of directors of Public Television Station (PTS), the reason they chose Kung-Ping Yu to be the director of TITV is that indigenes at present have no leading talents in media. This kind of statement annoyed many indigenous elites. They consider that PTS discriminated against indigenous peoples seriously. Hence, they demanded the overthrow of the original resolution from PTS, and the re-nomination of a candidate of indigenous lineage. Under the protests of numerous indigenous individuals and groups, PTS made a concession and re-elected another person to serve as the director of TITV. Then, Masao Aki (IP-Atayal) was elected out and became the third director of TITV on January 1, 2007.

Some indigenous media members considered that if Kung-Ping Yu had have been the director for a term of office; TITV would be more stable than now. “Of course the tribes would disapprove of such arrangement. However, they forget that the TV station belongs to the country and is the first indigenous TV station in Asia. One needs to manage it carefully and seriously”(no.07/M/49/IP-Paiwan). At present they recognize that TITV still needs Han peoples to be in charge, because of their experience. They consider that when the operation of TITV is on track, the number of non-indigenous staff will be altered.

A legislator even said that “I was the first one to reject Kung-Ping Yu serving in the post of the director”(no.25/M/52/IP-Sediq). In fact, if one holds a narrower view of “Chu Ti Shing”, which means whoever wants to participate in any indigenous people-related activities needs to be indigenous, then even if Kan-Ping Yu was the director, he would still have encountered many obstacles in the management of TITV. That is to say, one could use the “blood lineage” argument to downgrade Kung-Ping Yu’s professionalism (no.24/M/56/IP-Puyuma). About this, the representative of PTSF regrets to express:

How they dismissed Kung-Ping Yu is not a good example as his Han lineage should not be regarded as the original sin. When such an excellent professional is willing to help TITV, one should welcome instead of rejecting him. Ever since the Kung-Ping Yu -incident, no matter what it is about, the indigenes use the “Chu Ti Shing” to shield their wrong doings and end the argument of their privilege (no.29/F/*/HC-Mainlander).
A tribal elder of tribe (no.30/M/63/IP-Sakizaya) considers that any capable person can act as the director of TITV. The ability of the director of TITV to identify with indigenous culture is important, but not his/her blood lineage (no.09/M/60/IP-Paiwan). However, still some insist that TITV belongs to indigenous people. Hence, from their perspectives, the leader of this indigenous organization should be indigenous. “While foreigners visit TITV, they would be amazed if the director of the indigenous electronic media they meet is not an indigene”(no.06/F/38/IP-Ami). This kind of situation is like someone visiting a tribe. If the head of tribe is not an indigene, it would be very strange. Therefore, the anchor interviewed strongly believes the TITV director should be an indigene as this position is a symbol of the TV station.

According to the discussions above, would there be any non-indigenous people serving the post of TITV director? A representative of PTSF thinks not. “The position of TITV director has already become a political issue, thus this cannot be discussed objectively in Taiwan.” She argues, “Supposedly a public issue can not be discussed rationally; there certainly would not be any positive development afterwards”(no.29/F/*/HC-Mainlander).

In interviews, the Kung Ping Yu incident provided interesting feedback in regards to the identity of the director of TITV. The criteria for directorship canvassed are as follows: indigenous blood lineage; strong professional ability in the media; identifying with indigenous culture; having management skills; good relationship with political parties and so on. Certainly, the director must have a very good negotiation ability so TITV’s budget can be released by CIP soon. This is the condition that everybody agrees on.

The Staff’s identity

Discussing mass media control by majority groups, Wilson and Gutierrez (1985) suggest that the minority groups should engage in the media field and speak for themselves. The participation of indigenous people
in the media and communication professions can rectify the wrongful stereotypes molded by the mainstream media. In addition, they can faithfully present their thinking and show who they really are. Browne also points out the purposes of the establishment of indigenous media in the world. They want many employees for administrators, program staff members, and independent producers (1996, pp. 58-62). Although the producer of Hakka TV (no.19/F/49/HC-Haka) is not an indigenous person, she also considers that TITV is a TV station for indigenous people and the main workforce should be indigenous people. In fact, “under Taiwan Broadcasting System (TBS), TITV was forced to employ indigenous people only” (no.24/M/56/IP-Puyuma). The government stipulates in the procurement contract that at least 70% of the employees at TITV must be indigenous. Besides this, the importance of “Chu Ti Shing” is emphasized inside and outside the organization. Hence, the number of indigenous employees has reached 90% out of the entire workforce after returning to the management of TBS.

According to TITV policy, the percentage of indigenous employees at TITV cannot be less than 70% (no.13/M/46/HC-Mainlander). Many indigenous peoples believe that the higher the percentage of indigenous employees at TITV, the better. A senior manager expresses TITV must ensure the purity of employees in order to present the most outstanding and authentic indigenous style. “From the director to the average employee, they all must be indigenous people in order to fill TITV with indigenous styles.” He emphasizes, “Within these five years, TITV has widened and strengthened its personnel base which will make TITV more indigenous” (no.21/M/37/IP-Yami).

However, is it true that TITV at present has few indigenous employees? According to a statement by a top executive at TITV:

There are 100 permanent employees and 35 temporary employees from employment services companies for the purpose of production. One of the criteria of employment which is to ensure the percentage of indigenous employees reach a certain standard. Regarding this part, for every 100 employees hired, 90 of them have to be indigenous4 (no.03/M/42/IP-Atayal).

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4 According a survey (PTS, 2008), TITV has 92 employees, including 81 indigenes and 11 Han peoples. Therefore, the indigenous staff account for 88.04% of the total number.
According to above-mentioned result, the staff of TITV really needs to increase in number; however, it is true that the proportion of Indigenous staff is very high. Faced with such a situation, an indigenous reporter (no.18/F/26/IP-Kavalan) does not think this is a good phenomenon. One would rather count the number of people who understand and accept indigenous people and their culture willingly than the number of indigenous employees at TITV. A spokesman for an indigenous female legislator considers that one must use “the ability to produce TV programs from indigenous people’s perspective” as a standard but not “the percentage of indigenous employees in the entire workforce”. Regarding this issue, he goes on stating that:

The existence of this TV station would be pointless if its employees and TV programs follow the value and standard of the mainstream culture, even if the employees are all indigenous people (no.26/M/54/HC-Fulo).

Regarding management of TITV, an indigenous legislator proposes “its decision makers, director, board chairman of the foundation, journalists and production crews should all be indigenous” (no.25/M/51/IP-Sediq). Some indigenous peoples deem that the core positions of TITV such as chief reporter, programs planner and producer are positions of power. In order to represent indigenous “Chu Ti Shing”, these positions should be served in by indigenous peoples (no.06/F/38/IP-Ami; no.11/M/49/IP-Saisiyat; no.14/M/46/IP-Saisiyat).

However, the producer of Hakka TV (no.19/F/48/HC-Hakka) seems to be unable to identify with such arguments. She expresses that management and the so-called “presenter for the organization”, such as TITV’s director, should be separate. Hence, personally she feels the management and employees of TITV do not all have to be indigenous people. In addition, an indigenous director of documentary does not mind at all who holds the management posts, and does not repel non-indigenous people working in TITV as one’s attitude towards his job is more important than his identity (no.16/M/40/IP-Ami).

“Some journalists know more about indigenous culture than indigenous people themselves. Why don’t we integrate this power and form the indigenous ‘Chu Ti Shing’?” The president of an indigenous museum
recalls the “Rectifying Movement” back then; the supporters were not indigenous people but “Bian Lien Hui”\textsuperscript{5}. They started with the identity of indigenous people and provided their thoughts, time, efforts and knowledge to help them build their self-respect, confidence and awareness. Indigenous people could not have done that at that time. “It was the Hans who helped us.” The president emphasizes that cooperation between different groups of people and assisting the needy represents the values of a society. “When these supporters see indigenous people’s growth, they will hand over the leadership”(no.10/M/64/IP-Paiwan).

Because there are few indigenous professionals in media, TITV, which has only been established for fewer than five years, really needs outside assistance and instruction. During the transition period, non-indigenous professionals have originality, professionalism and the passion for indigenous culture. These qualities enable them to be the leaders and train indigenous people. After the training is completed, then the non-indigenous will be replaced.

**Production House**

According to a top executive at TITV (no.03/M/42/IP-Atayal), the ratio between home-produced TV programs and outsourced ones is 5 to 1. Most of news programs are produced by TITV itself. Programs from the department of TV programs are outsourced publicly. These programs are open for proposals once every six months. The communication companies run by indigenous peoples are shortlisted first. Non-indigenous companies, they must have a certain percentage of indigenous employees, about 2-3 indigenous employees for every 10 hired. Under the management of PTSF, non-indigenous communication and advertising companies were obliged to involve: indigenous people in program planning and production to a certain extent.

The owner of a Han communication company followed this rule mentioned above and declares that “the

\textsuperscript{5} “Bian Lien Hui” is a group of people who were members of the Opposition and magazine editors.
full time indigenous employees in the indigenous programs, which are currently produced by me, account for 80%.”(no.05/M/46/HC-Mainlander). Nevertheless, some communication companies run by the Hans want to win the bidding of TV programs on TITV so they proclaim that there are many indigenous employees in the companies. “It is very difficult for us to investigate whether the external communication companies really hire indigenous people”(no.21/M/37/IP-Yami).

Regarding this issue, a director of PTSF provides his own suggestion:

TITV ought to establish an examination system to prevent indigenous employees just being nominal in the communication company. When the company comes for briefing, examiners must question indigenous employees, who should be present as one of the conditions stated, about the production details. Suppose the employees stutter, this implies they do not actually involved in the production and are just the nominal workers. One must put sufficient amount of time and efforts in to the system (no.31/M/60/HC-Mainlander).

In addition, because all the requests for pitches, auditing, production and broadcasting procedures of PTS apply to TITV, many indigenous communication companies are dissatisfied with the strict examination process at TITV, thinking TITV forces too many limitations on them. One interprets that the so-called “right to express and interpret” themselves is having indigenous peoples to produce TV programs which are presented to the general public (no.27/M/39/IP-Bunun). Therefore, whether the program proposal is good or not, they think TITV should give indigenous peoples a chance to produce programs at TITV (no.23/M/35/IP-Thao).

A famous indigenous host, who is also the owner of a communication company, even suggested three years ago, that any non-indigenous production crew should be fired as this is a TV station for a particular ethnicity (no.11/M/49/IP-Saisiyat). Such a regulation can protect indigenous right and encourage more indigenous peoples to engage in production of TV programs (no.11/M/49/IP-Saisiyat). In contrast to his arguments, the producer of Hakka, who is also the owner of a communication company, cannot approve of the indigenous host’s statements and argues:

Suppose the advertising and communication company is run by the Han who is very familiar with the indigenous culture and can produce creative TV programs, TITV should not repel or refuse it
Indeed, if a media professional accepts indigenous culture and is familiar with their affairs, TITV should open her arms and welcome him. It doesn’t matter whether he is an indigenous or not.

The Issue of Production Center

In general, when non-indigenous peoples shoot or document relevant issues of indigenous culture or individual, they will model indigenous stereotypes according to an imagined aboriginality in their brain. Virtually, the indigenous peoples are transformed from the subject to the object consumed. Is it possible to request mainstream groups correct their behaviour? Marcia Langton, Australian anthropologist, points out:

It is clearly unrealistic for Aboriginal people to expect that others will stop portraying us in photographs, films, on television, in newspapers, literature and so on. Increasingly, non-Aboriginal people want to make personal rehabilitative statements about the Aboriginal ‘problem’ and to consume and re-consume the ‘primitive’. Rather than demanding an impossibility, it would be more useful to identify those points where it is possible to control the means of production and to make our own self-representations (1993, p. 10).

This is the reason why many indigenous media members hope to shine a new light on representations. In fact, “Indigenous photographers know what is going to happen next in indigenous activities;” the senior manager of TITV states, “A cameraman letting the elders feel at ease and letting audiences understand indigenous people’s sense of humor is a key to successful shooting” (no.21/M/37/IP-Yami). Disturbingly, the camera lens will often be ‘out of focus’ or in other words not keeping the pace or attention to detail, when the non-indigenous peoples engage in shooting issues related to indigenous affairs. There is a lack of awareness of cultural nuances.

In the article “Indigenous people in front of camera lens”, Ta-Chunan Sun(1993) has criticized images of
indigenous people presented by the Hans as very violent, which reveals the arrogant judgments of mainstream society. On the other hand, the images shot by indigenous people present a completely different context. Marianne Stenbaek (1988) realizes that Inuit camerapersons present images at a very slow pace. Compared to white camerapersons, they are very cautious. It is like their hunting culture: one must observe every move of his prey and wait for the opportunity to catch it successfully. Similarly, they don’t give up any tiny meaningful details when filming. This is something white camerapersons cannot understand.

Assuming the cameramen do not have experience of interacting with indigenous people, then he cannot zoom in and out to seize that essential moment, using the shots flexibly. An indigenous reporter proposes more explanations:

Non-indigenous directors and photographers might not know what the most important and meaningful scene is when recording tribal festivals. In fact, we need indigenous people to manage this part. In addition, the shot by non-indigenous and indigenous people are very different in terms of the content. For example, certain plants possess special meanings towards certain tribes. This is something that is very difficult for non-indigenous people to grasp (no.18/F/26/IP-Kavalan).

Most of the cameras are handled by the Hans. The key to the operation of a TV station is its hardware and how this are utilized. However, a press photographer argues, “The biggest shortcoming of TITV is the lack of professionals, such as engineers, who are really in a big demand, as they are the heart of the operations. Regarding this matter, I have tried bringing it to the attention of authorities many times but no one seems to care”(no.07/M/49/IP-Bunun). At present, many indigenous peoples realize TITV must train indigenous people for the technical positions of production such as program director, cameraman, lighting man, the members of master control room and sub-control room and so on.

In addition, TITV does not have any professionals to design the background settings of a TV program at present (no.03/M/42/Atayal). The scenes of all programs are designed by the PTS designers. Even though prop designers at PTS are very capable, and devote all their efforts to designing specialized show props for
TITV, these props still do not fully capture the styles and tastes of indigenous people. An indigenous anchor (no.06/F/38/IP-Ami) indicates that “Our clothing coordinators and make-up artists are not very clear about our traditional style. It is very difficult for them to create an indigenous collocation. Thus, I match indigenous accessories on clothes by myself.” Otherwise, “how the lighting is projected affects how we see the facial outlines of indigenous people” (no.21/M/37/IP-Yami). However, Han lighting men seems to be unable to understand the differences of the color of skin between Han and indigenous peoples.

One would ask why TITV does not have its own technicians and production crew. It certainly has to do with limited funding. Will there be a marked difference in representation if the technicians and production crew were indigenous? This is another issue worthy of discussion for further research.

The Representation of TITV’s VIS

So far, TITV has been managed by three TV stations. Two kinds of vision identity Systems (VIS) were created. Such a VIS results from the combination of many elements such as pictures and sound (Lysaght, 2009). First of all, TTV used a Chinese characteristic symbol ‘Yuan’ to design TITV’s logo. This character means ‘original’. There are lines carved on the surface of this single symbol. The rough shape of this character with the color of red reflects the indigene’s carefree personality.

Figure 4.1

TITV’s logo (before 2007)

VIS is the one of CIS's connotations. The purpose of VIS is to create the image of a corporation. It includes logo, standard color, and slogan and so on.
The current VIS is made by PTSF. PTSF uses a more intimate and modern design to replace TTV’s designs. They use the simple circle as a way to create an easily remembered symbol, matching feathers that symbolize courage and power. The circle and three feathers\(^7\) have different colors: red symbolizing the universe, blue symbolizing the sea, yellow symbolizing the earth, and green symbolizing the fullness of life (PTS, 2007).

In addition, TITV use ‘Observe-The Original World’ as a concept to develop the slogan of TITV, and “it is hoped that by disseminating through the mass media, Taiwan’s indigenous cultures will be truly known by all”(PTS, 2007). But regarding the word ‘Observe’, an indigenous teacher of junior high school is appalled at the use of this term. He considers that ‘Observe’ means to watch carefully from a third person’s position. It does not make sense as indigenous people live in this very world. “They are the insiders, which mean things are happening to them, not in front of them to be watched. By using this word, it almost implies that indigenous people do not know what happens in their own home so they have to observe. I feel very strange as this gives a negative connotation to the public.”(no.08/F/*/IP-Bunun).

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\(^7\) According 2007 TITV Achievement Report, the purpose of the shape of the feather is “to create a connection between the symbols of the different cultures that are: three boats breaking through the waves towards the island; three arrows breaking the sky toward the sun; three feathers on the brave warrior’s headdress; the lines of tattoos, embroidery and weavings; the strings of colored glass beads; chiseled carvings; the fragrance of lilies”(PTS, 2007).
In-depth interviews there revealed very interesting finding: most indigenous people prefer to the VIS of TITV under TTV rather than the one under PTSF. They consider that the VIS of TITV under TTV gives a sense of roughness and originality. By contrast, the VIS of TITV under PTSF seems arbitrary: “Suppose tribal people see a circle with three straight lines, do you think they would be able to tell it is TITV’s logo? If indigenous people do not see the word “TITV”, would they know it is TITV’s logo” (no.18/F/26/IP-Kavalan)? Although TITV changed its logo after entering TBS, “the press photographers and journalists still leave the previous logo with the word, ‘Yuan’, on their SNGV (Satellite News Gathering Van) as they do not want to change” (no.12/F/43/HC-Mainlander). Non-indigenous people appreciate the VIS of TITV under PTSF because of its excellent design and modern sense. Indigenous peoples and Han people have different aesthetics. Basically, one could see that they still insist on the perspective of “Chu Ti Shing” from their taste to VIS. However, it must be hard for them to imagine that not only TTV’s VIS but also PTSF’s VIS are also designed by Han peoples.

In short, the indigenous people may have more understandings to their own issues, but this does not means that they can make a better representation. Indigenous peoples safeguard their own “Chu Ti Shing”; in the meanwhile, they need to apply the same respect to other’s “Chu Ti Shing”, and appreciate other’s culture (C.-h. Liao & Hsu, 2004). According to the representative of PTSF, “If the indigenes in Taiwan ask for more equity and justice, they shall befriend others, letting the outsiders to join them and speed up the development of the ‘Indigenous Movement’” (no.29/F/*/HC-Mainlander).

The curator of a museum (no.10/M/64/IP-Paiwan) also considers that the cooperation between the Han and indigenous people represents the value of a society. In the past, the “Name Correction Movement” succeeded through the help of some Hans who were enthusiastic about indigenous culture. Nowadays, enthusiastic professionals in media field provided their professional experience and skills at the early stage of TITV, which enabled indigenous employees to learn and grow fast. They will retreat and hand over the
management once the operation of TITV becomes stable. And only when the station is mature and stable, can it give the communities a positive impact and make the community rely on it more.

**Conclusion**

Perhaps the most controversial and complicated issue is “Chu Ti Shing” (Identity/Subjectivity). Almost everyone has his own view on this topic and insists upon it; thus it is difficult to open up a door for communication. In order to preserve unique tribal characteristics and identity, some insist on the so called “Blood Lineage Theory”: members of TITV should be indigenous people in order to present their characteristics and spirit. As for the director, he has to be indigenous. All the employees who take up important positions such as senior managers, journalists and editors must be indigenous. But regarding the technicians, the majority are currently Hans. When indigenous people are more familiar with this area, the Hans will hand back the authority. As for the outsourced companies, it is preferred that they are operated by indigenous people. Overall, it seems that it doesn’t matter whether the proposal or the case is good or bad, indigenous people must be given a chance.

Others do not agree that preferential treatment should direct the operation of a TV station (no.05/M/46/HC-Mainlander; no.10/M/64/IP-Paiwan; no.22/M/40/IP-Paiwan). They believe “Chu Ti Shing” should not be judged according to lineage. Though some people are indigenous, they do not know much about their own culture, let alone accept it. Those Hans who accept this culture and spend a vast amount of time in tribes, adequately present the “Chu Ti Shing” concept. These people consider that that if “Chu Ti Shing” is all about isolating themselves and not evolving with society, and then the future development of TITV would be worrying. Hence, they feel that as long as one is familiar with and accept the culture, no matter if he/she is non-/indigenous, he/she can present the identity of indigenous people on TITV.

In addition, some emphasize that the “Chu Ti Shing” of indigenous people lies in the presentation of the
program content (no.06/F/38/IP-Ami; no.08/F/*/IP-Bunun; no.11/M/49/IP-Saisyat; no.18/F/26/IP-Kavalan; no.32/F/47/IP-Truku). Taking the VIS (Visual Identity System) of TITV as an example, two different systems create different responses and degree of acceptance. Under the TTV era, the VI was presented with simple crafted “Yuan” character to reveal the liberal and outspoken personality of indigenous people. Under the PTS Foundation, VI has been presenting as a circle which has three colors each with a symbolic meaning. Such an abstract way of expression is really foreign to indigenous people. In fact, most people accept the former more.

Regarding the programs, some consider that that only programs in indigenous languages can demonstrate the “Chu Ti Shing” of indigenous people but some think otherwise. They feel the design of the content must fit indigenous people’s needs. An indigenous anchorwoman at TITV strongly express: “To make the culture popular, the first step is to make it approachable. Suppose we want to promote our mother tongues and no one understand it; how can people get to know this culture? ”(no.04/F/35/IP-Atayal) If indigenous languages are over-emphasized, the young may not be able to understand and therefore not be interested in watching it (no.23/M/35/IP-Thao). Then, the culture cannot be transmitted. Similarly, the programs do not appeal to non-indigenous people who cannot understand it either. This poses the problem of how can they get a better understanding of the indigenous culture and modify their preconceived, often negative stereotypes in a successful manner? It is clear that there are divergent views concerning language and cultural representation on TITV.

Nevertheless, regarding the use of the camera angles, almost all believe that indigenous photographers can handle the content of their culture better. They are believed to have the cultural sensitivity to catch the details which are missed by the Han cameramen, especially in the traditional ceremonies. Identity can only be presented perfectly by the correct use of camera angles by the indigenous people. The successful operation and production of TITV is thus dependent upon an insider’s perspective to present an indigenous point of view.
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## Appendix
### Demographic Information of the 32 Interview Subjects

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Category</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>01</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>IP(Bunun)</td>
<td>Producer of News Department &amp; Anchor in mother tongue</td>
<td>Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV)</td>
<td>*TITV's Staff * representative 14 tribes (Bunun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>HC(Fulo)</td>
<td>Sr. Special Assistant Department of Education and Culture</td>
<td>Council of Indigenous Peoples Executive Yuan</td>
<td>*Government official * Representative of 4 Ethnic Group in Taiwan (Fulo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>IP(Atayal)</td>
<td>3rd Director</td>
<td>TITV</td>
<td>A Directors of TITV</td>
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<tr>
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<td>f</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>TITV</td>
<td>TITV Staff</td>
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<td>New Vision Integrated Marketing Communication Co., Ltd.</td>
<td>Production House (Han Production Company)</td>
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<td>TITV</td>
<td>TITV Staff (Manager of News Department)</td>
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<td>07</td>
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<td>TITV &amp; Taiwan Television</td>
<td>Successive Directors of TITV</td>
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<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>IP(Bunun)</td>
<td>Teacher &amp; Host &amp; Former Committee member of Indigenous Peoples Commission</td>
<td>*Junior High School * Best Radio * Kaohsiung City Government</td>
<td>Regional Representative (Southern Taiwan)</td>
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<td>09</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>IP(Paiwan)</td>
<td>The worker of literature and history</td>
<td>Personal Stereo</td>
<td>* Regional Representative (Southern Taiwan)</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>* Regional</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>IP(Sediq)</td>
<td>Former Committee Chairman</td>
<td>Council of Indigenous Peoples Executive Yuan</td>
<td>*Government Official *Regional Representative (Middle Taiwan)</td>
</tr>
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<td>16</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>IP(Ami)</td>
<td>Director of Documentary &amp; former member of the inspection committee</td>
<td>*Personal Stereo TITV</td>
<td>Regional Representative (Northern Taiwan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>IP(Tsou)</td>
<td>Diplomat &amp; Anchorperson in mother tongue</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China TITV</td>
<td>*the representative 14 tribes (Tsou) TITV Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>IP(Kavalan)</td>
<td>Reporter, News Department</td>
<td>TITV</td>
<td>*the representative 14 tribes (Kavalan) TITV Staff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 19 | f   | 49  | HC(Hakka) | 1st Associate Director & A person in charge | TITV Scene Integrated Marketing | *Successive Director of TITV *Representative of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>IP/Group</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Organization/Role</th>
<th>Representative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Rukai</td>
<td>Missionary &amp; Former member of the inspection committee</td>
<td>Communication Co., Ltd.</td>
<td>4 Ethnic Group in Taiwan (Haka) * Production House (Han Production Company)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Yami</td>
<td>2nd Director &amp; Manager of Program Department</td>
<td>TITV</td>
<td>* Successive Directors of TITV * representative 14 tribes (Yami)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Paiwan</td>
<td>Singer, Actor, Host</td>
<td>TITV</td>
<td>* TITV * Mainstream Media Entertainment &amp; Arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Thao</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Tainai County Government</td>
<td>* representative 14 tribes (Thao) * Government Official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Puyuma</td>
<td>Associate Professor &amp; Chairman of Inspection Committee</td>
<td>*National Chengchi University Graduate Institute of Taiwanese Literature *Public Television</td>
<td>* Scholar (Indigenous People) * representative 14 tribes (Puyuma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Sediq</td>
<td>Legislator</td>
<td>The Legislative Yuan of Republic of China</td>
<td>Legislator (KMT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Fulo</td>
<td>Spokesman of Legislator</td>
<td>The Legislative Yuan of Republic of China</td>
<td>Legislator (Freelance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Bunun</td>
<td>Dept. Director, Department of Indigenous Affairs</td>
<td>Kaohsiung County Government</td>
<td>Government Official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Yami</td>
<td>Person in Charge &amp; Press Photographer</td>
<td>*Misiva B &amp; B *PTS &amp; TITV</td>
<td>* TITV's Staff * representative 14 tribes (Yami)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>HC(Mainlander)</td>
<td>President &amp; CEO</td>
<td>Public Television Service Foundation</td>
<td>* representative of Taiwan Broadcasting System * Representative of 4 Ethnic Group in Taiwan (Mainlander)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>IP(Sakizaya)</td>
<td>tribe elder &amp; Former member of the inspection committee</td>
<td>*Hualien tribe * Council of Indigenous Peoples Executive Yuan</td>
<td>* representative 14 tribes (Sakizaya) * Regional Representative (Eastern Taiwan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>HC(Maillander)</td>
<td>Vice Chairman of Inspection Committee &amp; Film Director</td>
<td>Public Television</td>
<td>the Representative of 4 Ethnic Group in Taiwan (Mainlander)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>IP(Truku)</td>
<td>Person in charge &amp; Committee member</td>
<td>*Yulitaki Design Shop *Indigenous Peoples Commission Taipei City Government, Taiwan</td>
<td>* representative 14 tribes (Truku) *the representative of Indigenous Cultural Industry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HC: Han Chinese  
IP: Indigenous People  
The mark “*” represents that the interviewee is unwilling to reveal her age.  
The List is arranged in a chronological order, dependent upon the time of conducting the interview.
A Study of Cultural Value within Chinese Collectivism Culture

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Abstract

The primary objective of this study was to investigate what difference of cultural values between Chinese and Taiwanese who share the same cultural heritage but two has different political environment. This study adopted survey method. Triandis’s (1994) four-dimension cultural scales were used to measure the cultural value. The results show that the main differences between two groups were the values of competition and individual achievements.

Key word: Cultural Value, Collectivism, Chinese Culture
In past cross-cultural study, researchers used to adopt binary concepts, collectivism versus individualism, to distinguish the cultural difference between western and Asia cultures (e.g. Hofstede, 1983, Triandis, 1994, Hui & Triandis, 1986 and et al). Past researchers tend to assume that all Asia cultures are as homogeneous as the collectivism. Is this true?

Western researchers usually cluster China and Taiwan as the same culture group not only because the two countries have the same cultural heritage, but also most Taiwanese emigrated from China over two or more generations. However, due to the political hostage, Taiwan and China have kept a dead relationship before 2008 and people from the two areas have not interacted with each other for over 40 years. In addition, China and Taiwan have separated and gone through different economical and political stages in many ways. Taiwan is an industrialized country now, but China is still ranked as the developing country. Taiwan has a democratic society but China has a communist society. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that two countries from the same cultural roots might have cultural value differences now.

Furthermore, Chinese cultural value systems in China have undergone rapid change. During the Cultural Revolution, the orthodox doctrine of Confucianism was severely criticized. Maoism, instead, replaced Confucianism as the central value since the Cultural Revolution (Wilson et al., Ch1,1988). According to Tu, W.M. (1979), despite the fact that Confucian ideas are still relevant in identifying substantive issues in contemporary China, Confucian symbolism as a whole has been discredited and corrupted almost to a point of no return. Maoism also led China against the westernization that might affect Chinese consumers’ belief and attitude toward the western brand products.

In contrast, Taiwan still keeps the traditional Chinese cultural value system. However, because Taiwan was a Japanese colony before 1949, Japanese culture was a dominant culture in the 1940s and it is still worshiped by the older generation today (Du, 2002). In addition, from media, Japanese cartoon, game and fashion trend, have a big influence on the younger Taiwanese generation (Chang, 2000). The well-developed economy has led Taiwan toward
westernization (Lee, 1998). Therefore, Taiwan’s culture is established on the traditional Chinese
cultural with a mixture of Japanese and the Western culture (Chang, 2000). Compared to the
traditional Chinese culture mixed with Maoism and Communism in China, Taiwanese value
system would appear different than Chinese in various points, including the ideas and the view
point of material subjects. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate how the
cultural values differ between Chinese and Taiwanese.

This study adopted survey method. Triandis’s (1994) four-dimension cultural scales were
used to measure cultural value differences between Chinese and Taiwanese. Total of 26 items are
chosen. Seven items are used to measure horizontal individual (HI) values ($\alpha = 0.81$ reported by
the Triandis), while 8 items of the scale are adopted to measure vertical individualism (VI)
values ($\alpha = 0.82$). Both horizontal collectivism (HC) scale ($\alpha = 0.73$) and vertical collectivism
(VC) scales contain 8 items. All scales use 9 points bipolar scales with 1 representing strongly
disagree and 9 representing strongly agree.

Participants were selected from the Chinese students association (CSS) and Taiwanese
students association (TSA) in a American Midwest university. Participants must be initially from
China or Taiwan and over age 18. Intercept survey technique was adopted on campus to ask
subjects’ agreement to attend the study. In addition, an E-mail list from TSA and CSS was used
as the sending list to mail out the survey to ask for participation. Whether using intercept
technique or E-mail approach, every participant was asked for participating once only.

A total of 147 questionnaires were received. Seventy-five participants (51%) are from
China and the proportion of female and male participants is 58/42%. There are 72(49%)
Taiwanese participating in the survey and 40 (56%) are females and 32 (44%) are males. The
majority of all participants (79%) are age 21 to 30 while 16% participants are age 31 to 40.
Seventy percent of participants are graduate students, while others are undergraduate students
(25%) and non-students (5%). There are 59% of Taiwanese and 53% of Chinese participants
who had a previous full time job.
The coefficient alpha (Cronbach’s α) was used to assess internal consistency. Alpha value of four culture dimensions, HI, VI, HC and VC, for the Chinese group are .70, .60, .84 and .78 while alpha values for these four items appear .65, .66, .89 and .69 for the Taiwanese group (see table 1). This indicates that collectivism items (HC and VC) in scales for both groups have relatively high level of internal consistency. Horizontal individualism items in the scale for Taiwanese (α=0.65) do not reach but are close to the desired value (0.70) so it is acceptable. Vertical individualism items in scales for both groups also do not reach the desired value but both values are still in the acceptable range (Table 1). Alpha values for items of overall brand belief and brand attitude were 0.75 /0.84 for Chinese and 0.7/0.89 for Taiwanese. Items for attitude toward Levis/Gucci gained alpha 0.71/0.86 for Chinese and .76/.77 for Taiwanese. Items for purchase intention of Levis/Gucci had alpha values .79/0.82 for Chinese and .82/.82 for Taiwanese (Table 2). In sum, most items in scales achieve highly internal consistency, except Taiwanese’s response to HI cultural dimension and both groups’ responses to VI cultural dimensions.

Each measured items in four cultural values scales was summed up and averaged by measured items; therefore, each cultural dimension has the highest score 9 and the lowest score 1. Four dimension cultural score was summed to represent total cultural value. The means scores of all subjects’ total value were used for the data analysis. In other words, the highest score for one dimension would be 9 and lowest score would be 1. The mean scores of total cultural value are 26.7 for Chinese and 25.6 for Taiwanese. For the Chinese group, the mean score of total value is accumulated by 23.6% VC dimension, 27.4% HC dimension, 26.6% HI dimension and 22.4% VI dimension. In other words, Chinese cultural value is constructed by 49% collectivism and 51% individualism. The total value means score for the Taiwanese group is composed by 24.4% VC, 28% HC, 26.8% HI and 20.9% VI that is 47.6% from collectivism and 52.4% from individualism (Table 1). T-test result (t_{145} =2.117, p<0.05) indicates that there is a significant difference between Chinese and Taiwanese on total cultural value. Therefore, H1 is accepted.
T-test scores also indicate that Chinese and Taiwanese appear significantly different in one of the four cultural dimensions, the VI dimension ($t_{145}=3.514$, $P=0.001$). That is, Chinese and Taiwanese perceive differently at the “winning in competition” or “the expected level of being the best” (Table 1).

Table1: Mean, Standard Deviations and Percentage for Four Cultural Value Dimensions and Total Cultural Values with T-test results for Chinese and Taiwanese groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reliability α value</th>
<th>China (N=75)</th>
<th>Taiwan (N=72)</th>
<th>df=145</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>6.2994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>7.3310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>7.0913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>5.9863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Cultural Value</td>
<td>26.7080</td>
<td>3.4808</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant level at .05 alpha level.

In sum, Chinese and Taiwanese do perform differently in the cultural values. According to test results, the cultural dimension of individualism is weighted a little higher than collectivism for both Chinese and Taiwanese. Chinese from a communistic society have different cultural value than the Taiwanese from a democratic society. This finding is supported by Tu’s study (1976) that political situation, China’s cultural revolution and Maoism have re-shaped the Chinese cultural value. The cultural value differences shown in this study are mainly from the vertical individualism dimensions, that is, the values of competition and individual achievements. Since the majority of participants are graduate students and in the age between 21 to 30 years old, academic outcome are the representative symbols for personal achievements. According to Baum and Baum (1979), Child education curriculum from Chinese communist focuses on a social conscience rather than an individual conscience. It is important for children to learn the self-regulation and follow the group norm. Academic achievement is a good indication of self-regulation and it is highly appraised by the Chinese society. Taiwanese are used to following
the same norm. For example, the current president Chen is very proud of his high academic achievements during his school education. He also demonstrates that high academic achievements lead high career achievements. However, economic development and political situation influence the value change. The younger generation in Taiwan has more freedom to follow individual conscience (Chang, 2000). Chiou (1999) also has the similar comments that younger generation in Taiwan lean toward to individualism. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that two groups of participants have high consistency in the collectivism dimensions but variance in the individualism dimensions.

Reference:


“Ethnic chic” in global fashion trend: a case of traditional Chinese dress, qipao

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Abstract

A traditional dress used to be associated with the past that contained an essential identity and persisted over times without modification. However, many scholars oppose that tradition as a static concept but a symbolic process. Tradition is not an objectivity property of phenomena but a process of assigning meaning. Qipao as a Chinese ethnic and traditional dress has not been adopted for daily wear since long time ago but it revitalized as a fashion dress while the ethnic chic became as a global fashion trend. This report explores the meanings of qipao, from historical, globalization and postmodern discourses. Also, while traditional qiapo is masked by the modern design, how does the meaning shift? This study thesized the data from literatures and interviews and argued that colonialism binary concept,
Introduction

In past decade, globalization has become a focal aspect to study cultural phenomenon, social change, and the shift of political and economic power. Clothing production and distribution, requiring intense labor powers, has been highly connected to capitalist production logic since century ago. Producing clothing in the countries with cheap labor and shipping to advance capitalized countries is a wildly founded phenomenon in the clothing industry. Conversely, the innovation of fashion and fashion change are always leaded by the fashion center, such as Paris or London for centuries. Along with the developing of colonization in the nineteenth century, western dresses have “invaded” almost every corner in the world. From the history, whenever western dress meet with indigenous dress (or ethnic dress), western dress tends to win higher status because it symbolizes modernity and fashion. Ethnic dress, associated with the ideas of tradition and old, in some cases, encountered the result of vanishing. For example, many Africa countries abandon traditional indigenous form of dress and choose western dress as their daily wear. In other cases, indigenous dress was reformed to include the “efficient” element from western dress. Therefore, some scholars (Leshkowich and Jones 2003) argued that “ethnic chic” fashion trend since the past recent has been an extension of colonial discourse. Same as the fashion trend of “oriental look” emergence in the late 90s, it reveals a continuation of the West’s fascination with the East. These arguments connote two notions, from one hand, that oriental fashion is developed under the western superiority and imagination. From the other hand, the cultural stereotypes define the fashionable “ethnic look” appearance. Steel and Major (1998) proposed even though the image of fashion reflects sort of colonization discourse, it is impossible to assign current oriental fashion with one single discourse because the characters of fashion in postmodern is always ambiguous. Maynard (2004) adopts different focus to study the global fashion trend. She argues that global dress does not mean dress with homogeneous appearance. The choices of dress differ in a great variety of individual, political or cultural practices and sometimes appear ambiguous ways, thus challenging any notion of formalized or regularized dress codes. In addition, the selection or adoption among western, ethnic or customary dress reflects a dynamic process of identities and meanings making.

Therefore, the purpose of this paper tries to explore the meanings of a traditional Chinese dress, qipao, while it becomes part of oriental fashion since 1997. I will focus on questions of how a global fashion trend, China Chic, created by western designer. How the media disseminate the image of qipao? In addition, a common concept viewing tradition that is associated to past and static that contains an essential identity, which persists over through time through modification. However, many scholars oppose that tradition as a static concept but a symbolic process (Hobsbawm 1983). Tradition is not an objectivity property of phenomena but a process of assigning meaning (Handler and Linnekin 1984). Tradition, associated with culture, is embedded in daily life and socially constituted. Therefore, while traditional qipao is masked by the modern design, how does the meaning of traditional dress shift?

To do this study, first, I will discuss qipao’s cultural meanings from a historical aspect. Second, I will compare traditional and fashion images to see how the images of qipao have been
modernized and transformed. Also, through the discussion, I will also include the discussion of postmodern as it also plays an important role in current fashion design. Finally, I will discuss how Chinese view these global images based on literatures and two interviews I have conducted.

**Qipao in history**

**Term of Qipao**

Qipao is a one-piece dress with asymmetrical front opening and decorated with “frog” button. Qipao in Chinese has two meanings; Qi’s long robe and a robe with lucky. Qi people or called Manchu, who established Qing dynasty, is one minority ethnic group in China. Pao, a robe, is a traditional formal attire for both noblemen and noblewomen since China had the written history. In the Qing dynasty, qipao used to refer qi’s women robe dress (figure 1) because the majority ethnic Han women rejected to wear it. Han women, instead, donned a two-piece dress, the top and skirt, to express their resistance against Manchu’s regime and authority. In other word, in Qing dynasty, qipao is a means to distinguish ethnicity.

**Qipao and modernity**

While Republic of China was established in 1912, the aim of the nation was to overthrow feudalism and established modern China. Rejecting Qing hair and clothing and adopting new garb were fundamental to the definition of the Republic. Western dress became as a source and new image of modern China so many people changed to wear western dress. However, western dress was soon substituted by Chinese oriented dress. Scholars mentioned one possible reason that western suit with tie and tailored construction was much less comfortable than the Chinese loose clothing (Clark 2000). In addition, western dress styles contradict Chinese beliefs of clothing. Within the context of Chinese tradition, clothing is the marker of “civilization” that was what man distinguish from beast, Chinese from barbarian (Zamperini 2003). Thus, the characters of a dress are not from the silhouette or design of the dress but are embedded in personal characters and moral spirits. Chinese view clothing as “the body’s body” and it might infer the state of a person’s character. This unique view of clothing made the basic shape, a loose rectangular, of Chinese clothing did not change in a significant way over centuries. Western dress with various concerns of fit is used to build up body figure that may not be proper according to traditional Chinese beliefs of clothing. Furthermore, the materials used for western clothing mainly were imported wool and cotton that would impact domestic wool and silk production. Caroll (2003) studied commodity and modernity in Suzhou city in the early republic China. He mentioned that local governor, silk producer, textile producer and Chinese clothing producer organized a Chinese Domestic Goods association (Zhonghua gouhou weichihui) since 1911. This institution emphasized historical importance of silk to Chinese production and its general cultural significance. They successfully remonstrated with the national government to delete all reference to wool cloth from the dress regulations. Overall, the dress regulation, published in 1912, defined that traditional long gown in black was one of the formal dresses for both men and women. The regulations also mandated the use of “Chinese wool and silk”.

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Another modern China image developed in the Republic arena was the changing of women’s appearance. After the Ming dynasty, Chinese *han* women had used to be bounded to home by the binding foot. Republic government mandated to eradicate binding feet and promoted women’s education. Girl students began to cut the hair, perm the hair and donned a dark or white loose dress same as men’s long gown (figure 2). This loose dress was called *Chan Pao* in mandarin or Cheongsam in Cantonese. As it has similar silhouette as *qi* women’s dress it is also referred to *qipao*. Even though the dress regulation has selected the long gown as a formal national dress for both women and men, the majority women did not adopt it as daily wear until the 20s. A Chinese female writer, Chang Ailing, (1943) discussed women’s dress from her experience and she mentioned that in 1921 women first began to wear the long gown, the *qipao*. In the 30s, influenced by the fashion trend, the rectangular loose *qipao* gradually evolved into a modern tight fit style. Chang (1943) discussed the difference between Chinese and western dress that color, silhouette and construction from western dress all focused on bringing out body figure or the color of eyes. In contrast, Chinese clothing often has many unnecessary decorations, which, in Chang’s ideas, were pure decorations and not used to emphasize part of body, such as eye color or body figure. Therefore, Chang commented on the tight fit *qipao* in the 30s that dress was quite different than before. In past, the individual was the secondary concern; the matter of women’s clothing was to create an abstract poetic sense of line not to manifest individual body figure(Change 1945). *Qipao* in the 30s was the product of westernization, including the silhouette and the changes of women’s body perception. In addition, Shanghai became as a center of *qipao* fashion. Among historians, modernity in China is commonly treated as a phenomenon observable primarily in treaty port Shanghai, the major center of foreign investment in the late nineteenth century. Chang (1945) also mentioned that China did not have established fashion system yet but fashion information was created and distributed quickly through Shanghai tailors and trading advertisement. Trading companies often advertised their products by using women images. Women images on the advertisement donning western dress, *qipao* or a hybrid western-Chinese dress not only represented the image of modern women but also defined the beauty of women. These images often showed a cultivated and graceful woman with a sweet smile (figure 3). Furthermore, some scholars(Li 2004) mentioned that prostitutes also adopted modernized fancy *qipao* to make themselves as an “exotic” sex attractive to foreigner businessmen. Therefore, the image of *qipao* in the 30s was highly associated with city vanity life and sexy appearance. In sum, the multiple images of *qipao* in the 30s were the results through the process of westernization, modernization and urbanization. The image and meaning of *qipao* gradually moved away from traditional Chinese beliefs of dress.

**Qipao and nationality**

Japan invading China broke *qipao*’s connection with capitalist advertisement and city life. Navy or dark solid *qipao* was promoted by the nation to highlight the virtue of industrious and thrifty during the war against Japan. During the wartime, Madame Chiang initiated the New Life Movement to promote traditional Confucian social ethics, while rejecting individualism and Western
capitalistic values. It also aimed to build up morale in a nation that was besieged with corruption, factionalism, and opium addiction. Madam Chiang was raised and educated in US. She well versed both Chinese and English made herself popular domestic and abroad. She accompanied Chiang Kai Shek to participate Cairo meeting in 1943. On February 18, 1943, Madam Chiang became the first Chinese national and second woman to address the US Congress. She donned solid or dark qipao to denote the spirit of New Life(figure 4). While traveling abroad, She chose qipao matching with western sweater or coat to denote an image of modern cultivated Chinese women with faith. Qipao carried on this spirit and become as an office dress since then. It also became as a daily dress for a middle class women. Women adoption of qipao as daily wear reached to its peak in the 50s in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Later, fashion trend dominated over this traditional dress again even though qipao tried to follow the trend of the style, such as mini qipao. To young generation, qipao’s mandarin collar and “frog” button never catch up the convenience and flexibility like jeans. In addition, the major fashion trend in the 60s focused on subgroup culture. Qipao is hard to melt with hippie, punk and so on. Furthermore, the hand-made qipao is much expensive than the ready-to wear. Qipao was gradually abandoned from daily life and used for formal situation, such as wedding, uniform and party.

According to Baudrillard (Levin 1996), materials or objects in a traditional society bear certain characteristic meanings based on social infrastructures, such as inherited status, artisanal tradition and behavioral custom. The history of qipo development supports this statement. Qipao was initially attached to the modern Chinese but Shanghai qipao transformed the traditional qipao with the vanity of city life and sexy appearance. While government promoted dark color qipao for the New Life Movement, qipao was re-connected to traditional moral with a new interpretation. That is, the virtues of women was not limited to the domestic works, Madam Chiang re-define Chinese women through her interpretation of qipao.

**Fashion for Chinoiserie: Colonization discourse or postmodern expression**

**Cultural stereotype**

In fashion history of the twentieth century, “Chinese look” have influenced Western design in different periods of time. However, most of time, the influence was not major until middle 90s because two reasons. One was Hong Kong’s reunion with China in 1997 and the other was that China has grown its power both in politics and economics. Since the middle of the nineteenth, various designers adopt “China or China ethnic look” as the design inspiration. First, in his Mongol Collection (Fall/ Winter 1994-5), Jean Paul Gaultier was inspired by Mongolia, ethnic diversity, androgyny and the image of “barbarian” jewelry. In 1997, Galliano’s ready-to-wear collection (Sp/Su 1997) reinterpreted Chinese cheongsam from the image of Shanghai in the 30s (see figure 5 and 6). His couture collection at that season mixed Asian and African influences. Similarly, Dries Van Noten deliberately aims for “a young fashion where cultures intermingle”. One season it might be the Silk Road through central Asia, another season the road south from China to Vietnam. Prada’s ready-to-wear collection in 1997 presented a line dress with Chinese inspired
Avant-Garde brocade, red collar and mandarin collar. Meanwhile, in New York, where fashion is more minimalist, Donna Karen was inspired by Chinese work clothes to create modernist uniforms.

Jones and Leshkowich in their book (2003), Re-Orienting Fashion, argue that contemporary oriental fashion is an extension of colonization discourse. They propose that fashion trend is connected to the development of political and economic power. In the colonization period, Paris and London were the center of fashion. Even though fashion diffusion has been decentralized since the 60s, fashion designers never leave global issue behind. Recent “Chinese look” fashion trend did not coincidently happen at the time while China’s military and economic power grows. Jones and Leshkowich argued that western designers use their knowledge of Oriental Other and re-interpret oriental style according to their imagination.

The fashion for Chinoiserie is also criticized as a form of cultural stereotyping. Steel and Major (1998) discussed China Chic from an aspect of fashion history and they proposed that the legacies of Oriental Other were often described as timeless, exotic, dangerous, passive inscrutable or oppressed. These images came from the long trading history between China and West. This trading history can be tracked back to the Roman Empire through the silk route across central Asia. Chinese materials and motifs, such as silk, porcelain, dragon and phoenixes, had been well introduced to West since Medieval. These trading experience brought an image that East, including China, Japan and India were fantastic exoticism. According to Steel and Major (1998), Chinoiserie pavilions and pagodas were erected all over Europe. Fashion ladies in the eighteenth century England decorated at least one room of their homes with beds and chairs made in the style know as Chinese Chippendale and filled those room with innumerable smaller objects, such as clocks, tea pots and figurines in the Chinese style. By the nineteenth century, European imperialism and colonization came to the age. The Orient was increasingly demonized. China was re-imaged as a decadent and vicious country, full of degraded, treacherous coolies, who were addicted to opium. In the early twentieth century, the dominant attitudes toward Asia became contradict. From one side, Chinese immigrants or the westernized oriental gentlemen were disdained and associated with “yellow peril”. From the other side, Chinese people stay in China was still in the image of exotic and mysterious. With Japan’s attach on Pearl Harbor in 1941, China’s image in American improved dramatically. Steel and Major described China became a cherished ally in the fight against fascism. Madam Chiang Kai-Shek made several speaking tour in American the 1930s and 1940s. Well educated, highly articulate, adept at using the news media to her advantage and equally beautiful in a cheongsam or a western-style dress. She was a very effective ambassador for nationalist China (p.76).

Unfortunately, communist took over China and old stereotypes of the treacherous and cruel Chinese were again widely propagated.

Media influence

Media also played a role to disseminate the stereotyped message. In the movie The World of Suzy Huang (1960), Suzy donned a tight qipao with high slit when she played a role of prostitution but she donned a loose dress when she played a role of mother. Through Suzy’s role-playing, the
image of qipao was fixed to a tight sexual appeal dress (Clark 2000). Chinese film director, Yimou Zhang, made his debut in 1987. His early movies, such as *Red Sorghum* (1987), *Joudo* (1990) and *Raise the Red Lantern* (1991) adopted western film technology to present Chinese ethnic life. His film, *Red Sorghum* (figure 8), not only has received award from Berlin but also received domestic contentions of what is the authentic life for a Chinese woman. Some commenter argues that Zhang’s movie following western stereotyped image to shoot the film that disseminate a negative oppressive image of Chinese woman. Therefore, his two international fund movies, *Joudo* and *Raise the Red Lantern* were banned in China until he made a communist approval film (謝霆鋒 2003, Aug 11). Steel and major (1998) also mentioned that discourse on Chinese fashion in the western press was problematic. There were innumerable references to racist tropes such as “the mysterious Orient’ and “inscrutable” Asian. Chinese peasant style was invariably referred to as “collie jacket”. Qipaos were “Suzy Wong” dresses. The rich Chinese or “Mandarin look” was said to reflect “the luxurious side of old China, the promised land of Marco Polo.

However, in opposite to above two movies, the movie, *In the Mood for Love* (2000) by Hong Kong film director Wong Kar-Wai, delivered more traditional image of qipao. The movie tells the story of a married man (played by Tony Leung) and a married woman (played by Maggie Cheung), living in rented rooms of neighboring apartments, who fall in love with each other while grappling with the infidelities of their respective spouses whom they discover are involved with each other. According to the movie commentary on the website, the sense of cinema, Two protagonists are thrown together into an uncertain affair which they appear not to consummate, perhaps out of social propriety or ethical concerns. As Maggie Cheung's character says: "We will never be like them!" (referring to the off-screen but apparently torrid affair of their respective spouses). The affair between Cheung and Leung assumes an air of mystique touched by intuitions of fate and lost opportunity: is it a Platonic relationship based on mutual consolation and sadness arising out of the betrayal of their spouses? Is it love? Is it desire? Did they sleep together? Such ambiguity stems from the postmodern lining of the picture (its look as processed by Wong's usual collaborators, the cinematographer Chris Doyle and art director William Chang), which is more in line with Wong Kar-wai's reputation as a cool, hip artist of contemporary cinema. (Teo, 2001)

In this movie, Maggie donned qipao in various fabric and colors (over 15 pieces) from the beginning of the movie to the end. Her qipao has 3 inches high collar and tight fit silhouette (figure 9 and figure 10). The high collar with hard to unbuttoned front opening plays a symbol of constraint that just match to the moral restrained scenario. The close fit dress integrated into her elegant motions show Chinese aesthetic of female beauty. More specifically, following Chinese dress belief that I had discussed above, female beauty in Chinese is not from her body contour but from her proper and elegant behaviors that is opposite to the message connotated from Suzy Wong’s qipao.

**Postmodern fashion**

Even though qipao, the ethnic dress, provides Orientalism a field to censure Westernized
cultural stereotype, the trend of postmodern and globalization provide different aspects of analysis. In this section, I will focus on postmodern in fashion system.

Postmodern is emerged to challenge the modernity from various aspects. Several scholars, especially the poststructuralist scholars, have contributed various aspects to the postmodern thoughts. For example, Foucault contributes the notions of power and knowledge. Although there is no unified postmodern theory, there are some common shared in the postmodern thoughts. In general, Postmodern disavows modern thoughts of totality and objectively. In philosophy, postmodern carries Nietzsche and Hegegger’s notion that all truths are subjective beliefs and opinions which have been constructed to further the particular purpose of some group or individual (Morgado 1996). In other words, postmodern emphasizes the difference of subjective expression not the objective coherency. Rationality, highly praised by modernity, is not the crucial element in postmodern to establish the knowledge. Human experience also plays an important part on the accumulating knowledge (Morgado 1996).

In aesthetic expression, Postmodern disavows modern thoughts that 1) the art is defined by elite group, 2) certain expressive forms are superior to others, 3) the value of the arts is from its uniqueness and authentic (Morgodo 1996). Postmodern promotes the ideas of “play’ and “pastiche’ and introduces two artistic technique, the bricolage and decentering (Morgado 1996). The purpose of “play” is for fun not for certain purpose. Pastiche refers to black parody; that is, like a parody, but lacking in the subtle twist of meaning that provides the substance of genuine parody. Bricolage refers to the integration of incongruous elements in a work of art. Decentering is employed to challenge the modernist’s hierarchy assumptions (Morgado 1996); that is, the postmodern aesthetic expressions, in general, do not emphasize the hierarchy difference of the “high” and “low”. While western designers mix elements from various cultures, they are creating a postmodern aesthetic. For example, John Galliano put together several incompatible Chinese elements in his design work, including Qipao from 30s, long side slit and sexual body from the western, Chinese opera’s make-up and white women socks from late twentieth century China (Figure 5 and Figure 6). In addition, one character of fashion designs is the repetition but with different interpretation that well get along with postmodern expression. Furthermore, fashion under postmodern design techniques, pastiche or bricolage, breaks the modern coding system. The coding system of objects or symbols becomes vague in comparing it in the modernity. The relation between objects and meaning become ambiguity or ambivalence because the initial meanings of an object becomes unclear after the object mixed with other elements. In short, postmodern closes the gap between “high” and “popular” arts and make the aesthetic expression in a multiply forms. To me, current fashion trend, no matter it adopting qipao or other traditional or ethnic elements, it is a postmodern aesthetic expression.

Maynard (2004) studied global dress and proposed that relationships between ethnic chic and global fashion trend are interactive. From one hand, ethnic-inspired style is competing with fashion style. From the other hand, ethnic dress is merged into the western fashion system. The initial meanings of the “ethnic element” change while the dress is fused in the global fashion trend. That is, ethnic chic designers who adopt an ethnic “look” often neglect the actual meanings existed in
that culture. This dual interaction makes the dress code appear “chaos” as the code has been aliened away from its cultural context. As Baudrillard (Levin 1996) described; in the advanced capitalist societies, the system of object is a system of communication. Instead of transforming the object into a symbol by integrating it into the nexus of social relationships, which provide the meaning to the object, the system of object abstracts the object from its social context and turns it into a sign. Being a sign, the object becomes interchangeable unit. While western designers combined different elements into a traditional qipao, they are playing with the signs, which are not anymore signifiers with embedded meaning in a specific culture. Designer either plays with signs for fun or use signs as a communication tool to present their interpretation of certain objects.

Reactions to Western designed qipao

In this last section, I will focus on consumer aspects to Western designed qipao. As Appadurai (1998) indicated that the central problem of today’s global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization. Ethnic chic or oriental chic, under the operation of fashion, seems establish a homogenous definition of an ethnic or an oriental look. However, consumers’ choices and selections through consumption is another way of playing signs. Based on various cultural, social and education background, consumers have abilities to interpret or assign meanings to a sign. Western designed qipao or oriental fashion trend may not receive as high compliments as it did on the runway fashion show.

Tasi (2000) studied Chinoiserie fashion in Taiwan. She conducts 11 interviews to examine how Taiwanese interprets Western designed qipao and fashion with Chinese look. Her informants are all females and the age range is from 24 years old to 86 years. Her study has several interesting findings. First, from aesthetic point of view, most participants agree those Western designed qipao “good looking” but they do not agree the way that Western Designers design the qipao. They comment those qipaos as strange qiapo, which either do not bring out traditional woman’s beauty that qipao is supposed to be or the color combination is not the Chinese way. Second, Western designed qipao are too sexy which is improper to put on self. Third, participants disagree some motifs used by Western designers, for example, dragon on qipao. One participant expressed

…it seldom to see a dragon on the garment. I am not used to see this type design. The dragon makes me thinking of temple…(Tasi, p39)

Another participant expressed

...dragon makes me thinking of the gang leader. I think dragon better fit in male’s garment…(Tasi, P.40)

While western designer symbolized dragon as Chinese look, local Taiwanese think it is an award symbol on dress as dragon in contemporary Taiwan society is associated to temple or gang activities. This contradiction reflects the question of what is authenticity. Authenticity is a slippery concept. Authenticity as cultural issue connotes two meanings. First, authenticity is associated with the object’s age, its predetermined stylistic and iconographical attributes of specific ethnic groups and regions. While any attribute differs than what the tradition is defined, it is inauthentic. Second, authenticity is the products under the Western’s judgments of the “primitive” tradition. It is a
discrimination projected onto projects. The difference between authenticity and inauthenticity involves the tensions and negotiation between self and others. Authenticity and inauthenticity do not have fixed objectively boundary but volatile between self-definition and others’ perceptions.

Tasi’s study reflects first meaning of authenticity. Local Taiwanese judge Western designed qipao and Chinese look fashion based on their preexisted experience and cultural logics that creates local heterogeneity.

My interviews with two Taiwanese students have similar findings. When I ask my informants to pick up her idealized qipao, she selects qipao in brocade fabric. But, when I ask her to pick her favor style so she can wear, she picked up a qipao in a printed cotton fabric. This nuance difference implicitly indicate that authentic qipao in my informant’s mind has to be made by brocade fabric, the traditional Chinese fabric. However, when she chooses a qipao to wear, she prefers qipao made by modern fabric so that qipao will not make her look “old”. My informant also expresses that she will choose traditional qipao when she attend party in US so she can distinguish her Chinese culture. However, she will choose more modern form of qipao, not made by brocade, for a friend’s wedding party in Taiwan.

In sum, above findings support the argument that global fashion trend does not mean homogeneously defining the Oriental Other or any ethnic appearance. The choices of dress differ in a great variety of individual, political or cultural practices and sometimes appear ambiguous ways, always challenging the notion of formalized or regularized dress codes. There are certain elements embedded in cultural context used to define a traditional dress. From one side, these local elements cannot be simply replaced by global fashion definition. From the other side, these elements are also part of cultural stereotype which carried from consumers preexisted experience. However, this does not mean that tradition and modernity cannot co-exist. Individual selection and consumption could make a dress bearing the tradition and modernity at the same time.

Conclusion

From this study, I have presented how the meanings of qipao have been evolved through the history to the contemporary globalization arena. Tradition dress does not have a fix image but certain cultural stereotypes exist in both global and local contents. To Western designers, cultural stereotype plays a role on the design of the Other’s look (ethnic look). However, this should not limit the discussion to ethnic fashion trend as an extension of colonization discourse. Postmodern aesthetic strategy also plays an important role while we analyze the contemporary fashion design. Cultural stereotype of a traditional dress also exists in local content that is used to judge and against global “ethnic look” as authentic or inauthentic. Qipao from its historical content, it should represent a modern image of Chinese women but previous study and my interview both show that Chinese women still use stereotyped traditional qipao as a means to claim their cultural identity. From this aspect, Chinese women seem constrain themselves to the colonization discourse and this is match to Leshkowich’s term “self-orientalism”.
Reference


Appendix: graphics


2. 1930 qipao, student from Shanghai

3. 1931; cosmetics advertisement from a trading company, Kwong Sang Hong; personal collection


Title: Innovative Strategies in Teaching Diversity

Topic Area: Social Work (Issues Related to Teaching)

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Innovative Strategies in Teaching Diversity in Social Work Education

Abstract

A continuing challenge in social work education is that of developing an understanding of the context of practice, particularly with diverse populations. This task becomes more pronounced in rural areas where social workers are educated and practice. Our rural university located in the southeastern United States has risen to this challenge by integrating experiential classroom learning, simulations, and interaction with diverse populations. Although the context of practice and cultural competence are addressed throughout the program’s curriculum, the focus of this paper will be on an initial course in the curriculum, Understanding Human Diversity and Oppressed Populations. Five learning activities are presented that have proven valuable in promoting student understanding of their values and challenging stereotypes, prejudices, and basis.

Keywords: Diversity, experiential learning, teaching diversity in rural settings, and cross-cultural competence.

“Rapidly changing demographics in the United States, the 2008 Educational Policy and Accreditation Standards (EPAS), and recent developments in the literature that question the effectiveness of multiculturalism and cultural competence suggest social work education, research, and practice is in need of a new approach to diversity.” (Ortiz & Jani, 2010) A new approach is particularly appropriate in our university’s very rural, southern, blue collar, homogenous area. Theoretical presentation of material or readings seems to have only marginal impact. Class discussion is limited by the lack of diversity and opportunities for exposure to diverse populations. African American students from a larger urban community offer the only break in the white lower and middle class rural norms. Therefore, our faculty struggled to identify other possible modalities in presenting students with a climate within which to examine values, develop empathy, and gain knowledge and skills for culturally competent practice.

The challenge of adding breadth to the Understanding Human Diversity and Oppressed Populations course lectures, readings, tests, and videos resulted in a much more eclectic approach to the course methodology. This diversity course is taught as a lower division social work prerequisite and as an option in the general education curriculum. Education and criminal justice include the course as a major requirement. As an integral part of this course, focus is placed on dispelling misconceptions, myths, and stereotypes about minority or oppressed populations. The course is taught in a three hour block to enable enough time for interactive exercises or simulations and discussion.
One area of the diversity course was strengthened by formalizing weekly journal submissions. Journals are used to allow students to reflect on their positive or negative reactions to weekly readings, classroom content (videos, discussion, lecture, and/or experiential learning activity), community observations (including reaction to news stories, current events, or interactions illustrating prejudice, stereotypes, oppression, etc.), and challenges to their values or learning. Journal submissions allow faculty evaluation of each social work major's initial fit with the profession and assists with individualizing some of their course assignments as they progress through the curriculum. Faculty also use student journals to appraise and evaluate writing skills. Our program has found that an early detection of individuals who need remedial assistance with writing is imperative to successful progression through the social work curriculum. Although this paper will focus more on simulated and interactive teaching techniques used in the diversity course, the journals are seen as an integral part of the learning process as well.

Five primary experiential activities or simulations have been incorporated into the course curriculum. Researchers find that role taking or experiential learning produces positive traits between self and target representations (Davis, et al. 1996). Faculty identified these exercises for discussion: Flash Judgment, A Class Divided, Community Action Poverty Simulation, BaFa BaFa, and the Conversation Partners Program.

Flash Judgment

One of the first two exercises presented initially in a semester is Flash Judgment which relates to forming judgments based on appearance. According to promotional material, it is specifically utilized to challenge students to identify hidden biases, understand that first impressions affect future action, recognize the impact of these labels on self-esteem and performance, and develop an appreciation of differences in others. (ProGroup, 2005) Students have not been presented any other materials on diversity when this exercise is introduced.

Diversity students are initially instructed to give immediate positive, negative or neutral reactions to a series of pictures of unknown adolescents. The Flash Judgment materials utilize primarily middle school and high school students in the pictures. Education majors enrolled in the diversity course find the exercise more interesting having adolescents featured. The instructor uses small group activities to discuss impressions, write scenarios based on the pictures of these adolescents, identify roles of adolescents, etc. Later, the diversity students learn who the adolescents in the pictures really are both through a peek at their families and daily lives and in their own words. The students shown in the photos are real people and their actual information is real. (ProGroup, 2005) The diversity students are amazed at the difference in the adolescents pictured life situations as opposed to their initial reactions to them.

Instructors find that students respond freely, often labeling the students with stereotypes and disclosing prejudices and biases. Student responses give a working foundation to address
throughout the course. Ultimately, diversity students learn how first impressions can affect their relationships with their peers as well as with their clients or students.

**A Class Divided**

The other initial activity used in the diversity course is based on the 1970 ABC News production, *The Eye of the Storm*, and later the PBS production known as *A Class Divided*, which presents Jane Elliott’s classroom of third grade students learning about prejudice and discrimination shortly after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in 1968. Prior to viewing the film, the diversity class instructor performs the exercise utilized by Ms. Elliott with the unsuspecting students in the course. For example, as the course syllabus or other handout is given to each student individually, that student is assigned to group “A” or “B.” Students are assigned to groups based on their eye color, although they are not told of that distinction at that time. The “blue-eyed” or group “A” is then asked to leave the classroom and go across the hall to an empty room. Group “B”, or the “brown-eyed” group, is then given information about the exercise in which they are about to participate. Group “A’s” belongings are relegated to the back seats in the classroom and all of group “B” move to the front seats. As in the film, the “B” students are taught the common characteristics of “As” and instructed in the appropriate way to treat them. The instructor explains that some of the characteristics of “As” include being lazy, disruptive, attention seeking, poor learners, disrespectful, etc. While the “Bs” are learning their roles, a support staff person for the department is asked to go to the “A’s” room and ask them to quiet down even if there is no noise coming from the room. The support person later returns to the room again and repeats the request forcefully. When the “Bs” are clear as to their role of treating the “As” in a way you might treat people who have their characteristics, the “As” return to find their personal belonging shoved to the back of the room and are asked to take a seat in the empty desks now available also in the rear of the room. The instructor then proceeds with the class.

As the instructor is relating materials from course content, often the lecture is interrupted by the instructor’s cautioning the “As” to quit doing certain behaviors and labeling them disrespectful and disruptive. The “Bs” are also given the opportunity to interject their opinions or reactions to the behavior of the “As.” Individuals viewing the film of Jane Elliott’s interaction with corrections employees in *A Class Divided* will have a clear overview of the interaction and debriefing that are also used in the diversity class.

Students’ reactions to the simulation are varied but consistent in its impact. All students label the activity as one they are likely to never forget. Depending on their group assignment, students are relieved to not be “As” and some admit feelings of being empowered as “Bs” and some enjoyment in putting others down. The “As” obviously become very frustrated. They often report feelings of isolation and inferiority. Most often, the “As” do everything they can to try to avoid the instructor’s attention and report some relief that the instructor was singling out someone besides themselves. Only on rare occasions do the “As” bond together to present a
united front of defiance toward the instructor and the “Bs.” Also, on rare occasions, some “As” will cry or become angry enough that they attempt to leave the classroom to drop the course. Therefore, the processing of the exercise is extremely important. The faculty and instructors teaching the class who use this activity are licensed mental health professionals. We would caution that only those individuals with skills in diversity and/or mental health should attempt this simulation.

The next class period, the instructor introduces the film that has traditionally been used to engage students in reflection and dialogue about racism as well as the role of prejudice and stereotyping in students’ lives currently. Students’ reaction to the film is quite different having been through the simulation themselves as compared with those only having viewed the documentary. Students speak in personal terms, voicing the impact on their feelings and lives. Instructors believe internalizing the material contributes to the change in attitudes observed in the students.

**Community Action Poverty Simulation**

The Community Action Poverty Simulation (CAPS) is a tool that is used to educate students about the day to day realities of the life of individuals with limited resources. CAPS is a copyrighted tool made available by the Missouri Association for Community Action to organizations that want to promote a greater understanding of poverty. It was purchased by The University of Tennessee Agriculture Extension Services and the simulation is provided to students and the greater community free of charge.

During the poverty simulation, participants role-play the lives of low-income families, from single parents trying to care for their children, to senior citizens trying to maintain their independence on a fixed income. Family groups consist of one to four person households. Some households have children, some are headed by single parents, some have two parents, others are seniors, either single or families of two. The task of each family is to provide food, shelter and other basic necessities during the simulation while interacting with various community resources. Each family receives a packet of information that describes their resources and needs. The simulation is approximately three hours long and includes orientation, four 15-minute time periods representing weeks, and a debriefing. The goal is to survive for a month in the state of poverty. Families spend each week of the simulation trying to pay rent or other bills, buy food, apply for services and keep their children in school or safe within the community. Few families survive the four-week simulation with electricity intact and avoiding eviction.

Although it uses "play" money, fictional scenarios, and time limits, the simulation is not a game. It is a tool that enables students and other participants to view poverty from different perspectives in an experiential setting. A facilitator uses the debriefing time to encourage discussion regarding the experiences, challenges and or successes, and feelings that surfaced during the simulation. Students complete a pre/post-test regarding their attitudes and beliefs
about those living in poverty. Students write journal entries including their reflections on their specific experiences and their thoughts and feelings about participating in the simulation. Students experience a different understanding of what life in poverty can entail. Vandsburger et al (2010) utilized a poverty simulation experience to examine the understanding of poverty by students. They found that while students’ perceptions of the challenges of day to day living for those living in poverty were changed, the experience did not modify their beliefs regarding the causes of poverty.

**BaFa BaFa**

BaFa BaFa is a face-to-face learning simulation. Students improve their cultural competency by helping them understand the impact of culture on the behavior. Further, students develop an appreciation of diversity through their exposure to this experience prior to another activity in the course known as Conversation Partners, which is a cultural exchange activity that is addressed later in this paper. In BaFa BaFa, students have a cross-cultural exchange by trying to interact with a culture in which the people have different values, different ways of behaving and different ways of solving problems.

According to Simulation Training Systems, BaFa BaFa was invented by Dr. Garry Shirts and is published and marketed by Simulation Training Systems of San Diego, CA. There are three versions of BaFa BaFa to be used by 1) schools and universities, 2) middle school children, and 3) professionals.

BaFa BaFa offers two simulated cultures: an Alpha culture and a Beta culture. Students are briefed on the general purposes of the simulation and then assigned to membership in either the Alpha or Beta culture. Each group moves into its own area where members are taught the values, expectations and customs of their new culture and begin to play “games” related to those same values and rules. The Alphas are social and paternalistic. The Betas, however, are capitalistic and goal-oriented.

Once all of the members understand and feel comfortable with their new culture, each culture sends an observer to the other. The observers attempt to learn as much as possible about the values, norms and customs of the other culture. Each observer returns to his or her respective culture and reports on what he or she observed. Observers are encouraged to try to learn the rules of the other culture. Observer’s disclosure usually focuses on assumptions about beliefs, language, interpretation, and culture.

Based on the report of the observer, each group develops suggestions about the most effective ways to interact with the other culture. The students take turns visiting the other culture in small groups. After each visit, the visitors report their observations to their group. When everyone has had a chance to visit the other culture, the simulation ends. The students then come together in one group to discuss their experience. Discussion focuses on ways in which an environment can allow everyone to feel safe, included, and productive.
In summary, BaFa BaFa is used as a tool to help students understand the idea, power and importance of culture and to help students learn how to value cultural differences.

**Conversation Partner Program**

“Intergroup dialogue can also serve as a foundation to prepare social workers for culturally competent and social justice oriented practice,” (Nagda, et al. 1999). In an activity to compliment the BaFa BaFa exercise, our students are paired for a 6 week period during the semester with international students in a “Conversation Partner Program.” Our faculty collaborates with staff from the university’s International Program who created the Conversation Partner Program to enable native students to learn firsthand about a different culture and to enable the international students to practice their English and learn about life in America. Our university’s International Program brings in students from around the world – primarily from Asian and Mid-Eastern countries. Many of the students in our diversity class have never been outside of Tennessee and initially are quite apprehensive about being paired with someone so different. The student partners meet together on campus at first and then go to restaurants, sporting events and even to each other’s homes for meals.

Students initially have been apprehensive about the activity and meeting their conversation partner. However, native students, as well as the international students, complete an interest and preference survey and are then paired with their partners by faculty based on those preferences and interests whenever possible. BaFa BaFa is utilized to help with preparatory empathy prior to beginning the Conversation Partner’s experience. In addition, the international program faculty visit the diversity class for an orientation to the program. A portion of the orientation involves asking diversity students to compose a paragraph without using two to three consonants and a vowel that have been designated for each individual. This activity simulates the difficulty for some international students in writing and speaking English.

Students must document their meetings and activities with their partners in their weekly journals and a written assignment that is due at the conclusion of the partnership. Students address the following requirements in that assignment: 1) Provide a “written portrait” of your Conversation Partner(s) (e.g. their name(s), hometown(s), academic interests, personal interests, general personality traits, etc.); 2) Describe the meetings with your Conversation Partner(s) (e.g. how many times you met over the entire period, what day & time of the week, conversation topics, activities you engaged in, etc.; 3) What was it like for you to meet a stranger (or two) from a foreign land? Was it enjoyable ... or awkward ... or nothing out of the ordinary ... or something else? 4) If your Conversation Partner(s) were to describe what you were like to a friend of theirs, what do you think they would say? 5) Did you learn anything significant about their culture or home country? If so, describe. If not, why not? 6) Did you help them better understand something about American people or American culture? If so, describe. If not, why not? 7) Did you find yourself becoming very self-conscious about how you spoke (in terms of volume of your voice, your vocabulary, grammar, topics, etc.)? If so, what adjustments did you
So, was this somehow, some way worthwhile (for you? For your partner/s?). At the conclusion of the conversation partner experience, the students are, for the most part, enthusiastic about this opportunity and some partners have formed lasting friendships.

Other Exercises

Throughout the course of the semester, instructors may utilize other interactive activities and simulations that emphasize content of the diversity course. Faculty often employ an array of value clarification exercises. In one values exercise early in the semester, the instructor converts the classroom into a continuum by pushing desks out of the way and designating one end of the classroom as “agree” and the other as “disagree.” The faculty then makes statements on controversial topics such as abortion, poverty, crime and punishment, LGBT&Q issues, cloning, race, etc. After each statement, students are asked to locate themselves in the area of the room that represents their position on that statement. If a student finds they are unsure about their opinion regarding the statement, they may position themselves in the middle of the space or slightly to one side or the other. When all students have found their spot, one side is asked their reasons for being in that position (agreeing or disagreeing). After the first person expresses their opinion, students on the same side express as many reasons as they have that are different from the first one given. When there are no additional responses, students in the middle and on the opposing sides express their opinions on the topic. Students are not allowed to discuss their points of view with students on the differing side. The exercise is not a debate. The instructor makes the next statement and the process continues. Often, students really enjoy being able to express their opinions on topics but often become frustrated when they are not allowed to argue their point of view. Students will continue their discussions on the diversity class’s Blackboard site where shy students are better able to discuss their point of view on the topics. Student’s participation in this exercise helps them begin open discussions which is essential to the success of this diversity course.

Instructors often use other exercises that include Peggy McIntosh’s Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack on white privilege. This exercise request students by means of a check list to identify conditions of daily living that are attached to skin color privilege. Instructors also use a simulation during the course discussion on disabilities. Students are assigned a particular disability to simulate during a 24 hour period. Students may have an arm bound to their body, wear goggles smeared with Vaseline or goggles mimicking vision deterioration, wear blindfolds, utilize a wheelchair, walker, crutches, or cane, hold gauze in their mouth, wear ear or nose plugs, etc. Students record their experiences and reflections of the imitation in their journals as well as participating in a discussion during the next class period. Along the same lines, during discussion on LBGT issues, heterosexual students participate in an exercise where they are asked to not acknowledge their significant others for a weekend. They may not flirt, hold hands, put their arm around the other, kiss, or in any way acknowledge their affection of their partner. Again, students record their reflections in their journals and participate in class discussion. Most students find the exercise extremely difficult.
Discussion

Preliminary research has begun on the use of each of these simulated activities in the course. Students were pre/post tested with a questionnaire regarding their attitudes, beliefs and behaviors toward those different from themselves. Data was collected and surveys examined. Although there was no significant difference indicated between the pre and post survey scores, a post survey trend reflected more positive attitudes toward diversity. The post survey results showed that students’ attitudes moved in the direction of more positive perceptions. No differences were found in the survey based on gender. When considering ethnicity of students, when numbers were combined, African American and Hispanics together seemed to have a more positive attitude toward diversity than Caucasians. In our utilizing ANOVA, it was shown that a significant difference in attitudes among different age groups for the pre survey group. The largest difference is shown between the thirty-five and over age group and the eighteen to twenty-two year old age group. The eighteen to twenty-two year old age group showed more negative attitudes toward diversity than did the thirty-five and over age group. This difference was not present in the post-survey group.

Faculty found anecdotal records from students’ journals and reflections that indicate participating in the experiential activities have changed their perceptions and deepened their understanding of the conditions of racism, sexism, poverty, prejudice, and diversity. Faculty are continuing to research each simulation independently as well as the course as a whole to further improve the overall effectiveness of the course of inspiring students to examine their possible misconceptions of diversity.

Faculty realize that there are numerous interactive exercises or simulations that may be employed to compliment diversity class lectures, readings, and discussion. Exercises described here are but a few of those available, however, the diversity course instructors have found these to be particularly effective in allowing students to examine their values and challenge stereotypes, prejudices, and basis.

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How much do technological gap, firm size, and regional characteristics matter for the absorptive capacity of Italian enterprises?

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How much do technological gap, firm size, and regional characteristics matter for the absorptive capacity of the Italian enterprises?

The absorptive capacity represents the ability of a country to absorb and internalise knowledge from other countries. It is mainly determined by firms’ ability to increase their stock of knowledge through the application of outside knowledge sources. The increasing flows of FDI at worldwide level may powerfully contribute to a country’s absorptive capacity since local enterprises can exploit foreign firms’ knowledge to the degree that it has spilled-out. In this framework, the present paper aims at testing the absorptive capacity of the Italian firms arising from inward FDI. Given the peculiar characteristics of the Italian productive system, our analysis focus on three different dimensions: firm size, technology gap between MNEs and local enterprises, and geographical distributions of domestic firms. Our findings suggest that firm size and technological gap matter considerably for the spillover effect. Moreover, spillovers exhibit a sub-national dimension, being present only in North-East region of the Peninsula.

**Keywords:** absorptive capacity; MNE; FDI; productive spillovers; technology gap; firm size; regionality.

**JEL Classification:** L33, F23, O17
1. Introduction

The absorptive capacity represents the ability of a country to efficiently absorb and internalise knowledge from other countries. From an empirical point of view it is commonly investigated at the firm level, where technological change takes place, and where available data allow for exploring the role of absorptive capacity in the firm’s innovation performance (Criscuolo and Narula 2008). Therefore, the absorptive capacity is often analysed in terms of the amount of knowledge in the public domain that firms are able to assimilate and exploit. In this sense, the absorptive capacity represents the link between the firms’ capabilities in implementing new products and the external stock of technological opportunities: it determines a firm’s ability to increase its technological knowledge stock through the adaptation and application of outside knowledge sources.

On this basis, starting from the seminal work of Cohen and Levinthal (1989, 1990), a large strand of literature has tried to measure the ability of a firm to integrate and exploit external knowledge. In particular, since both developing and industrialised countries are increasingly relying on inward FDI from MNEs as an explicit mean to improve their technological competitiveness, the cross-border interactions among firms arising from FDI may powerfully contribute to a country’s absorptive capacity: when inward FDI-related spillovers happen, local firms can in fact exploit foreign firms’ knowledge to the degree that it has spilled-out.

Following the main contributions on the topic, the present paper aims at testing the absorptive capacity in the case of the Italian firms. The main contribution of our analysis is twofold. First, we present a further evidence of the Italian inward FDI-related spillovers effects, by investigating spillovers at intra-industry and inter-industry level, the latter through the empirical analysis of both backward and forward linkages between MNEs and Italian suppliers and customers respectively, whereas empirical evidence for the Italian case remains still limited.

Secondly, given the peculiarity of the Italian productive system - characterized by the presence of a large amount of micro and small firms, by low levels of investments in R&D and innovations in general, and by the coexistence of different models of productions across the Peninsula (alongside the historical dualism between the more advanced North and the less industrialised South) - we test the capacity of Italian firms to absorb external knowledge and
technology from MNEs by focusing on three different dimensions, i.e. (i) the size of domestic firms, the level of technology used in local enterprises - that is the technology gap between MNEs and local firms, and (iii) the geographical distributions of the Italian companies. 

The reminder of the paper is as follows. Section 2 analyses the channels through which FDI form MNEs may positively contribute to the absorptive capacity of domestic firms; section 3 depicts some stylized facts about the Italian economy, stressing the structural characteristics of the local productive system; section 4 discusses the estimation strategy; section 5 presents the empirical results obtained; section 7, finally, concludes.

2. Absorptive capacity and FDI spillovers

The concept of absorptive capacity founds upon the central idea that some technical knowledge is generally freely available to all firms, in the sense that it can be exploited without paying a fee for its use. In particular, it is possible to distinguish between two different kinds of absorptive capacity (Arundel et al. 1998). The first type - linked to the process of diffusion or technological transfer across different organisations - concerns skills and expertise required to adopt technologies already developed by other firms. The second concerns the ability of firms to develop new or improved products and processes by benefiting from discoveries made by other firms or universities (Figure 1).

[Please insert Figure 1 here]

In the general framework of firms’ absorptive capacity, it may result particularly interesting to evaluate the role that cross-border interactions across enterprises may play for the ability of firms to successfully exploit external knowledge. Specifically, it could be of great value to explore how much MNEs may contribute to a country’s absorptive capacity through inward FDI-related technological spillovers, since local firms may absorb foreign firms’ knowledge and technology spilled-out from MNEs. At this regard, literature recognizes at least five channels
through which spillovers can take place. The first is the so called ‘competition effect’: the increased competition brought by FDI entry may stimulate domestic firms to increase their productivity by updating manufacturing technologies and adopting advanced management practices to meet this competitive challenge. Moreover, the presence of MNEs in domestic market can provide domestic firms an opportunity of ‘learning by watching’ that indirectly contributes to rising intensity of domestic R&D. Secondly, spillovers can occur through imitation and demonstration of any activity of foreign technologies (Blomström and Kokko 1998). Through exposure to foreign firms’ activities, domestic firms can observe these firms’ technologies and management practices, and imitate them in their own operations, thus increasing their productivity. The third channel is building domestic linkages both at a backward level – i.e. subcontracting activities between MNEs and local suppliers - and at a forward level – i.e. between MNEs and domestic buyers. When MNEs build such backward and forward linkages with domestic suppliers and distributors, knowledge from foreign firms is transmitted to the suppliers and distributors and ultimately to domestic firms using the same suppliers and distributors (Spencer 2008). The fourth channel is workers’ mobility and training (that arise from skills of workers, managers, engineers, etc.) acquired from foreign firms and then transferred to local plants. Finally, the fifth and last channel is the collaboration activity between foreign and domestic firms, since the eventual involvement of local firms and local universities and/or research institutes in some MNEs’ R&D activities may lead to the diffusion of knowledge and technology.

However, not all firms are effectively able to absorb external knowledge from MNEs since such capacity may vary according to different dimensions. In particular, the magnitude of inward FDI-related spillovers may be strongly affected by the internal capabilities of local enterprises, above all in terms of (i) firms size and (ii) level of technology used in domestic firms - that is the technology gap between MNEs and local firms.

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1 The competition effect may also reduce the productivity of domestic firms, since the entry of MNEs can increase the cost of inputs such as labour and raw materials, thus creating a typical crowding-out effect.

2 It is worth noting that since countries differ along important dimensions such as culture, administrative and institutional context, domestic market, business system, etc., other two possible factors influencing the capacity of local firms of exploit external knowledge are the diversity of FDI country origins and the structural characteristics of the host economy. The first can increase domestic firms’ opportunity to learn through exposure to different systems of technologies, management practices and cultural values brought by MNEs; similarly, the structural characteristics of domestic productive system – in terms, for example, of regional development, sectoral innovation system, etc. – may act in favour or against the possibility of MNEs to transfer their technologies.
Firm size may influence inward FDI-related spillovers insofar as large firms should have a stronger capacity than small ones to recognize, understand, and learn technologies and management practices brought by MNEs, to spread the fixed costs of R&D over a larger sales base, and to exploit economies of scale and scope in R&D activities. Moreover, they possess a larger stock of internal resources and knowledge that can be used as a complementary asset to the transferred technology from MNEs. In other words, large domestic firms have more internal capabilities that can be used to exploit FDI spillovers (Zhang, Li, and Zhou 2010). On the opposite, SMEs could be hampered in their ability to absorb new technology from MNEs because of a lack of scientific and technical staff or experience.

The degree of the technology gap between local and foreign firms – i.e. the extent to which foreign firms in an industry are technologically advanced compared to the domestic firms in the same industry – represents an important spillovers determinant. Technological gap is relevant to the spillover effect both at horizontal and vertical level. At horizontal level, the extent of spillovers is likely to depend on the technological sophistication of local firms; similarly, at vertical level, the extent of backward (forward) linkages between MNEs and local suppliers (buyers) of intermediate goods is likely to depend upon the stock of technological capabilities of domestic firms in supplying (buying) sectors. It is worth stressing that from both a theoretical and an empirical point of view, it is not obvious what the relation between the level of technology gap – whether small or large - and spillovers should be, since the absorptive capacity literature suggests two opposing arguments. The first argument - proposed originally by Findlay (1978) and confirmed by several works, such as Wang and Blomstrom (1992), Blomstrom and Wolff (1994), and very recently, Jordaan (2008) and Jabbour and Mucchielli (2007) - argues that the potential for positive spillovers is higher when the technology gap between domestic firms and MNEs is large. This assumption is based on the idea that firms with lower stocks of technology have a greater scope for technological accumulation in that they have a larger backlog of established knowledge to assimilate. The second argument is that when technology gap is too large, the diversity of MNEs may have a weak impact on the productivity of the domestic firms since MNEs affiliates may be too advanced to leave any mark on host country’s firms. Cantwell (1989), for example, states that a firm’s ability to follow and adapt the technological developments of other firms largely depends on its existing technological capability since when technology gap is large, the domestic firms do not have internal knowledge resources to recognize the value and contents of a variety of knowledge elements brought by MNEs, thus making spillovers not probable to
occur. From an empirical point of view, this second argument was initially supported by Kokko (1994), and very recently by Takii (2005), Dimelis (2005), and Hamida and Gugler (2009).

3. The Italian case: some stylized facts

In order to test the effects of inward FDI-related spillovers from MNEs on the absorptive capacity of domestic firms, we chose the Italian economy as a case-study. The Italian case is relevant for a number of reasons.

First of all, in the last ten years, Italy has received an increasing flows of inward FDI, whose value passed from 6,911 millions of dollars in 1999 to 40,202 millions of dollars in 2007 (source: ICE 2010). In 2007, the number of foreign-controlled firms amounted at 14,401: such firms employed 1,246,794 workers. Specifically, the number of foreign firms in the manufacturing sector was 3,301 (number of workers employed: 466,698): in particular the sector with the highest percentage of foreign firms was the chemical sector (7.3%), followed by the manufacture of coke and refined petroleum products (5.8%). On the contrary, the sector with the lowest percentage of foreign firms was the manufacture of wood with only 0.1% of foreign presence (ICE 2010). Most importantly, MNEs performed better than the Italian counterparts since they have been more productive, have employed more workers, and are more profitable (ISTAT 2010a). In this framework, it is worth exploring if Italian firms were able to exploit the indirect effects arising from the presence of MNEs in terms of positive externalities.

Secondly, the Italian productive system is characterised by a large presence of micro and small firms. In 2007, the number of firms with only one employee amounted at 2,593,079 (61.0%), firms with 2-9 employees were 1,654,102 (38.0%) (ISTAT 2008). On the contrary, large firms (with 250 employees or more) amounted only at 3,630 (less than 1.0%). The huge presence of micro and small firms makes Italy an interesting case for analysing the hypothesis according to which small enterprises are hampered in their ability to absorb new technology from inward FDI-related spillovers because of a lack of scientific and technical staff or experience.
Thirdly, indicators of R&D effort are not favourable to Italy. Expenditure on R&D (in both private and public sector) is slightly above 1% of GDP in 2008, compared with the OECD average of 2.3% (OECD 2009), although under-recording of R&D activity in SMEs, where it is often performed informally, may bias these figures down somewhat. The reasons why R&D activity in Italy is low and why innovation is slow are numerous. In particular, the small size of Italian firms implies the difficulty of meeting the up-front cost of R&D with only limited access to external capital. The last Italian Innovation Survey (ISTAT 2010b) shows that, in 2008, large enterprises were the most innovative enterprises (65.1%), against SME that were innovative in respectively 49.8% and 28.2% of total. This scarce propensity to innovate, typical of the Italian firms, may suggest the presence of a relevant technological gap between Italian and foreign firms that may affect the capacity of Italian firms to exploit technological spillovers from MNEs.

Finally, the Italian economy is historically characterised by a social-economic dualism between the more advanced North and the less industrialised South of the Peninsula. Most of firms are localised in the Centre-North which counted 72.0% of the total Italian enterprises in 2007 (29.0% in the North-West, 22.0% in the North-East, 21.0% in the centre, and 28.0% in the South) (source: ISTAT 2008). Along with such dualism, the peculiarity of the Italian productive structure is the coexistence of different models of production, such as (i) the ‘network enterprise model’ in the North-west, where firms – already endowed with higher level of technological capability than any other areas of Italy – are able to interact efficiently with each other, thus exploiting the positive externalities arising from networking relationships with other enterprises; (ii) the ‘industrial district model’ in the North-East and in the Centre, characterised by the presence of firms with a self-propelling capacity to get efficiency and to be competitive at an international level; and (iii) the ‘backward model’ of production in the South, characterised by an atavistic lower level of industrialization and by different basic social conditions. In this respect we decide to investigate about the existence of spillover effects in the Italian economy by taking into account also the geographical distribution of firms (i.e. regionality), along with the traditional dimensions of domestic firm size and technological gap between local and foreign enterprises.

4. Estimation strategy and data used
Estimating the direct effects of FDI is not an easy task as we lack data on the past ownership of firms to test for the additional effect of foreign entry into the domestic market. Moreover, since foreign firms target larger and are more productive firms, a selection bias arises when one just compares the performance of foreign versus domestic firms. Therefore, in this paper, we focus on the indirect effects only.

The traditional approach to analyse productivity consists in estimating a production function and then in using the residuals not explained by the input factors (capital, labor) as a proxy for the Total Factor Productivity (TFP) (Solow residuals). However, as Levinsohn and Petrin (2003) point out, when estimating the production function, one must account for the correlation between input levels and productivity, as profit-maximizing firms respond to increasing productivity by an increased use of factor inputs. Thus, methods that ignore this endogeneity problem - such as OLS or the fixed-effects estimator - inevitably lead to estimate inconsistently the parameters of the production function. For this reason, in line with the recent literature, we employ the semi-parametric approach suggested by Olley and Pakes (1996), and then modified by Levinsohn and Petrin (2003). This method allows for firm-specific productivity differences that exhibit idiosyncratic changes over time. In principle, the method estimates a traditional Cobb-Douglas production function, taking into account that the error term has two components, of which one is correlated with the choice of inputs by the firm, but is not observable by the econometrician. The authors develop an estimator that uses a free variable such as intermediate inputs (material costs or fuel or electricity) as a proxy for this unobservable productivity shock.

Following this technique, we estimate a log-log transformation of the following Cobb-Douglas production function (definition of variables used are reported in Table I):

\[
\ln VA_{it} = \alpha + \beta_1 \ln L_{it} + \beta_2 \ln K_{it} + \beta_3 \ln M_{it} + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)
\]

[Please insert Table I here]
In the second step, we relate the total factor productivity to the foreign presence variables (horizontal, backward and forward spillovers) and other control variables (the level of competition within the sector, the economies of scale, and firm fixed effects), thus estimating the following unbalanced panel model of local firms via the fixed-effects estimator (definition of variables used and expected signs are reported in Table II):

$$TFP_{it} = \sigma + \theta_1 \text{HERFI}_{jt} + \theta_2 \text{MES}_{jt} + \theta_3 \text{ES}_{jt} + \theta_4 \text{HSPILL}_{jt} + \theta_5 \text{BACKSPILL}_{jt} + \theta_6 \text{FORSPILL}_{jt} + \theta_7 D_t + \chi_{it}$$

(2)

The empirical analysis has been conducted by using firm-level data from the AIDA database (Analisi Informatizzata Delle Azieende) provided by the Bureau Van Dijk. The AIDA database collects annual accounts of the Italian corporate enterprises and contains information on a wide set of economic and financial variables, such as sales, costs and number of employees, value added, fixed tangible assets, R&D, start-up year, as well as the sector of activity and the ownership status. In order to study the spillover effects of foreign firms on domestic firms, we have identified all Italian firms whose Global Ultimate owner is foreign.3 By omitting all observations for which the necessary data are incomplete, we obtained an unbalanced panel of 1,023,761 observations, over the period 2002-2007. Each variable included in the database was deflationed through the price index provided by ISTAT (Italian Institute of Statistics). The advantage of using such a dataset is twofold. Firstly, it is highly representative of the entire universe of corporate companies (e.g., in 2007, our sample covers about 87 percent of total employees declared by the Italian National Institute of Statistics – ISTAT, ASIA, 2008). Secondly, our dataset reflects quite well the actual size distribution of firms in the Italian economy characterized by a large weight of micro and small enterprises. Finally, the Input-Output matrix adopted to determine the possible vertical spillover was provided by ISTAT.

3Although the AIDA database offers a flexible definition of ultimate ownership (over 25% or over 50%), in our analysis we consider only a share of 25%. Moreover, as the data were collected year by year, the ownership status variable is time-variant.
Tables III and IV (in Appendix) report some descriptive statistics on our sample: they widely confirm the figures from ICE (2010) and ISTAT (2010a) reported in section 3\textsuperscript{4}. In particular, Table III contains the mean of the variables for the whole sample distinguished by ownership type as well as tests of comparison of means for the two groups of firms (domestic \textit{versus} foreign firms). All figures presented in the table are averages over the sample period. Focusing our attention on some firm and industry level variables, we observe that multinationals are on average larger, more productive, and more profitable compared to the domestic firms. They also tend to operate in industries more concentrated and with a higher minimum efficient scale. Table IV compares the distribution of the Italian firms by ownership status, regional location and size (small, medium and large firms), the latter measured by the number of employees\textsuperscript{5}. Indeed, according to the figures, domestic firms represent the largest percentage of Italian firms (99.3%), and are mainly of smaller size, while the share of foreign firms is very small (0.7%). It also appears that foreign firms are mainly of large size and are mostly concentrated in the North-West region of Italy (58.4% of the total).

5. **Empirical results and interpretations**

As shown in Table III, foreign firms outperform local firms in productivity levels, thus we expect to detect some productivity spillovers in our analysis. Moreover, there might also be some potential for spillovers due to possible complementarities between the technologies of domestic and foreign firms.

Table V (in Appendix) presents the results of the estimation of equation (2). Our main findings can be summarized as follows.

First of all, the ‘concentration level’ - measured by the Herfindahl index - is negative and significant, thus suggesting that less concentrated sectors (i.e. sectors with more competition) benefit more in terms of productivity increases. On the opposite, the ‘economies of scale’ - measured by the minimum efficient scale - as well as the ‘size of sector’ are positive and not significant. With regard to the spillovers effect, our results suggest, on the one hand, the absence of both horizontal and backward spillovers (being their coefficients positive but not

\textsuperscript{4} Some discrepancies are because our sample is restricted to corporate companies only.

\textsuperscript{5} Where small firms have 1-49 employees, medium firms 50-249, large firms more than 250 employees.
statistically significant), and, on the other, the existence of positive forward spillovers. In other words, our findings highlight that only being a customer of foreign companies has a beneficial effect on local firms’ productivity, that is the Italian companies are able to improve themselves once they are offered products and services from MNEs from upstream sectors.

In general terms, such results are in line with most of the recent studies which argue that it is more likely that FDI spillovers would take place through vertical linkages (i.e. backward and/or forward spillovers) as opposed to horizontal ones. This since MNEs have an incentive to prevent information leakage to their competitors, including local companies, thus reducing the possibility that horizontal spillovers happen. By contrast, the existence of forward spillovers is plausible since MNEs in upstream industries may provide inputs to domestic firms that either were previously unavailable in the country or to make them technologically more advanced or less expensive, or to ensure that they are accompanied by the provision of complementary services (see Smarzynska 2004). Thus, when MNEs involve themselves with domestic companies in downstream sectors, the latter gain technological benefit from the former.

With regards to similar studies applied specifically to the Italian case, they have often produced ambiguous results probably because they have employed different dataset, adopted dissimilar econometric methodologies, and explored different periods of time. Anyway, our results seem to broadly confirm the lack of horizontal spillovers as in the works of Reganati and Sica (2007) and Imbriani and Reganati (2004) who find evidence of positive but not statistically significant intra-industry spillovers. In the same way, our study confirm the results of Castellani and Zanfei (2007) who find no productivity spillover when multinational presence is specified as a foreign to total activity ratio, although they obtain positive and significant spillovers when controlling for the size of the industry. Similarly, the positive coefficient of backward spillovers confirms the findings of Reganati and Sica (2007), although, in the present study, it turns into not significant.

5.1 Conditional spillovers

After exploring our general findings, Tables VI-VIII (in Appendix) show the results obtained when the sample is split by certain characteristics in order to detect differences in the pattern
of spillovers across different groups of firms (so-called conditional spillovers). In particular, we employ breakdowns by (i) technological gap (Table VI), (ii) firm size (Table VII), and (iii) geographical distribution of enterprises (Table VIII).

5.2 Technological gap

We define technological gap in terms of the relative productivity performance of domestic companies vis-à-vis foreign companies in the same sector. Thus, the technological gap $AC_{ij}$ for a firm $i$ is defined in terms of TFP gap, i.e. as the difference between the productivity of the average foreign firm in the sector and each firm in the sector (see Jabbour and Mucchielli 2007; Flores 2007). It is worth noting that, following the main literature, we use the terms ‘productivity gap’ and ‘technology gap’ interchangeably, although the concepts are not exactly the same. Indeed, technology gap can be defined as the difference in the technique available for production, whereas productivity gap represents the difference in productivity when the same technology is used (Kathuria 2010). Since determining the technology gap is often tricky, most of the empirical work (including ours) has proxied the ‘technology gap’ through measures of ‘productivity gap’: the general idea is that a more productive foreign firm is a reflection of the technological gap between the foreign and the domestic firm.

We check for the sensitivity of the model to alternative ranges of gap by adopting a sub-samples strategy. In other words, we split the sample into three groups according to the absorptive capability. By employing an exogenous grouping model we select some $ad$ $hoc$ values from the observations to divide the sample into three sub-samples (low, medium, and high gap). In particular, the group with low $AC$ consists of firms with $AC$ below the 25th percentile of the $AC$ distribution across all domestic firms; the medium $AC$ group contains firms with $AC$ between the 25th and 75th percentiles, while the high $AC$ group includes firms with $AC$ above the 75th percentile.

Table VI presents the results obtained: in particular, we find positive and significant horizontal spillovers, negative and significant backward spillovers, and positive and significant forward spillovers in the group of firms with a low-medium absorptive capacity; on the
opposite, we find only negative and significant forward spillovers in the case of high-gap firms, being both the horizontal and backward spillovers positive but not significant.

In case of low-medium technological gap, the presence of positive horizontal externalities suggests that domestic firms with at least a basic level of technology are enabled to adapt to better technologies. It is worth noting that this result confirms the findings of Imbriani and Reganati (1999), who find evidence that small technology gap spurs spillovers from FDI in the Italian case. At the same time, the negative effect of backward linkages with partially-owned affiliates reflects that these firms benefit from their knowledge of the market to diversify their supply network and thus to impose low price on their suppliers. Finally, the existence of positive forward spillovers (as in the general case) suggests that when the technological gap is low-medium, domestic firms benefit from supplies of intermediate goods and machinery from MNEs, for example since the latter provide better quality products and lower costs that enhance the productivity of Italian firms that use these inputs. Moreover, domestic firms may receive support in the form of training in sales techniques and supply of sales equipment form MNEs, therefore generating more positive externalities.

On the opposite, in case of high gap, the existence of negative forward spillovers suggests that Italian firms in downstream sectors receive a negative externality from MNEs, for example because inputs produced locally by foreign firms can be more expensive and less adapted to local requirements, being MNEs too technologically advanced compared to local enterprises.

All in all, in respect of the general case (Table V), we can conclude that the level of technological gap matters considerably for significance and sign of spillovers in the Italian case.

5.3 Firm size
Table VII presents the results by firm size. Results show that only small-sized companies are able to benefit from forward spillovers, being its coefficient positive and significant, whereas only medium-sized companies benefit from the presence of MNEs in the same productive sector, being the coefficient of horizontal spillovers for such category of firms positive and significant.

The situation for smaller companies just copies the overall results (Table V) with only positive forward spillovers: this suggests that the existence of a positive forward spillover effect at a national level founds mainly on the smaller Italian firms, being these the only companies that benefit from technology spillovers due to the presence of MNEs in the upstream sectors.

It is worth noting that in case of small firms two opposite effects are generally possible: on the one hand, they have only limited sources for improving their technologies; on the other, they may be more flexible and able to adjust more quickly to a new situation in a market. Our results seem to suggest that smaller firms’ flexibility prevails against the effect of their limited sources.

### 5.4 Geographical areas

Finally, Table VIII reports the estimates for productivity spillovers in the Italian manufacturing sector at sub-national level\(^6\). Having a look at the table, we may note the presence of positive and significant forward spillovers from FDI in almost all the Italian sub-regions (specifically in the South, North-East, and North-West), as well as the absolute lack of backward spillovers in any Italian sub-region. Such results copies perfectly our overall findings at national level (Table V), thus meaning that the presence of positive forward linkages between domestic and foreign firms (but also the lack of any backward spillover) does not have a ‘geographical’ dimension.

On the contrary, it is worth observing the presence of a positive and significant horizontal spillover in the North-Western area of Italy, being the coefficient positive and statistically

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\(^6\) The North-Western region comprehends Lombardy, Piemonte, Liguria and Val d’Aosta; the North-Eastern region is composed by Friuli, Trentino, Veneto and Emilia; the Central region is composed by Tuscany, Marche Lazio, Umbria, and finally the Southern area comprehends Abruzzi, Molise, Campania, Calabria, Basilicata, Apulia, Sicily and Sardinia.
significant at the 5% level. Such result confirms broadly the findings of Imbriani and Reganati (1999, 2003), whose studies provide evidence for the existence of an intra-sectoral productivity spillover in the North-Western region of Italy and, at the same time, refuse the presence of horizontal spillovers at national level.

Such result is strongly concerned with the typical structure of the Italian productive system - broadly depicted in section 3 - characterised (beside the well-known economic and social dualism between the North and the South) by an economic and social dualism even within the Northern area, being the North-West more advanced in terms of productive and innovative systems compared to the North-East. Thus in the North-West - characterised by a typical ‘network enterprise model’ of production - local firms are able to catch through FDI the benefits arising from the spillovers because the foreign presence strengthen the already existing domestic technological capability.

Moreover, the explanation for the lack of spillovers in the North-East, Centre, and South of Italy needs to be differentiated on the light of the substantial socio-economic differences of such three areas. The North-Eastern firms – organised mainly in typical ‘industrial districts’ - are generally SMEs characterised by a self-propelling capacity to get efficiency and to be competitive at an international level: the possibility of horizontal spillovers for such firms is consequently weak because of the different model of organisation and production. On the opposite, the lack of horizontal spillovers in the Centre-South is mainly concerned with the different basic conditions (above all in social terms), which make the localisation of investments unattractive both to domestic and foreign capital. Moreover, foreign affiliates - when present - have probably crowded-out the domestic firms, so that there is no company able to absorb the potential spillovers.

6. Conclusions

This paper aims at verifying the contribute of MNEs to the absorptive capacity of firms through the analysis of inward FDI-related spillovers at both an intra-industry and inter-industry level in the Italian manufacturing sector. In order to take into account the peculiar characteristics of the Italian productive system, we test the absorptive capacity of local firms on the basis of (i)
the technological gap between domestic and foreign firms, (ii) the firm size, and (iii) the geographical distribution of the Italian enterprises.

All in all, our findings can be summarized as follows:

- the strongest channel through which Italian firms benefit from the presence of foreign companies is represented by the forward spillovers. Being a customer of foreign companies has a beneficial effect on a firm’s productivity: domestic firms seem in fact to benefit from supplies of intermediate goods and machinery from MNEs in the upstream sectors probably because they provide better quality products at lower costs, as well as they provide support to local companies in the form of training in sales techniques and supply of sales equipment;
- the level of technological gap matters considerably for the spillover effect: only the Italian firms with a low-medium technological gap are in fact able to exploit the forward spillover, thus benefiting from the foreign presence;
- similarly, the firm size matters for the spillover since only the small firms seems to take advantage of positive externalities from MNEs in the upstream sectors;
- the forward spillover is not characterised by any sub-national (or local) dimension since it acts in almost all the Italian sub-regions (specifically in the South, North-East, and North-West);
- on the opposite, the horizontal spillover exhibits a typical sub-national dimension: it occurs exclusively in the North-West regions of the Peninsula, being instead missing in our results at national level. Such finding - entirely in line with previous works for the Italian case - is strongly concerned with the typical structure of the Italian productive system, characterised by an economic and social dualism between the North and the South as well as between the North-West and the North-East;
- the horizontal spillover is also related to the level of technological gap as well as to the firm size: only medium-sized companies with a low-medium technological gap are in fact able to exploit the positive intra-sectoral externalities from MNEs;
- finally, our findings reveal the lack of any backward spillover for the Italian case, independently from the size of the Italian firms as well as from their geographical localisation. At the same time, low-medium gap firms exhibit a negative effect from backward linkages with partially-owned affiliates that probably reflects that MNEs benefit
from their knowledge of the market to diversify their supply network and thus to impose low price on their suppliers.

References


Appendix

[Please, insert Table III here]

[Please, insert Table IV here]

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Figure 1. The absorptive capacity of firms (source: Arundel et al., 1998).

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- Table IV. Distribution of Italian firms by size, ownership status and regional location (percentages, sample average) (source: own elaboration based on the AIDA database).
- Table V. Estimation of the equation (2).
- Table VI. Group estimation according to the technological gap.
- Table VII. Group estimation according to the firm size.
- Table VIII. Group estimation according to the geographical areas.
Figure 1. The absorptive capacity of firms (source: Arundel et al. 1998).
Table I. Definition of variables used in equation (1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\ln VA$</td>
<td>Natural logarithm of a firm’s real value added, computed as real turnover minus real material costs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\alpha$</td>
<td>Intercept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\ln L$</td>
<td>Natural logarithm of a firm’s labor input measured as the number of employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\ln K$</td>
<td>Natural logarithm of a firm’s fixed asset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\ln M$</td>
<td>Natural logarithm of a firm’s material input</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\varepsilon$</td>
<td>Error term accounting for possible stochastic shocks at a firm level. $\varepsilon_t \sim$ IID (0, $\sigma^2$)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- subscripts $i$ and $t$ refer, respectively, to firm and time;
- the estimation is done for each manufacturing sector $j$ (at the 2-digit NACE level) separately, using a sample of domestic firms only.
- monetary data were deflated by the producer price index for the corresponding 2-digit NACE sector
- within the technique applied, material costs were used as a proxy for the unobservable productivity shock
Tab. II. Definition of variables used in equation (2) and expected signs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TFP</strong></td>
<td>Total Factor Productivity, measured as the difference between the natural logarithm of the value added and the natural logarithm of capital and the natural logarithm of labour, multiplied by their estimated coefficients from equation [1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>σ</strong></td>
<td>Intercept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HERFI</strong></td>
<td>Herfindahl index of turnover, used as a proxy for the level of concentration and thus competition within the sector and year. It is constructed as:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ \sum_{i=1}^{N} \left( \frac{sales_{ijt}}{sales_{p}} \right)^{2} ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It can be readily deduced that HERFI is bound between 0 and 1 and that higher HERFI indicates greater market concentration, i.e., less competition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MES</strong></td>
<td>Minimum efficient scale of the industry, measured as the ratio between the sales of the firms which are above the average sales for the industry, divided by total industry sales. It is employed as a proxy for economies of scale (Comanor and Wilson 1967)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ES</strong></td>
<td>Size of the sector (i.e. the external spillovers), measured as (see Castellani and Zanfei, 2007):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ \sum_{i=1}^{n} VA_{ijt} ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HSPILL</strong></td>
<td>Share of foreign firms’ output in total sector output. It accounts for the foreign presence in the same sector:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ HSPILL_{ijt} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{\text{MNEs}<em>{ij}}}{} \sum</em>{i=1}^{\text{OUTPUT}_{ij}} ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BACKSPILL</strong></td>
<td>Foreign presence in linked downstream sectors (to which a local company supplies its inputs):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ BACKSPILL_{ijt} = \sum_{k,l}^{\gamma_{ijkl}} HSPILL_{ijkl} ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>where ( \gamma_{ijkl} ) is the proportion of the or ( j )'s output supplied to sourcing sectors ( k ) obtained from the input-output table for domestic intermediate consumption (i.e. excluding imports).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FORSPILL</strong></td>
<td>Forward vertical spillovers to local firms that buy inputs from foreign firms:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ FORSPILL_{ijt} = \sum_{l}^{\delta_{ijkl}} HSPILL_{ijkl} ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>where ( \delta_{ijkl} ) is the proportion of sector ( j )'s inputs purchased from upstream sectors ( l ).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D</strong></td>
<td>Dummy time variable employed to control for possible unobserved factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>χ</strong></td>
<td>Error term accounting for possible stochastic shocks at a firm level which may affect the dependent variable ( \chi_{it} \sim \text{IID} (0, \sigma^{2}) )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table III. Mean statistics by ownership status and t-test of comparison of means for the distributions (domestic versus foreign firms) (source: own elaboration based on the AIDA database).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Domestic Firms</th>
<th>Foreign Firms</th>
<th>Diff.</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIZE</td>
<td>Firm size measured by the number of employees</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>216.1</td>
<td>-188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TFP</td>
<td>Total Factor Productivity</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAGE</td>
<td>Firms’ average wage</td>
<td>24925</td>
<td>35056</td>
<td>-10130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TECH</td>
<td>R&amp;D intensity as the ratio of R&amp;D expenditures on sales</td>
<td>0.0123</td>
<td>0.0024</td>
<td>0.0098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Profit</td>
<td>Firms’ net profit</td>
<td>152991</td>
<td>1732627</td>
<td>-164529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MES</td>
<td>Minimum Efficiency Scale of Industry</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>-0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HERF</td>
<td>Herfindhal concentration ratio at industry level</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>-186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table IV. Distribution of Italian firms by size, ownership status and regional location (percentages, sample average) (source: own elaboration based on the AIDA database).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Foreign Firms</th>
<th>Domestic Firms</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIZE 1-49</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>99.7</td>
<td>89.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIZE 50-249</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIZE &gt;250</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Foreign Firms</th>
<th>Domestic Firms</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTH-WEST</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>98.8</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH-EAST</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>99.4</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRE</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table V. Estimation of the equation (2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regressors</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Robust Stand. Err.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cons</td>
<td>9.523***</td>
<td>0.291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HERFI</td>
<td>-0.012**</td>
<td>0.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ES</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSPILL</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>0.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MES</td>
<td>0.1221869</td>
<td>0.220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backspill</td>
<td>0.241</td>
<td>0.390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forspill</td>
<td>0.007**</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time dummies</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.636</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n OBS</td>
<td>562745</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
Areg estimation was performed to fit a linear regression absorbing one categorical factor.

*** = statistically significant at 0.01 per cent level.
** = statistically significant at 0.05 per cent level.
* = statistically significant at 0.10 per cent level.
Table VI. Group estimation according to the technological gap.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regressors</th>
<th>High Gap</th>
<th>Medium Gap</th>
<th>Low Gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cons</td>
<td>0.008 (.013)</td>
<td>5.444*** (.517)</td>
<td>11.111*** (.461)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HERFI</td>
<td>0.018 (.13)</td>
<td>0.043*** (.004)</td>
<td>0.054*** (.012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ES</td>
<td>0.065** (.031)</td>
<td>0.155*** (.020)</td>
<td>-0.040** (.018)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSPILL</td>
<td>0.193 (.138)</td>
<td>1.537*** (.136)</td>
<td>1.105*** (.159)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MES</td>
<td>0.237 (.292)</td>
<td>-2.326*** (.401)</td>
<td>1.631** (.645)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backspill</td>
<td>0.304 (.763)</td>
<td>-6.381*** (.699)</td>
<td>-2.326*** (.864)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forspill</td>
<td>-0.057*** (.008)</td>
<td>0.185*** (.022)</td>
<td>0.0187** (.008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time dummies</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.655</td>
<td>0.707</td>
<td>0.770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n OBS</td>
<td>169951</td>
<td>262151</td>
<td>130643</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- Robust standard errors in brackets
- Areg estimation was performed to fit a linear regression absorbing one categorical factor.
- *** = statistically significant at 0.01 per cent level.
- ** = statistically significant at 0.05 per cent level.
- * = statistically significant at 0.10 per cent level.
Table VII. Group estimation according to the firm size.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regressors</th>
<th>Small firms</th>
<th>Medium firms</th>
<th>Large Firms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cons</td>
<td>8.608*** (.327)</td>
<td>11.809*** (.548)</td>
<td>10.770*** (1.619)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HERFI</td>
<td>-0.014** (.006)</td>
<td>-0.0004 (.0080)</td>
<td>0.0159* (.009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ES</td>
<td>0.035*** (.013)</td>
<td>-0.067*** (.021)</td>
<td>-0.010 (.064)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSPILL</td>
<td>0.047 (.076)</td>
<td>0.316* (.135)</td>
<td>0.620 (.428)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MES</td>
<td>0.247 (.240)</td>
<td>0.311 (.245)</td>
<td>-0.675 (.522)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backspill</td>
<td>0.438 (.423)</td>
<td>-0.538 (.776)</td>
<td>-1.184 (2.320)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forspill</td>
<td>0.008** (.007)</td>
<td>0.004 (.003)</td>
<td>0.010 (.055)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time dummies</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.6114</td>
<td>0.725</td>
<td>0.801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n OBS</td>
<td>505293</td>
<td>50688</td>
<td>6764</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
Robust standard errors in brackets
Areg estimation was performed to fit a linear regression absorbing one categorical factor.
*** = statistically significant at 0.01 per cent level.
** = statistically significant at 0.05 per cent level.
* = statistically significant at 0.10 per cent level.
Table VIII. Group estimation according to the geographical areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regressors</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>North-East</th>
<th>North-West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cons</td>
<td>8.244*** (.863)</td>
<td>8.591*** (.688)</td>
<td>8.854*** (.512)</td>
<td>9.339*** (.427)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HERFI</td>
<td>-0.002 (.010)</td>
<td>-0.004 (.016)</td>
<td>-0186* (.010)</td>
<td>0.0175** (.008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ES</td>
<td>0.040 (.034)</td>
<td>0.035 (.027)</td>
<td>0.030 (.020)</td>
<td>0.014 (.017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSPILL</td>
<td>0.054 (.162)</td>
<td>-0.012 (.160)</td>
<td>0.118 (.139)</td>
<td>0.182* (.107)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MES</td>
<td>-0.038 (.523)</td>
<td>0.010 (.405)</td>
<td>0.268 (.366)</td>
<td>-0.108 (.323)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backspill</td>
<td>0.744 (1.082)</td>
<td>0.874 (.880)</td>
<td>0.049 (.744)</td>
<td>-0.358 (.601)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forspill</td>
<td>0.008* (.005)</td>
<td>-0.007 (.010)</td>
<td>0.014*** (.004)</td>
<td>0.036* (.021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time dummies</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.556</td>
<td>0.603</td>
<td>0.652</td>
<td>0.654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n OBS</td>
<td>94851</td>
<td>109105</td>
<td>164255</td>
<td>194534</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
Robust standard errors in brackets
Areg estimation was performed to fit a linear regression absorbing one categorical factor.
*** = statistically significant at 0.01 per cent level.
** = statistically significant at 0.05 per cent level.
* = statistically significant at 0.10 per cent level.
Title:
Te matatini o te Maori: Diverse Maori identities.

Names of authors, affiliations, addresses and email:

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Abstract:
Maori identity in Aotearoa New Zealand has been evolving for at least the last 7500 years. The two independent studies presented will focus on contemporary (21st century) Maori identity development, experience and measurement. Using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) and factor analysis, Maori identity was explored with an older adult cohort and comparatively ‘young’ military (Navy) cohort. Utilising an integrated kaupapa Maori centred methodological framework, Maori identity was articulated, understood and experienced in many different forms. The major themes to emerge from the IPA include ‘an island consciousness’, ‘grievance versus creative orientation’, ‘experiential development’ and ‘encounters’. The factor analysis revealed a three factor solution. Both studies reinforced the importance of spirituality (wairuatanga), familial relationships (whanaungatanga), language (te reo rangatira) and protocol (tikanga) in expressing oneself as Maori.
Revisiting the Pacific Ocean Submarine Cable
~Focusing on the role of Japanese Business Community~

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Abstract

Submarine cable used to be an essential tool for imperialism to control their colonies. During the late 19th century, Great Britain and the United States competed to lay a new submarine cable over the Pacific Ocean as they considered it to be an important last remaining route to connect the American continent and Asia. The purpose of this research is to argue that Japanese business community at that time played an important role to promote that plan, which has not been cast a spotlight so far. Among the previous studies, the following three elements has been considered as main contributions to the plan: the US’s annexation of Philippine and Hawaii, changing domestic politics in the US, and intensifying conflict between Japan and Russia. With growing trade volume between the US and Japan as a backdrop, however, Japanese business community and some officials in the Ministry of Post and telecommunications noticed the importance of the route from the early stage and managed to accomplish the plan.

This research reveals how the business community and government officials promoted the submarine cable plan both domestically and externally based on the official documents and their personal letters or diaries as primary source. The newspaper and magazine articles of that time, not only in Japan but in the US and Great Britain, will also be examined.

Key Words: Submarine cable, Pacific Ocean, business community
Dream has always been regarded as a supernatural revelation in ancient China and believed to enable to predict the dreamer’s future through a set of ciphered language. In order to decipher the mysterious prophesy, special officials were appointed to divine by interpreting the dreams in the Zhou dynasty (1046 B.C.—256B.C.). If there were conflicts among different methods of divination, the result of interpreting the dreams had the priority. According to previous scholarship, there were 22 books on dreams in Chinese history, among which 14 ones were related to the interpretation of dreams. ¹ Along with the persistent superstition of dreams, however, there is also conscious manipulation of dreams to achieve a wide range of purposes. For instance, the emperor of Shang dynasty Wu Ding (?-1192B.C.) once dreamed that the god bestowed him a virtuous minister to assist in governing the country. After waking, Wu Ding succeeded in finding this man named Fu Yue with the exact appearance appeared in his dream and appointed him as the prime minister. However, Yang Shen (1488-1559), one of the most learned scholars in the Ming dynasty, interpreted it as a political plot:

Wu Ding was exiled to the wilderness and then succeeded to the throne. He must have heard of Fu Yue’s virtue before. He wanted to promote Fu Yue but worried that his proposal would not be accepted. Therefore, he fabricated this dream and claimed that it came from the divine inspiration².

² Yang Shen. “Qiandan Zonglu” (丹鉛總錄) from *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* (《古今圖書集成》), Vol.152.
Dream has also long been an effective tool in the construction of dynastic history in China, especially when concerning the founders of a new dynasty. Almost every founding father has a legendary birth, which is always related to a mysterious dream, to imply the legitimacy of rule. We can take Han Gaozu (256B.C.-195B.C.) as an example:

One day the old dame, his mother, was resting upon the dyke of a large pond when she dreamed that she had a meeting with a supernatural being. At the time there was thunder and lightning, and it became dark. When [Gaozu’s] father, the Tai Gong, came to look for her, he saw a scaly dragon above her. After that she was with child and subsequently gave birth to Gaozu. Gaozu was a man with a prominent nose and a dragon forehead. He had a beautiful beard on his chin and cheeks. On his left thigh were seventy-two black moles.1

Through this extraordinary dream—in which Gaozu was the son of dragon—the historian implied that Gaozu was the one who had the mandate of Heaven, which was further testified by Gaozu’s abnormal appearance—he was marked by seventy-two black moles in the thigh.2

Being different from those apparently artificial dreams, there were abundant dreams which were alleged to be authentic by a specific dreamer and were seriously recorded in a variety of forms: poem, letter, epitaph, or a chronicle of life. This paper will attempt to discuss the significance of these “authentic” dreams in the genesis of one philosophical school—the Taizhou School—and one literary school—the Gong’an School—in the Ming dynasty. Previous scholars have studied these two schools largely from the perspective of the development of philosophy or literature. However, through the investigation of three dreams, which involved a series of

2 According to Homer’s footnote, seventy-two was “a mystic number, being the number of the days of each year attributed to each of the five elements, the number of ancient sovereigns who had performed the feng and shan sacrifices, the number of the metals, etc.” (Ibid. P29)
identity-construction efforts, the paper will argue that during the genesis of the Taizhou School and of the Gong’an School, the Ming philosophers or literati, consciously or unconsciously, deployed dream to construct a new identity and consequently obtain the power to influence their contemporaries and the ability of shaping a community—what we name it as “school” in the later history writing.

The Taizhou School: the dream of a savior

During the Ming dynasty, the doctrines of the Song Dynasty scholar-official Zhu Xi (1130-1200) was embraced as official ideology and as the basis of civil service examinations. In analyzing Zhu Xi’s concept of “the extension of knowledge”—gaining knowledge through careful and rational investigation of things or events as a kind of preparation or cultivation that, when completed, could guide action, Wang Yangming (1472-1529) developed a new strand of Confucian teaching and philosophy—“School of Mind.” He emphasized that universal principles were concepts espoused in the mind and every person knows from birth the difference between good and evil. During the late Ming period, Wang Yangming’s thought became notably influential in China, which was primarily attributed to two of his disciples: Wang Longxi (1498-1583) and Wang Gen (1483-1541). Wang Gen founded the Taizhou School, which went left of Wang Yangming’s thought: not only being closer to the everyday life of the commoners but presenting a more radical or non-cooperative gesture in the relationship with the orthodoxy.

This paper will discuss the genesis of the Taizhou School by centering on two unusual dreams—the first one was recorded in The Chronicle of Wang Gen’s life, which was edited by one of his disciples Zhang Feng:

One night, [Wang Gen] dreamed that the heaven was falling down. Ten thousands of people was crying and running to Wang Gen for help. He exerted himself
to lift the heaven with one single arm. Once he noticed that the Sun, the Moon and the Stars were out of order, he rearranged them as before. Ten thousands of people expressed their thanks by merry dancing. After waking, Wang Gen sweated profusely and achieved a sudden enlightenment. He felt that all objects merged into a whole and the entire universe did not exist apart from the self.

Obviously, it is an important dream with many significant images: heaven, the Sun, the Moon, the stars, the terrifying calamity and the heroic savior. Not only Wang Gen himself was aware of its significance—after he awoke, he earnestly recorded it on the wall, “(it happened in) the Sixth year of the Zhengde reign, after three and a half months in deliberating Ren (仁, benevolence)”—but many of his followers repeatedly rewrote this dream in a variety of works: the Chronicle of Wang Gen’s life, his epitaph, and philosophical monograph. The following questions are how to interpret this dream and what is the latent motive for Wang Gen and his followers to record or rewrite this dream.

Wang Gen himself regarded it as a result of deliberating on Ren for three and a half months: he suddenly realized that all the objects merged into the whole and the entire universe did not exist apart from the self. His followers went further to declare it as an indicator of the exact moment of Wang Gen’s enlightenment: for instance, Huang Zongxi believed that “from this moment all of his behaviors fit into enlightenment.” However, the dream itself does not necessarily lead to such interpretation. How can the image of a savior imply the improvement or enlightenment in philosophy?

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According to Freud, the dream is the fulfillment of a wish\(^1\) or the disguised fulfillment of a suppressed wish.\(^2\) Since the dreamer is Wang Gen himself—if we admit that the dream was an authentic dream, what is Wang Gen’s wish? The fall of the heaven metaphorically means the collapse of the previous moral order or philosophical belief. It is not difficult to induce that Wang Gen wished to be the one who could re-construct the moral order or philosophical belief for the commoners. His disciple Xu Yue believed that because of this dream Wang Gen resolved to undertake the responsibility of awakening the commoners due to the deepest sympathy for their ignorance. However, according to Freud’s theory, Xu Yue obviously reversed the causal relationship. Wang Gen dreamed this dream because of his wish of reconstructing the philosophical order, which can be confirmed by other records in *The Chronicle of Wang Gen’s Life*:

1) When he was nineteen years old, Wang Gen went to Shang Dong to do business because Shang Dong is where Confucius’ hometown Queli locates.

2) When he was twenty-five years old, Wang Gen passed by Queli and visited Confucian temple. He aspired to undertake the task of advocating the Way. After he returned, he exerted himself on the study of *Book of Filial Piety*, *Analects*, and *The Great Learning*.

3) When he was twenty-seven years old, Wang Gen always sat along, deep in meditation. Whenever there was anything he cannot understand, he would enclose himself and thought about it day and night. From now on, he determined to become a sage.\(^3\)


\(^2\) Ibid. 68.

All of these records, which predated the dream which Wang Gen dreamed when he was twenty-nine years old, indicated how firmly Wang Gen aspired to become a sage like Confucius or Mencius and to undertake the task of advocating The Way. In terms of psychoanalysis, this continuous and strong wish is actually a kind of anxiety, which serves as the source of dream. The dream not only manifestly conveyed his wish but indicated that Wang Gen ultimately obtained the ability or power to fulfill this wish—the magnificent feat of lifting the heaven and rearranging the stars and the image of a savior who rescued the commoners from the coming calamity actually declared the birth of a sage whom Wang Gen aspired to be. It is the exact reason why Wang Gen himself felt that all objects merged into the whole and the entire universe did not exist apart from the self—he had gained enough confidence from the new identity in the dream. It also explains why his followers regarded this dream as an indicator of philosophical enlightenment: on the one hand, the birth of the sage like Confucius or Mencius would be impossible if without the philosophical enlightenment; on the other hand, to become a sage was always the ultimate goal of New-Confucianism. If the dream was fabricated by Wang Gen, the reason why he concocted this dream is even more obvious. In order to relieve his anxiety of becoming a sage and reconstructing the philosophical order, Wang Gen consciously created a new image of the savior for himself in an alleged dream.

The fact that Wang Gen seriously recorded this dream and his followers repeatedly rewrote the dream is even more revealing than the dream itself—no matter whether it is authentic or not. During the Ming dynasty, the superstition of dream was still popular. Most of the commoners believed that the dream contained the divine inspiration and consequently predicted the dreamer’s future. Therefore, to record or rewrite this dream in a variety of works means that Wang Gen and his followers not only were aware of the significance of the dream but
endeavored to publicize its significance and therefore to spread the “divine inspirations” among the masses—Wang Gen was the savior!

The manipulation of this dream is consistent with Wang Gen’s peculiar behaviors—according to Huang Zongxi, which was consistent with the philosophical enlightenment. However, it is more like an excessive method of seeking popularity than something which signified philosophical enlightenment:

1. Wang Gen wore Wu-chang hat, widened clothes and hemp belt and carried bamboo plank, which were all made in accordance with the requirements of the Book of Ritual.
2. Wang Gen made a cart decorated by fragrant grass and the slogan in which it was written “Following the Way of the sage, which conforms to the heaven and the earth; obtaining the innate knowing, which is beyond the ghost and the god.” He traveled to the north to advocate Wang Yangming’s doctrine with this cart, attracting great attention along the way.

It is not difficult to imagine the sensation Wang Gen has caused with his peculiar apparel and cart: people in the capital regarded him as the strangest; his classmates were so amazed that they even hid his cart; and his teacher Wang Yangming was so discontented with his behaviors that he sent letter to urge Wang Gen to immediately return. It is also not difficult to surmise the latent motive behind Wang Gen’s peculiar behavior. Wang Gen was once a successful merchant, who changed his family from the humble salt-mine worker to the well-to-do. Since he knew well
how to peddle the goods, he must also know how to peddle his philosophical doctrines: seeking popularity should be the most effective way. However, how can Wang Gen succeed in attracting attention? He was born in a humble and poor salt-maker family. In the Ming society it almost belonged to the lowest status, which can be proven that sometimes the government even sent criminal to work as salt-maker—it meant that Wang Gen cannot take advantage of the reputation or wealth of family to attract necessary followers. Wang Gen discontinued his study at the age of 11 because of poverty—it meant that Wang Gen was definitely not recognized as a well-known scholar from the very beginning who would have some admirers because of his outstanding learning.

However, the history provided the perfect models for those who were eager to become famous overnight. When he came to the capital, the Tang poet Chen Zi’ang was suffering from being unknown. One day he bought a zither for the price of ten thousands of taels in the market. People were all astonished and asked whether they had the opportunity of watching his performance. Chen Zi’ang promised to meet them the next day. However, when people arrived the next day, he broke the zither into pieces and instead distributed his own poems to the audience. In this way Chen Zi’ang instantly became famous in the capital—this model indicates that peculiar or unreasonable behavior can function as the most effective way to seek popularity. Wang Gen did follow this precursor. He himself confessed that people would not know him if without those peculiar behaviors. It is completely possible that the dream Wang Gen had dreamed had the same function with his peculiar behavior.

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Therefore, No matter whether this dream is authentic, it indicates Wang Gen’s wish to reconstruct the moral order or philosophical belief and to awaken the commoners from ignorance and the conscious efforts that Wang Gen and his followers had made to create a new identity as the savior. Since the superstition of dream was still popular in the Ming dynasty, Wang Gen’s new identity would empower him to give lectures to “save” the commoners from ignorance and to advocate the philosophical doctrines as the follower of Wang Yangming and then as the founder of the Taizhou school.

The Dream of Yellow Dragon

There is another significant dream related to Wang Gen, which was also recorded in a variety of works: the Chronicle of Wang Gen’s Life, his epitaph, and Huang Zongxi’s Mingru Xue’an. Wang Gen resolved to travel to the north and to give lectures to commoners after he bade Wang Yangming farewell. In the evening before he arrived at the capital, an old man had an unusual dream: one yellow dragon without head brought the rain and then changed into a man when it came to the gate of Chongwen. When the old man woke up in the morning, he went to the gate of Chongwen to wait for the man who had changed from the yellow dragon. Then Wang Gen came1.

In contrast to the significant dream with the significant image of a yellow dragon, the dreamer is an extremely insignificant and suspicious old man—we know nothing about him: his name, where he came from, what he lived for, or any possible relationship between him and Wang Gen. It is completely reasonable to doubt if this dream is consciously fabricated. However, the most important thing is not whether it is a fabricated dream but for what it is concocted and

1 Ibid.32.
repeatedly recorded. If we scrutinize this dream, we can find that this dream is full of secret codes which can be translated into another sign of known meaning according to the accepted interpretation. In China the dragon always refers to the emperor or at least the leading figure in some field. A dragon which is making rain corresponds to a successful master whose doctrines have greatly benefited the commoners. As regards the color of dragon, it is connected to Wang Gen’s name. The character “Gen” means “mountain”, which embodies the earth among the five elements (Metal, Wood, Water, Fire, Earth). The color of earth is yellow. Therefore, this dream, on the one hand, identifies Wang Gen as the embodiment of the dragon, which has been exclusively connected with the emperor and with the supreme power; on the other hand, this dream metaphorically implied that the commoners would be greatly benefited from his teaching.

If we take the core doctrine of the Taizhou School into consideration, we can immediately figure out the latent connection between this dream and the philosophical doctrines to which Wang Gen had devoted himself. Wang Gen claimed that The Way lies in the everyday life of the commoners and that everyone can turn to be the sage or the virtuous if he was aware of his innate knowledge. His doctrines have been perfectly embodied in the above dream: the dragon—the image which had exclusively referred to the emperor—now can be used to refer to Wang Gen—one of the commoners—since he had realized his innate knowledge.

Moreover, this dream was merely part of continuous efforts to construct a consistent identity for Wang Gen along with the genesis of the Taizhou School: the significant dream in which Wang Gen appeared as a savior, the suspicious dream of the yellow dragon, unordinary physical features, and the self-evaluation or comments through the image of dragon. In The Chronicle of Wang Gen’s life, it was recorded that Wang Gen was born to carry the similarly extraordinary appearance with the founder father of Han dynasty: in his left palm there was one
wart, and two warts in his right palm. Inconceivably, these three warts had the function of distinguishing Yin from Yang and constantly undulated in accordance with Qi. \(^1\) When he grew up, Wang Gen was a man with a prominent forehead, a protruding cheekbone and looked like the ancient. He was unimaginably more than 2.7 meters in height. Such physical features implied that Wang Gen was destined for an outstanding future as the founder father of Han dynasty had. However, the ridiculous height of 2.7 meters and the magic warts recorded in The Chronicle of Wang Gen’s Life—a record of a series of historical events written in the time sequence which is supposed to be credible—indicated how eager Wang Gen’s disciple was to present Wang Gen in an unordinary image. Amazingly, Wang Gen’s son Wang Dong Ya also carries the similar unordinary physical features: he looked like the ancient, with the unimaginable height—2.37 meters—and with the same unusual wart on the left ear. \(^2\) The identical expression and the similar unordinary physical features recorded in The Chronicle of Wang Gen’s Life and in The Chronicle of Wang Dongya’s Life considerably detract the credibility of their physical peculiarity. However, the exaggerated expression itself unequivocally indicates the collective efforts to construct an outstanding image for the leading figures of the Taizhou School, which would consequently imply a kind of legitimacy as the advocator of the Way.

It is noticeable that Wang Gen, as well as other members of the Taizhou School, preferred the dragon metaphors—the hidden dragon, the visible dragon, and the highest dragon from the first hexagram in Book of Change—to evaluate themselves or to comment others. The hidden dragon was originally used to refer to the one who did not or was unwilling to work for the government as an official. For Wang Gen, the difference between the hidden dragon and the


visible dragon is that the former one refers to retiring from the world and being accompany with
the birds and beasts and that the latter one refers to being beneficial to the society but without
boasting of his own contribution. Therefore, Wang Gen, though he had not worked for the
government as an official, regarded the visible dragon as the perfect position and consequently
applied it to evaluate himself. In contrast to Wang Gen’s aspiration, Wang Bi was more
moderate to compare himself with the hidden dragon. When it came to the later disciples of the Taizhou School, such as Yan Jun (1504-1596) and He Xinyin (1517-1579)—who were even more radical than the earlier figures, they were no longer limited to the hidden dragon or the visible dragon. For instance, Yan Jun developed a complete system of six dragon images which corresponded to different stages of psychological state. He Xinyin, as Li Zhi had pointed out, went even further to the position of the highest dragon:

He (He Xinyin) considered himself to be the visible dragon. However, he was always visible without being hidden. The tendency must turn to be the highest dragon. It is appropriate that he would end in the extremity. The highest dragon, however, was still dragon, with which others are hardly comparable. If without the highest dragon, the position of the Shangjiu will be unoccupied. Since it has to be occupied, it is inevitable that the dragon will end in the highest one.¹

The highest dragon was traditionally regarded as ominous, which was connected with inevitable failure or death. However, Li Zhi, as one of the later disciples of the Taizhou School, not only justified He Xinyin’s death—he was executed by the authorities because of his rebellious spirit—but endowed the highest dragon a positive significance—it is necessary among the six hexagrams with its own position and mission. We can equate it with the characteristics of the Taizhou School: it has been famous for and criticized for being too unrestrained. However, to be

unrestrained merely represented how far they went away from the orthodox, which was necessary in breaking through the rigid control of the

In summing up, dream played multiple roles in the genesis of the Taizhou School: it symbolically indicated the essential teaching of the Taizhou School and involved in a complicated project of identity-construction. This project not only bestowed Wang Gen a new identity of the savior to awaken the commoners from ignorance but contained a system of evaluation by use of the special image of dragon. From the hidden dragon, the visible dragon, to the highest dragon, members of the Taizhou School not only located themselves in a specific position but collectively embodied the aesthetic characteristics of the Taizhou School.

The Gong’an School: the dream of Su Shi’s reincarnation

During the Ming dynasty, generally speaking, the literati constituted of two camps: one highlighted the importance of imitating the ancient, which had been influential through the whole Ming dynasty; and the other emphasized that Qing (sentiment, feeling) was the pivot of literature, which became popular in the late Ming. Among the latter camp, the Gong’an school, which is named after the hometown of three leading figures—the Yuan Brothers, stood out because it ultimately broke through the tendency towards idolizing the ancients to clear imaginative space for themselves and the latecomers. Usually Yuan Hongdao (1568-1610) was regarded as the leading exponent because of his literary theory and the corresponding writings. However, Yuan Zhongdao (1575-1630)—the youngest brother—also played an important role in the genesis of
the Gong’an school: inventing a new identity as Su Shi’s (1037-1101) reincarnation for Yuan Hongdao through a significant dream\(^1\).

In this dream Yuan Zhongdao was informed by an old monk that Yuan Hongdao was Su Shi’s reincarnation, he, as Yuan Hongdao’s younger brother, was the reincarnation of Su Zhe (1139-1112)—Su Shi’s younger brother, and his friends—Xuezhao, Lengyun, Hanhui, and Yunxin, were reincarnations of Liaoyuan, a debater of Fenghuang Hill, Donglinzong, Canliaozi respectively. The content of this dream is manifest—everyone involved turned to be someone’s reincarnation, while the pivotal figure who revealed this secret was an anonymous and mysterious monk\(^2\). If it was an authentic dream as it claimed, what was Yuan Zhongdao’s wish? If it was an artifact as most of the significant dreams recorded by Chinese literati turned to be, what was the particular purpose underlying this dream?

If we pay more attention to the latter part of this dream, especially to Yuan Zhongdao’s question and the monk’s ensuing explanation, it is not difficult to figure out the latent motive of this dream:

I said: “Other’s incarnation relationship is self-evident, while there are some discrepancies between the Two-Su brothers and us brothers.” The old monk replied: “Zizhan abandoned secular concerns late. However, Zhonglang did it earlier. To do so late is to be frustrated, and to do so early is to be without disaster, which is the result of drawing the lesson from the incarnation. Due to the similar reason, you are supposed to obtain greater achievements since your former self was a little withdrawn while you are a bit sociable.” Then I asked: “Master, may I ask who you are?” The old monk did not answer but just smiled.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) Yuan Zhongdao. “Writing on the Pamphlet of Xuezhao” (《書雪照冊》). Collected Writings of Kexue Zhai. (《珂雪齋集》).880.
\(^2\) This old monk was called as “Broad-eyebrow old monk” (龐眉老僧).
\(^3\) Yuan Zhongdao. “Writing on the Pamphlet of Xuezhao” (《書雪照冊》). Collected Writings of Kexue Zhai. (《珂雪齋集》).880 (Zizhan was Su Shi’s courtesy name, and Zhonglang was Yuan Hongdao’s courtesy name).
Yuan Zhongdao believed that there was no doubt about the other four reincarnations—it has never been self-evident as he claimed to be—while the relationship between the Su Brothers and the Yuan Brothers should be explained in details. It reveals that to establish the latter connection—that is, to create a new identity for Yuan Hongdao, as well as for himself—was the exact goal of this dream. The ensuing explanation not only explained the discrepancies but implied a more promising future—Yuan Hongdao and Yuan Zhongdao were supposed to obtain greater achievement since they had drawn lesson from their former selves.

However, the biggest challenge of this dream actually does not lie in the discrepancies between the Yuan Brothers and the Su Brothers listed by the old monk but in the absence of the eldest brother Yuan Zongdao. Why was it Yuan Hongdao instead of Yuan Zongdao who ultimately obtained the new identity as the reincarnation of Su Shi? As Qian Qianyi (1582-1664) commented in *Liechao Shiji Xiaozhuahua*:

> When the writings of Mr. Wang and of Mr. Li were greatly popular, it was Zongdao, as well as his colleague Huang Zhaosu, that despised shallow and vulgar learning and vigorously opposed the imitation and plagiarism. He preferred Xiangshan among poets in the Tang Dynasty and Meishan among the poets in the Song Dynasty. Therefore, he named his studio “Baisu Zhai” in order to distinguish himself from his contemporaries. His talent might not equal those of his two younger brothers, while it was Boxiu that initiated the Gong’an School. ¹

Yuan Zongdao was the one who set out the direction for the Gong’an School through his preference for Bai Juyi and Su Shi, especially the latter one. It is interesting to note that Yuan

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¹ Qian Qianyi. *Liechao Shiji Xiaozhuang* (《列朝詩集小傳》), Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. 1959. 566. (Boxiu was Yuan Zongdao’s courtesy name).
Hongdao was used to using “Jia Zizhan” ¹ (家子瞻) to refer to Yuan Zongdao since he especially appreciated Su Shi. In “The Second Appendix: Record of Conversation in Zuolin”²—in which the Yuan Brothers and their friends were commenting on each other by comparing with celebrities in the past. Yuan Hongdao said that his favorite writer was Ji Kang (224?-263?), and Yuan Zongdao identified himself with Su Shi. As the conversation among friends, it was creditable that Yuan Hongdao was much closer to Ji Kang while Yuan Zongdao was closer to Su Shi. Yuan Zhongdao himself listed five similarities between his eldest brother and Su Shi³: they had the same heart—being ingenuous and sincere, the same morality—being honest in carrying out official duties, the same interest—getting pleasure from the scenery, the same talent—being the leading figure in literature, and the same concerns—being engrossed in the study of life.

There was only one difference between them: as the censor, Su shi was vigorous in criticizing the politics, and as an official of the Broad of Li (禮), Yuan Zongdao was engaged in civilizing the society. Obviously, for Yuan Zhongdao, the latter was superior—the superior position led to superior style.

The reason why Yuan Hongdao instead of Yuan Zongdao was chosen as the reincarnation of Su Shi in Yuan Zongdao’s dream was merely pragmatic. As a literary genre, the Gong’an school should have its own theory and corresponding works—in this aspect, Yuan Hongdao was definitely the most important opponent. The representative statement—“expressing the Xingling

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(性靈), free from the boundaries of patterns and forms” — came from the preface he wrote for his younger brother, and the principal aesthetic criteria of the Gong’an school — Qu — was also proposed and expounded by him. Moreover, Yuan Hongdao achieved the unity of theory and practice: his poems and travels served as the best sample of the Gong’an school. Therefore, Yuan Hongdao’s new identity as the reincarnation of Su Shi came from the practical consideration instead of the actual similarities between two men.

It will be more obvious if we pay attention to the similarities between Yuan Hongdao and Su Shi summarized by Yuan Zhongdao. Yuan Zhongdao believed that Yuan Hongdao had the same merits and demerits with Su Shi: they both were talented, while they both failed to control their brilliant talent—which resulted in the over-fluency and over-directness in their writings. Moreover, Yuan Hongdao’s late life arranged by Yuan Zhongdao was quite similar to Su Shi’s late life—serving as the star-official to examine the literature on earth. For Su Shi, such appointment came from two dreams: one was from Mo Mengzheng’s (莫蒙正) dream, and the other was from the dream of a Taoist when he performed some rituals for Emperor Huizong (1082-1135). The latter’s royal background might add a sense of authenticity to this legend, while the former’s obscure state also had the same function: Mo Mengzheng was some student in some city, who seemed to be a remote but objective witness. For Yuan Hongdao, such appointment came from Zhoufan’s (周蕃) dream—the changed treatment of similar material

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2 Yuan Hongdao. “Preface to Collected Writings of Chen Zhengfu” (《敘陳正甫會心集》). Collected Writings of Yuan Hongdao with Annotation and Revision (《袁宏道集箋校》). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1981.463.
only reveals that it was dangerous to take advantage of the current emperor to serve as the
witness, however, it was quite convenient to “find” some student in some city, like Zhoufan, to
fulfill the same task. Obviously, these two similarities are much less convincing than those
between Yuan Zongdao and Su Shi—five detailed similarities which ranged from personality,
talent, and to life concerns.

The most important thing is not the dream itself but how Yuan Zhongdao deployed this
dream to contribute to the genesis of the Gong’an school. First, he strove to elevate the literary
status of Yuan Hongdao. Since Su Shi was the leading figure in literature during the Song
Dynasty, Yuan Hongdao, as his reincarnation, should occupy the same position in the Ming
Dynasty. Moreover, since they had the chance to draw lessons from their former selves—as the
benefits of reincarnation, their achievements were supposed to be greater. Therefore, Yuan
Zhongdao made the following bold assertion:

There were two outstanding figures over hundreds of years, with extraordinary
learning and courage which surpassed the whole world. Were they Longhu and
Zhonglang? It was impossible and unnecessary to have another Longhu after his death.
It was also impossible and unnecessary to have another Zhonglang.  

This statement catapulted Yuan Hongdao, together with his mentor Li Zhi, to the pinnacle of
fame—the top two figures during the entire Ming Dynasty. Since Li Zhi mainly contributed to
the philosophy, what Yuan Zhongdao really meant to say was that Yuan Hongdao was the top
one figure in literature. If considering how Yuan Zhongdao invented the new identity for his
brother by conceiving several companions in the dream, we could find out how skillful he was to
package a person or a literary school.

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Moreover, Yuan Zhongdao took advantage of Yuan Hongdao’s new identity as the reincarnation of Su Shi to form a literary circle centered upon Yuan Hongdao, which was necessary to the genesis of a literary school. He realized that the literature of every generation should have its own leader. Like those who gathered around Su Shi, the Gong’an school should have the similar circle.

Previously Brothers Zizhan served as the literati leaders. Those who circled them were all talented, their writings being vigorous and having a sort of flavor. Among them, the flavor of Qin’s writings was especially strong …My friend, Tao Xiaoruo, was detached and reserved, and was content with his poverty, being of extraordinary character. His writings were clear and artful, without any vulgarity, reflecting his extraordinary talent. Moreover, there was a pure and elegant flavor, like the light among the mountains and the color of water, which cannot be reached but only be seen. Therefore, Zhonglang especially appreciated him. Tao’s poetic style was also similar to Zhonglang’s……I compared him to Qin Taixu, and Zhonglang also agreed with my judgment.  

In this essay though Yuan Zhongdao didn’t directly define Yuan Hongdao as the leading figure, but he established the latent connection between Su Shi and his followers with Yuan Hongdao and some of his friends. Moreover, Yuan Hongdao had obtained the authority to comment and to classify others. One criterion was Qu (趣)—one of the core concepts that the Gong’an school advocated, and the other criterion was whether others’ writings were similar to that of Yuan Hongdao. In the letter to his friend Huang Jiabu, Yuan Zhongdao elevated the status of Yuan Hongdao to the extreme with the passion of follower:

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He came from the Buddhist Heaven. As for the solidity and breadth of his scholarship, as for his smooth handling of worldly matters, neither you nor I can necessarily measure it. We can only respectfully follow him.¹

To sum up, Yuan Zhongdao not only constructed a new identity for Yuan Hongdao through one dream but went further to deploy this new identity—the reincarnation of Su Shi—to elevate Yuan Hongdao’s status in literature and to form a community around him, which considerably contributed to the genesis of the Gong’an school. More important, after his two elder brothers died, Su Shi became the device to comment and to revise the Gong’an School’s literary theories. Yuan Zhongdao always summarized the merits and demerits of Yuan Hongdao through the similarities between Yuan Hongdao and Su Shi. Through emphasizing on Xingling, Yuan Hongdao freed himself and his contemporary from the boundaries of fossilized patterns and forms; and because of over-emphasizing on Xingling, Yuan Hongdao carried the same defect with Su Shi of being lack of implication and of being vulgar, which was even more obvious in his followers. As the core figure of the Gong’an school, Yuan Hongdao’s literary thoughts underwent apparent changes—he realized his defect in his later years. It was always ignored by the exponents and opponents of the Gong’an school, while Yuan Zhongdao was committed to restore the real Yuan Hongdao and the real Gong’an school.

**Su shi’s reincarnation: Yuan Hongdao**

It has been widely accepted that Yuan Hongdao, as the leading figure of the Gong’an School, made a great contribution from the perspective of theoretical and literary construction. However, he also succeeded in the following two things which contributed a lot to the genesis of

the Gong’an school: 1) to deify Su Shi; 2) to deify himself by justifying his new identity as Su Shi’s reincarnation.

Literature during the Ming Dynasty was famous for its mechanical imitation, which was satirized by Yuan Hongdao as the dwarf-watching. Yuan Hongdao was so committed to change the current literary tendency that he consciously took the strategy of overdoing in correcting the wrong, including his attempt to deify Su Shi. During the time when the literature after the Late Tang was completely ignored, Yuan Hongdao elevated Su Shi to the status of “the only one since there was the heaven and the earth”¹, or “the god of poetry”². It was natural that the writings of the god of poetry should be regarded as the highest criteria and had the orthodox position. As for the only one’s writings, Yuan Hongdao believed that it was directly from Su Shi’s heart³. If comparing with his own literary thoughts – “it must be from one’s heart”, we can conclude that writings of the Gong’an school should have the same orthodox position since they had followed the same principle with Su Shi.

Moreover, Yuan Hongdao continued to deify himself by taking advantage of Yuan Zhongdao’s dream to achieve authority. As regards the dream, Yuan Hongdao had treated it as the most ridiculous thing in the world, therefore he never believed it⁴. However, when he was invented as the reincarnation of Su Shi in Yuan Zhongdao’s dream, Yuan Hongdao’s attitude changed—he not only mentioned his new identity through the form of self-note but actively justified his new identity.

¹ Yuan Hongdao. “At the end of the Volume of Xuezhao” (《識雪照澄卷末》). Collected Writings of Yuan Hongdao with Annotation and Revision (《袁宏道集箋校》). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. 1981. 1219.
² Yuan Hongdao. “To Li Longhu” (《與里龍湖》). Collected Writings of Yuan Hongdao with Annotation and Revision (《袁宏道集箋校》). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. 1981. 750.
³ Yuan Hongdao. “At the end of the Volume of Xuezhao” (《識雪照澄卷末》). Collected Writings of Yuan Hongdao with Annotation and Revision (《袁宏道集箋校》). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. 1981. 1219.
⁴ Yuan Hongdao. “Records on Dream for Xinguang” (《紀夢為心光書冊》). Collected Writings of Yuan Hongdao with Annotation and Revision (《袁宏道集箋校》). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. 1981. 1223.
……Mingjiao said: “Why did the old monk say that you were the reincarnation of Pogong?” I replied: “There is a reason. It is said in the Buddhist classics that those whose wealth and extravagance reached an extreme came to suffer poverty in a later life. Therefore, it is reasonable that I am so obtuse since I was rich in wisdom in the former life.”

He confirmed his new identity through the perspective of Buddhism—during the process of incarnation, as the rich always turned to suffer the poverty, the wise turned to be the obtuse, which was exactly the logic Yuan Zhongdao had used to created the connection between the Su Brothers and the Yuan Brothers and to elevated their own literary status—the former self resorted to Buddhism late, while the reincarnation did it earlier; the former self was withdrawn, while the reincarnation was sociable. However, if considering how proud Yuan Hongdao was of himself, the excuse of being an obtuse reincarnation only implies how willing he was to accept this significant dream, this new identity, the accompanied orthodox position, and the underlying discourse power.

Su Shi was not only related to Yuan Hongdao’s new identity but emerged as a collective identity of the Gong’an School. For the Yuan Brothers, Li Zhi played the role of their mentor, who led them to be free from the traditional boundaries, as Yuan Zhonglang mentioned in “Conduct and Activity of Mr. Zhonglang”\(^2\), it was after the interview with Li Zhi that Yuan Hongdao realized that he had been limited by following the ancient and realized that the most important thing was to learn from the heart. Li Zhi not only edited Su Shi’s collected writings but was regarded by someone as Su Shi’s reincarnation—for Yuan Hongdao, which was quite

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\(^1\) Yuan Hongdao. “At the end of the Volume of Xuezhao” (《識雪照澄卷末》). Collected Writings of Yuan Hongdao with Annotation and Revision (《袁宏道集箋校》). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. 1981. 1220.

\(^2\) Yuan Zhongdao. “Conduct and Activity of Mr. Zhonglang” (《吏部驗封司郎中中郎先生行狀》). in Collected Writings of Yuan Hongdao with Annotation and Revision (《袁宏道集箋校》). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. 1981. 1650.
appropriate if considering Li zhi’s experience—it was similar to but more tortuous than what Su Shi had experienced.

In “Pleased to Meet with Mei Jibao” (《喜逢梅季豹》), Yuan Hongdao, as the leading figure of the Gong’an school, made a list of the people who belonged to his camp:

……Xu Wei was abundant in talent, 徐渭饒梟才,
while frustrated by the humble fate. 身卑道不遇。
Recently there was Tang Xianzu, 近來湯顯祖,
who had excellent works. 淩厲有佳句。
Bin¹ was also frank and straightforward, 賓也曠蕩士,
whose writings were as fluent as streams running to the east. 快若水東注。
Fat Qiu and Beard Pan, 丘肥與潘髯,
both were my brothers. 俱至兄弟數。
In Yue there were two Lings, 越中有二齡,
who set free the poets’ interest. 解脫詩人趣。
All of them decided to establish a new way, 立意出新機,
self-cultivating and self-refining…… 自冶自陶鑄……²

Xu Wei and Tang Xianzu were two of the four reincarnations of Su Shi listed by Yu Chunxi, and Yuan Hongdao was never sparing of his efforts to praise them, especially Xu Wei. It was Yuan Hongdao who saved Xu Wei’s writings from remaining obscure and made him famous. In

¹ Bin(賓) referred to Yuan Zhongdao.
“Biography of Xu Wenchang”, when he finally “discovered” Xu Wei from some illegible pages, Yuan Hongdao was so excited that he jumped and shouted and regretted not having known Xu Wei earlier. Yuan Hongdao not only collected and printed Xu Wei’s writings, but always described Xu Wei as the first one of Ming Dynasty and recommended him to others, such as in the letter to his examiner, Yuan Hongdao introduced Xu Wei as a poet who had Li Changji’s singularity with his own fluency, had Du Fu’s bone with his new skin, and had Zi Zhan’s eloquence with his own character—in all, a poet who exceeded the former and the latter seven figures. Tao Wangling resonated with Yuan Zongdao and Huang Hui when they were in the Hanlin Academy and highly valued Yuan Hongdao’s friendship—“I admire you from my heart, and your heart is what I like”. As one member of the Tai Zhou school listed by Huang Zongxi, Tao Wangling got the reputation of “being similar to Po gong” due to his successful connecting literature and principle as Su Shi had done.

To sum up, in the genesis of the Gong’an school, Yuan Zhongdao invented a new identity for Yuan Hongdao as the reincarnation of Su Shi in a significant dream. This new identity not only helped to elevate the literary status of the Yuan Brothers but formed a literary circle around them. Moreover, it helps to convey their own literary thoughts and to identify and praise their mentors, friends, and colleagues.

Conclusion

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4 Yu Maozi. “Preface to Collected Writings of Xie’an”. Collected Writings of Xie’an. 15.
The genesis of the Taizhou School and of the Gong’an School both involved in some significant dreams, which all played multiple roles: to provide a new identity for the leading figure, to obtain more authority and influence, to convey the main ideas, and to initiate a complicated identity-construction project.

It is more revealing if we pay more attention to the complicated connection between the characteristics of these two schools and the method by which they had employed—the dream: both of the schools had involved in the competition with the dominant philosophical or literal thoughts and went through the process from being unknown to being renowned; the leading figures of both schools were famous for being raving or unrestrained; both of the schools experienced the similar orbit: the Taizhou School liberated people from the rigid control of the orthodoxy with the tendency of being out of control; the Gong’an School liberated literature from the ancient pattern or rules with the tendency of being too vulgar. Is it an inevitable choice in the late Ming period to take advantage of dream as an effective tool for those who attempted to be revolutionary or is it merely a coincidence?
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Insulin-Resistant Diabetes: The Relationship Between Anxiety, Depression and Cortisol Concentrations in Native Americans

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Abstract—This study seeks to confirm that undiagnosed or untreated anxiety disorders could contribute to an increase in insulin resistance among members of the Omaha Tribe of Nebraska living on the Omaha Indian Reservation at Macy, Nebraska.

Keywords—Native American depression, Native American anxiety, Native American diabetes, cortisol

I. INTRODUCTION

Diabetes coupled with depression tends to be a common phenomenon in Native Americans (NA). Depression is associated with increased counter-regulatory hormones such as cortisol which may contribute to increasing insulin resistance in NA. Depression and anxiety, which are common disorders in Native Americans, tend to “mask” one another and may further aggravate insulin resistance. This could lead to increased cortisol secretion and insulin resistance.

This study seeks to confirm that undiagnosed or untreated anxiety disorders could contribute to an increase in insulin resistance among members of the Omaha Tribe of Nebraska living on the Omaha Indian Reservation at Macy, Nebraska. Diabetes coupled with depression tends to be a common phenomenon in Native Americans. Depression is associated with high levels of cortisol, often called the “stress hormone.” Depression and high stress levels may also contribute to insulin resistance in Native Americans with diabetes. Individuals with depression may also suffer from anxiety disorders, and these anxiety disorders may further aggravate insulin resistance and may change the nature of the treatment needed for these disorders. The hypotheses of this proposal are that anxiety and mood-related disorders are common in NA, and lead to increased cortisol secretion and insulin resistance.

It is estimated that over 15 million people in the United States have a diagnosis of diabetes and the increased rates continue to be a trend that is seen (Abale & Chandalia, 2002). There is also a growing appreciation of the complex endocrine, neuroendocrine, and metabolic links between diabetes and major mental disorders (McElroy, S.L., Kotwal, R., Malhotra, S., 2004; Gangwisch, 2003).

For example, one hormone of particular interest to endocrinologists, physicians and others who are studying diabetes is cortisol. Abale & Chandalia (2002) found that the excessive daily secretion of cortisol has been associated with insulin resistance and may predispose individuals to diabetes. In a review of the literature on depression, medical illness, and the role of cortisol, Brown, Varghese, & McEwen (2004) found strong relationships between elevated cortisol and depression, cognitive impairment, and loss of bone density. Additionally, these researchers found some evidence to suggest that there was an association between depression and medical illnesses such as hypertension and diabetes.

Kurina, Schneider, & Waite (2004) in their study investigated the role of stress, depression and anxiety, and cortisol patterns in working parents. These researchers found that men with multiple symptoms of anxiety had higher
cortisol levels. Symptoms of depression and anxiety tend to mask one another. An excessive secretion of cortisol may be associated with insulin resistance and a predisposition to diabetes, as well as depression and anxiety disorders (Rihmer & Arato, 1982).

There is a high prevalence of diabetes among certain cultures or societies; this is particularly apparent in Native American (NA) cultures. For example, approximately 40-50% of Pima Indians are diabetic (Bell, Smith, Arcury, Snively, Stafford & Quandt; 2005). According to the Omaha Tribal Diabetes Project, there are 867 insulin-resistant adult diabetic patients on the Omaha Indian Reservation. This represents approximately 30% of the tribal population residing on the reservation. That percentage is projected higher if the number includes children. It may be safe to infer that the everyday anxiety or depression of NA and their attempts to survive desperate circumstances would have higher daily cortisol levels than the average American and a higher inclination toward Type II diabetes. Recent preliminary studies of a random sample of members of a single tribe indicate anxiety disorders may be more common than previously known. Therefore it is anticipated that this project would generate a great deal of interest, not only among psychologists and physicians, but also among the general public.

In summary, diabetes is a devastating disease with the potential to place individuals at increased risk for multiple medical complications and psychological disorders. As depression is associated with increased counter-regulatory hormones such as cortisol, this hormone may also contribute to the increasing insulin resistance in NA. This may change the nature of the treatment needed for these disorders.

III. METHODS

The researchers collaborated on this project in order to describe the relationship between the endocrine disorder of diabetes and psychological disorders such as depression and anxiety. The Carl T. Curtis Health Education Center houses the Diabetes Clinic and the outpatient mental health program which is the Guidance and Development Center.

Participants for the research project were recruited by flyer and the Diabetes Clinic. Informed consent was obtained by researchers and participants were given two assessment instruments to complete: (1) Beck Depression Inventory-II and (2) State-Trait Anxiety Inventory. Additionally, blood samples were obtained from participants by a phlebotomist and blood samples were returned to the University of Nebraska at Omaha psychobiology laboratory for analysis of cortisol levels.

Depression and anxiety assessment inventories were also analyzed at the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

IV. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to determine the relationship between anxiety, depression and cortisol levels with diabetes as a predictor variable. Sixty (60) adult members of a small tribe in northeast Nebraska participated in the study. Subjects were screened for depression and anxiety by utilizing the Beck Depression Inventory-II and the State-Trait Anxiety Scale. Additionally, fasting blood glucose levels and cortisol concentrations were obtained to determine the relationship between endocrine disorders and mental disorders. Research participants were male and female, 19 years of age and older, and residing within the boundaries of the Omaha Indian Reservation. There was a total of 51 participants in this study.

Findings from the study indicate higher depression scores, trait-anxiety scores, and cortisol levels in diabetic patients. These findings suggest further implications for the treatment of psychological disorders and diabetes.

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From Social Security to Social Insecurity

Bring up the topic of Social Security and you are as likely to find yourself in a conversation that produces more heat than light. An initial concern has been how to structure a paper that will maximize light and minimize heat. This is a daunting task.

I am tempted to start with an historical perspective but I’m afraid of critics that might suggest that some part of the Social Security story might be repeating itself. I would be quick to add that “history does not repeat itself” but would concede that historians often repeat themselves.

Let me start with correcting a common pervasive myth. That is, that the age set at 65 years of age was based on the German model, established by Bismarck, in 1889. In fact, Bismarck set the retirement age at 70 not 65. It was dropped to 65 in 1916. It might further be noted that he was no bleeding-heart liberal. He, as an avid anti-socialist, was trying to stave-off more radical social movements that were gripping Europe. Similarly, it could be suggested that President Roosevelt’s Social Security program was, likewise, throwing a bone to the American working class. FDR was no socialist. He was not a traitor to his class. He was a pragmatist attempting to save capitalism from its worst excesses. This is why there is a cap on taxing income. It is the only tax in American that you can earn your way out of.

Perhaps an appeal to epistemology will help jump-start this paper. Thus, I will note from the outset that the retirement legislation purposefully used the term ‘Social Security.’ The legislature did not use either of the terms ‘Economic Security’ or ‘Social Insurance.’ From its enactment in 1935 until today, the Social Security mechanism was thought of as one leg of a three legged stool. It was the one to be guaranteed by the federal government. The other two legs were to be a contract between employer and employee; and, that of personal choice. That is, the first was to be your employer’s retirement benefits package (read: pension) and the second was to be your personal savings account.

Furthermore, there is the issue of the term “entitlement” program. Social Security is not an entitlement. It, like Medicare, is an “earned benefits” program. These programs are not a citizens’ birth right. They are, in fact, based on a lifetime of payroll contributions from your employment. The amount one receives monthly is based on the amount of one’s earnings. The program is open to both citizens and to legal foreign workers. Illegally working foreign workers may have social security deductions taken from their payroll but they cannot collect benefits.

This idea that a portion of a retirement strategy would be guaranteed by the government was, in part, a reaction of the failure of the free-market system (read: Great Depression). This is part of the reactive nature of public policy. One must note, too, the modest intent of the
original Social Security program when it was initially established. From 1937 until 1949 the payroll deduction was 1% with a maximum annual contribution of $30.00! The taxing cap was set at $3,000. In 1955-56 the deduction was raised to 2% with a maximum annual contribution of $84.00. The taxing cap was set at $4,800. A major fear, at the time, was that any surplus to the Social Security Trust would be very tempting to subsidize other government activities. This was one of the reasons for establishing a financing system that used a “pay-as-you-go” mechanism. This fear has been borne out since the Trust Fund surplus has been used in a mutual bipartisan effort to keep government running while keeping other taxes artificially low.

In other words, the original intent of Social Security was to provide benefits only to individuals that had retired from commercial or industrial employment. Future amendments to the Social Security Act of 1935 expanded classifications to include spouses and children of retired workers, survivors of decreased workers as well as disabled workers along with their spouses and children. Further coverage was expanded to include farmers, other self-employed workers and both public and non-profit employees. Changes have also occurred regarding rules of eligibility (as in time worked) to qualify for benefits. Age requirements have changed plus how much post-retirement income may affect benefits. Moreover, there has been an on-going controversy over the definition of terms such as ‘employee,’ (as regards ‘independent contractor’) ‘disability,’ and ‘blindness.’

To set the stage, then, we might need to view the beginning of the Social Security Act within a certain historical context. The two most critical events of the period were the on-set of the Great Depression and the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency of the United States. It is worth noting that the Great Depression occurred within the first year of President Hoover’s administration. Yet, for the next three years, things only got worst. Also, at the time, the issue of the role of state governments versus the role of the federal government was still a highly contested issue. Traditionally, the welfare of a state’s citizens (children, elderly, and the poor) was primarily under the domain of the individual states’ control. The only exception had been federal pensions for civil war veterans. Ironically, at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a marriage boom of old veterans to young ladies wishing to enjoy the veteran’s benefits (as spouses). In fact, in 1935 the federal government was still paying out over $1 million a year on civil war benefits. This was one of the arguments used against the enactment of Social Security legislation. The last survivor’s benefit from the civil war was paid in 1999.

At the height of the Great Depression, the Federal Government decided to intervene to offer some protection to the elderly. The argument was basically that the capacity of the state governments was unable to care for its citizens. Several states were on the verge of bankruptcy. States, unlike the federal government, are prohibited from carrying a deficit in their budgets. It is sobering to think not only was the national unemployment rate at 25% but that women were
not a factor in employment. Near full employment was achieved only with the entry of the United States into the Second World War. After the end of the Second World War the boys came home. In the following years the federal government was seen as a friend of the working class. The Wagner Act has been passed to allow for collective bargaining opening the door for unions. After the War, too, there was a demand that wages, that had been held down during the War, be lifted. This led to a number of strikes. A compromise of sorts was established for workers in the 1950s. It was that workers would start at lower wages (to allow management more capital for investment and expansion) and in return workers would be given non-salary benefits. These benefits would include health care coverage (a significant bargaining chip for management in later years) sick-days and vacation-days off, and a retirement package. For this ‘greatest generation’ the system worked pretty well.

Two factors led to significant growth within the American economy into which the boomer generation was born. First, in terms of economic markets, the United States stood alone in production capacity. The production capacity of other previously industrial countries such as England, France, Germany, Japan and Italy were next to nil. At the end of the war the United States produced 50% of the world’s GDP. Second, the work ethic of the returning United Stated soldiers, who had grown up during the Depression, was second to none. Thus, from both external and internal pressures in the 1950s and 1960s, the United States enjoyed a growth rate unsurpassed in world history. Not until the oil crisis of the early 1970s did the joy-ride hit a bump. For instance, those of us going to school in the 1960s, could fill up our gas tanks at 24.9 cents a gallon. (The gas stations even had “gas wars” to lower gas prices).

Also, a quick note about savings rates. During the Second World War, Americans saved a great deal of money. This was done partly because there were not a great deal of consumer products produced during the war. A major purchase at the time was ‘war bonds.’ This helped to pay down the war debt which was the highest (as a percent of GDP) in Unites States history. In fact, I do not remember war bonds or its current counter-part, savings bonds, being referred to as ‘unfunded liabilities.’ By contrast, the savings rate of most Americans today is almost invisible.

In the 1960s came President Johnson’s “Great Society.” Johnson had been a freshman member of Congress during FDR’s “New Deal.” Johnson’s intent was to take up where Roosevelt had left off. His “War on Poverty” was its mainstay. Part of that was the establishment of a Medicare program which, like Social Security before it, was to establish assistance to the elderly. The issue of health care had been discussed as far back as in the 1912 Presidential election when it was advocated by Teddy Roosevelt running in the Bull Moose Party. The stumbling block had always been the industrial-medical complex. Johnson was able to get a compromise through Congress giving the elderly some coverage but leaving the cost open-ended to the pressures of the marketplace. Hence, one can see why health care costs
have increased significantly ever since. In other words, the problem has been that public expenses rise as private costs keep rising. This, then, was the creation of the Medicare program. Like Social Security, Medicare is paid by a specifically designated payroll deduction.

A partial solution was sought with the establishment of Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs). The thought was to keep costs down by keeping people healthy; not waiting for them to get sick (a form of preventive maintenance). The problem came when the private companies would ‘cherry-pick’ customers (read: only accept healthy members) to keep cost down. This solution ignored two fundamental principles needed in developing public policy solution. One, was the need for universal coverage and second, the advantages of an ‘economy of scale’ approach. Instead, the private sector has sought a wide variety of solutions: increasing co-pays, decreasing benefits, excluding certain employees, establishment of workplace clinics, and increasing the use of independent contractors with no benefits. This has only created a health care non-system.

Next, is the issue of Retirement Planning. In the 1950s and 1960s the model for retirement planning was the “defined-benefits” pension. These pension plans were pretty much like they said. The companies defined (i.e. spelled out) what the retirees would receive when they retired. These plans did not encourage worker mobility. The idea was that worker loyalty would be matched by employer loyalty. Then, in 1978, a new tax shelter program was established for the executives at Kodak and Xerox. In 1981, Congress changed IRS rules to allow savings from regular salary checks to qualify as tax shelters. Thus, corporations could cut pension requirements by over half. The pitch to employees was “ownership.” Thus, under the slogan “Take charge of your future,” corporate payroll for worker’s retirement dropped from 7% of payroll to 3%. Thus, what was originally intended as a supplemental program titled the “401K,” (being named after section 401 of the IRS code, subsection “k”) became a program that allowed workers to make tax-deferred contributions from their pay, which employers were to match to a certain level. This has become known as a “defined contribution” plan. These plans have become very popular as a method to transfer retirement planning from the employer to the employee. The problem for the employee is two-fold. One, it transfers the risk of retirement planning from the company to the individual. Two, it makes the retirement planning system an optional one. Additionally, it has been used by industry as a cost-cutting measure. Also, the financial industry earns higher fees from individual accounts. In recent years there has been an increase in bankruptcies among ‘defined contribution’ plans among major industries such as United Airlines and General Motors. This has caused the federal agency that insures private-sector pension funds Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation (PBGC) to run a $26 billion deficit. Bankruptcy Courts have increasingly been used to cancel future pension requirements. Many large corporations put little cash into their pension trust funds. Instead they counted on credit for past contributions and have depended on overly optimistic assumptions about stock
market gains to meet their pension obligations. In other words, companies are not legally required to fully fund their pension obligations. There are over 18,000 companies with underfunded pension programs. To the working Baby Boomers, this represents a deficit of hundreds of billions of dollars in corporate “unfunded liabilities.”

Currently, there is a popular “cash balance plan” where employers simply pay out, in a lump-sum, cash to retirees. The problem is that these retirees will out-live their savings. Increasingly, too, is the trend toward retirement benefits being given to senior management separate from those of other employees. Today, only about half of all workers participate in any workplace retirement plan. Of those in the workforce there is a shift away from ‘defined benefits’ and towards the ‘defined contribution’ (401K) plans. The average 401K plan covers retirement funds equals two to three years’ salary. The Boomers generation will average 17 years in retirement. All that will be left is Social Security.

Again, using the three-legged stool metaphor, for many workers, Social Security will be the only leg they have to stand on. Here, a critical feature is that with Social Security a retiree can not outlive their benefits. Nor can it be eroded through inflation with the Cost of Living Index (COLA) in place. For 2012, the rate increase is 3.6%.

With the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, payroll deductions started in 1937 and the first monthly benefits were paid in 1940. The first social security check was to Ida May Fuller in the amount of $22.54. Ironically, her total contributions for those first three years had been $24.75. She ended up living to be 100 years old (dying in 1975) and collecting $22,888.92. At the end of 1937, the Social Security system had a surplus of $766 million. By 1949 (the last year before the rate went from 1% to 2%) the surplus stood at $11.816 billion. Currently, the surplus stands at just under $2.7 trillion.

The balancing act between revenues, surpluses and expenditures has always had been excellent approaching the 1980s. However, in 1975, an oil crisis had a negative effect on the United States economy causing both high inflation and high unemployment (later to be known as ‘stagflation’). As it happened in 1975 an automatic cost of living allowance (COLA) went into effect. The net result was an overpayment of Social Security benefits in relationship to the revenues being produced from the economy. A financing adjustment was needed. All of the economic assumptions of the post- World War II period had assumed that wage growth (increased payroll taxes) would outstrip the rate of inflation. Thus benefits could be expanded because future wage growth would cover increased costs of benefits. In the years from 1975 thru 1983, there was a negative cash flow of the social security system. At this point the Social Security Trustees began to project a future revenue shortfall as a result of the numbers of Boomers retiring after 2011. It should be noted that the Trustees are supposed to predict future retirement conditions some 75 years into the future. The span of 75 years was used to
gage the optimum age of an American citizen. The role of predicting the future is, at best, dicey. The method of predicting is used based on three models. One is based on optimistic assumptions. Another is based on pessimistic assumptions. And, the one used is the one between them (the intermediate projection). Their best estimate is that Social Security will fully fund retirement benefits until 2042. If nothing is done between now and then the Social Security Administration can fund retirement to 75% of promised benefit levels. However, different organizations, with different agendas, have produced different projections. These differencing projections reveal the inherent uncertainty of predicting. Given the track record of economists since the on-set of the Great Recession of ’08, I am reminded of the observation that “God put economists of this Earth to make astrologers look good.”

Nevertheless, during the Reagan Administration the Greenspan Commission was authorized to address the solvency issue of Social Security. Their answer was a payroll tax increase to 7%. This increase, coupled with the largest number of workers contributing to Social Security in United States history, generated a significant amount of Social Security revenues. In 1983, the annual revenue was over $150 million. By 1992, the annual revenue was over $311 million. By 2006, the annual revenue was over $642 million. And, by 2010, it was over $677 million. All of these were in excess of required expenditures. At this point some noted the regressive nature of the Social Security tax. That is, workers are taxed from their first dollar whereas one could earn their way out of the tax by earning more than the cap limit on income. One suggestion has been to exempt the first $2000 of income to allow workers to keep some of their wages. Loss revenues could be adjusted by increasing the cap exemption at the top. That cap currently stands at income of $110,100 (2012). In essence, the shift in tax burden would be from the middle to the upper class.

Another issue addressed by the Greenspan Commission was to increase the age requirement to access full benefits. Being born prior to 1943 you receive full benefits at 65 years of age. However, being born after 1943, but before 1954 the requirement age is moved to 66 years of age. From 1954 to 1960 the requirement moves up in two-month increments for every year until 1960 or later, when the requirement age for full benefits is 67 years of age. If you wait until 70 years of age you receive 125% of full benefits. (An additional note: you can receive early retirement benefits starting at age 62 but with an early withdrawal penalty. At age 62, you lose 25% of full benefits; at 63, you lose 20%; at 64, you lose 13 1/3 %; and, at 65, you lose 6 2/3 %). Another disadvantage of collecting early retirement benefits is that you are taxed at 50% of any earned income over $14,640. However, there is a maximum Social Security benefits monthly payment of $2,513. If you wait until you can collect full benefits, you can also continue to work without penalty. If you should wait until 70, you can collect 125% of all benefits that were allowed at 66. By the way, if you withdraw your Social Security funds before full benefit age you can put the money back within a year, and re-file later at a higher rate.
A point worth returning to is the difference between the financing procedures and the accounting procedures used in the Social Security Trust Fund. In a way, it was unfortunate that the term “trust fund” was every used. The Social Security annual surplus is invested in ‘special obligation bonds.’ Not unlike the Liberty Bonds of both World Wars; they hold their assets in Treasury securities. In other words, the Social Security surplus is being used by the Federal government to hold down the federal deficit. And, it is here that one must state the obvious. The Social Security Act is fundamentally both a political and an economic document. Nowhere is that more evident than in the shifting of the accounting procedures over the lifespan of the system. That is, from 1935 to 1968 Social Security was handled as “off-budget.” In other words, since payroll taxes are specifically designated for the Social Security fund, its revenues were not mixed with general tax revenues which could be spent for any general purpose (‘on-budget’ items). However, by 1968 President Johnson’s agenda on fighting both a War on Poverty and in Vietnam was bursting the federal budget. At the same time, the Social Security Fund was running a healthy surplus. The budget for FY 1969 would of run a deficit of $507 million but by “unifying” the off-budget (read: Social Security Trust Fund surplus) with the current deficit the result was a $3.2 billion surplus. Such was the nature of a political document. This accounting technique was used until 1985. As part of the Greenspan Commission recommendations, the Social Security funds were reassigned as “off-budget” again. However, as part of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (also known as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Bill) Social Security was exempted from mandatory budget cuts but (and this is a rather large ‘but’) the Trust fund could still be used to mask the size of the federal deficit. This, it could be argued, was to hide the deficits created by the Reagan tax cuts. With the passage of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (OBRA), the Social Security Trust Fund is again off-budget (but not the Medicare Trust Fund).

Another issue of increasing concern involves the retirement earnings test (RET). Included in the original legislation was the provision that there was to be a retirement test. More to the point, that the law prohibited any Social Security payment when income was being earned through what was then called “regular employment.” Unfortunately, the term “regular employment” was not specifically defined. Thus, starting in 1950, there began a series of amendments to the law on modifications regarding income restrictions. These changes included lower the age to collect Social Security payments and work with limited liability, as well as to receiving increases in benefits with delayed retirement (8% per year). As the law currently stands, if the 62-65 age group chooses to take early retirement benefits they are penalized twice. First, they receive a lesser benefit than waiting until their 66th birthday; and second, they are disadvantaged by being taxed at 50% for continuing regular employment.

Organizationally, Social Security was set up as an independent board run by three Presidential board members. Each had a six year term with no political party able to hold all three seats.
However, in 1939, Social Security lost its independent status and was placed within the sub-cabinet level of the Federal Security Agency (FSB). In 1946, the Social Security Board became the Social Security Administration (SSA), though still within the FSB. In 1953, the FSB was terminated and the SSA was moved into the new department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). In 1980, HEW was terminated and the SSA was moved into the new department of Health and Human Services (HHS). It was during this time that the Greenspan Commission recommended that SSA become an independent agency. So, in 1995, the SSA became an independent agency with a single commissioner (appointed for six years by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate) as well as a bipartisan Advisory Board of seven members. Three members were chosen by the President and four by Congress. Thus, the SSA was elevated to cabinet-level status where it remains today.

Lastly, I would like to make some observations on the Great Recession of 2008. There was a coming rip-tide of cross currents that hit then. One was the economic turndown which has been well documented. Additionally, 2008 was the first year that the Boomers could file for early Social Security benefits. Thus, there were more people eligible overall and a greater need for economic assistance. That is, there was a 9% increase in the number of 62+ in the population plus there was a surge in the number of people applying for benefits. A quarter of all men and a third of all women tapped their Social Security fund. This created a negative cash-flow and monies had to be withdrawn from the surplus. In 2006 the Social Security Trust Fund experienced its largest annual surplus in history with $181,266 billion. Since then it has been dropping. In 2009, the Social Security System took its greatest hit. The COLA was held to zero for the last two years. For 2012, the COLA is 3.6%.

Analysis

My aim here, having traced the development of the Social Security Administration, is to allow readers to reach their own conclusion regarding the merits or demerits of the various contrasting proposed solutions.

For those Americans only a generation from World War II and the Great Depression, Social Security is seen as the best case study in government protecting the middle class from a further downward economic spiral. But, for younger Americans (those under the age of 50) have no memory of the government being a friend of the middle class. They tend to see the left’s agenda as a big, bureaucratic, inflexible welfare state. Whereas their elders remember the senior years as their poorest, the current perspective is to view the elderly as over-entitled greedy geezers.

Thus, the first issue is more methodological than normative. That is, to examine ‘prediction’ as a social science tool. We, social scientist, are expected to be able to forecast the future. We
are told that we must because we use the scientific methods of discovery. This necessitates our being able to control the future. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the dismal record of social scientists’ ability to predict anything. Suffice it to say, this is why God invented the coin toss. More to the point, the record of the Social Security Trustees to predict over the years is only slightly better than 50% accurate. I am reminded of the quote by F. Scott Fitzgerald that “The test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposing ideas in the mind at the same time, and still retain the ability to function.” I will severely test that ability over the coming pages.

A first point I would like to state is that the Social Security Act of 1935 bares very little resemblance to current legislation. From the earliest days of its inception, both the size and functions of government have grown significantly. It should not be surprising that the cost has also increased. The questions revolving around the future solvency seem to reflect an identifiable political bent. After all, the Social Security Act is a political document. Its passage in 1935 certainly reflected the social mores of those times. Now, the question is, how do we, as a society, adjust to the current and perceived future needs of our citizens?

There are no painless solutions in public policy. Benefits distribution and tax policy are the instruments that represent our current situation. They will be the instruments to any future adjustments.

For those who like simple solutions, the answer to the projected shortfall is to continue to increase the retirement age and to cut or freeze future benefits. This perception tends to reflect the political right. They cite the stinking ratio of workers to retirees and to the steady increase in benefits.

On the political left, (I see no political ‘middle’ anywhere in sight), the effort seems to be to increasingly morph Social Security into an anti-poverty program. This was certainly not its original intent. It was constructed as a partial, albeit “public,” retirement program. That is, the replacement of income was never projected to be more than 40%. Yet, retirement “experts” tell us that we need a replacement income closer to 70-75% of our pre-retirement revenue base. The rest is to be made up from our personal savings and our pensions. The solution is more complex. Liberals say it lies in a combination of a tax increase and the elimination of tax expenditures. For example, a 2.2% tax increase would eliminate any projected shortfall. Most critically, a removal of the tax cap (currently at $110,100) would generate enough revenue to eliminate a third of the shortfall by itself. A further point is that a distinction needs to be drawn between the funding and expenditures of the Social Security retirement fund and Medicare fund. That is, they each draw on their own funding source. Moreover, it is disingenuous to lump Medicaid in with the other two since its funding source is from the general tax base. Medicare and Medicaid do share a similar problem being dependant on the forces of the private health
care system. The critical issue here is not the public aspects but rather the private (market) aspects. In other words, how can one control health care cost by simply subsidizing the private market mechanism.

So let’s take a step back. There is truth to both sides. And yet there is a diversity to the boomers that defies a “one-solution-fits-all” approach.

First, in discussions on Social Security reform there has been a significant push in trying to shift class warfare into an intergenerational conflict. To suggest that somehow Social Security won’t be there for future generations is to suggest that the United States won’t be there. It is a form of social insurance; it is a part of our social contract with each other. Coverage and contributions are nearly universal (at 95%). This is to suggest the intergenerational nature of the legislation. It is a public policy. Not a private investment. The operating overhead cost of Social Security is less than 2%. This is part of what it means to be a community.

Second, the argument that worker-retiree ratio is unsustainable is to forget the factor of future economic growth. We have, as a society, taken a big hit with the Great Recession of 2008. If anything, the stock market shocks of the 21st century illustrate how vulnerable even the best planned retirement portfolio can be. Nevertheless, we will recover. Clearly, in the future, we will have increased productivity. With that we will have wage growth and thus increase payroll tax revenues.

Third, the debt and the deficit will undermine the future sustainability of the Social Security System. The United States still has the world’s largest economy. We have to remember that the deficit is as much a product of national fiscal policy (taxing and spending) as worker productivity. I find it curious that when the wealthy receive tax benefits, it is called “tax relief,” but when the working class receives tax benefits, it is called a “tax holiday.”

Fourth, raising the retirement age works but in a regressive manner. It does not take into account those who need early retirement as an economic necessity. A more progressive approach would be to exempt the first $2000 of income from the payroll tax leaving more money in the pockets of the consumer.

Fifth, the argument of (some) Americans living longer and thus being a greater drain on Social Security can be turned on its head. That is, we currently penalize workers who draw early retirement (from age 62 though age 65). Any income over $14,640 is taxed at a 50% rate of Social Security benefits. For the year one turns 66, any income over $38,880 before filing is taxed at 33.3% of Social Security benefits. The maximum monthly Social Security benefit is limited to $2,513 per month. Why not allow those who want to continue to work and draw early (though reduced) Social Security benefits not be penalized? This could contribute to state,
federal, as well as, continued payroll revenues. Remember, too, that the boomer generation is the most highly educated generation in United States history.

Sixth, is the issue of social equality. The current Social Security benefit laws do not take current lifestyle choices into consideration. They reflect the social mores of the 1930s. The benefit requirements as regard to divorced, widowed or never married are not reflected of today's culture. Examples of this would be a ten year marry requirement for spousal benefits and the bias against two significant wage earners.

Seventh, is the issue of using a 75-year window to forecast economic expenditures of social policy program, such as the Social Security System, is simply not practical. Given the dynamics of the world and the world's economy, planning beyond a 35-year window has no value. This is not without precedent.

Eighth, is the issue of using a 35-year earnings record in determining Social Security benefits. The boomer generation is one with a 40-year earnings record. So an adjustment could be made here.

Ninth, is the increasing cost of health care. We spend, as a society more money at health care than any other country. Yet, in term of quality we are found wanting. Many went to Canada to buy cheaper drugs than could be found in the United States. Most did not realize that they were cheaper to us because the Canadians were paying higher taxes. In a very real sense, then, when buying Canadian drugs you can stealing from the Canadian tax payer.

Tenth, involves the issue of globalization. In 1996, the North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA) was passed to maximize trade between Mexico, the United States, and Canada. Is it not possible to maximize consumer choice by allowing patients to travel throughout North America for medical goods and services? Couldn’t Medicare be adjusted to allow groups to travel to Medical Centers in Mexico and Canada for a corrective procedures (Club Med-ical) vacation. Additionally, there is the issue of nursing homes/retirement communities. Instead of having foreign workers come to the United States, why not move the faculties to their country? This would combine a lower cost of living for Americans and not dislocate foreign workers.

Concluding Comments

There are two critical elements influencing the future of the program known as Social Security. Firstly, that it is political in nature. Secondly, that it is economical in nature. This has never been a comfortable fit.

An observation might help to illustrate. When I speak with workers, I often hear the complaint that too much is taken out of their checks for Social Security. When I speak with retirees, I often
hear that they wished more had been taken out of their checks for Social Security. Such is the nature of man. 

Because Social Security concerns itself with future demands, attempts are made at economic forecast. The track-record of these efforts have shown that their results are just as likely to be wrong as they are to be correct. If one just looks back forty years, to 1972, we can clearly see how difficult it is to estimate the future. Or, as we in political science, refer to it was a SWAG (scientific wild-ass guess).

The inadequacies of Social Security as an economic document can be address by the political process. This does, however, require the political will. The Social Security Act of 1935 has been amended numerous times to adapt to changing times and demands. Times and demands will continue to change. What makes me cautiously optimistic is that Congress has the tools to fix future problems once they decide to act.

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Submitted by: ID #23.

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Paper: Included
1. Title of the submission: Factors Influencing Onset of Smoking, Drinking, and Co-occurrence among Adolescents in South Korea

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6. Abstract

**Aim.** This study aimed to examine the influence of social, attitudinal, and intrapersonal factors on onset of smoking, drinking, and the co-occurrence of tobacco and alcohol use among adolescents in South Korea.

**Methods.** The study analyzed the Korean Youth Panel Study conducted by the Korean National Youth Policy Institute. The study population consisted of middle-school second-graders in South Korea. We conducted time dependent Cox regression.

**Results.** Our analyses yielded three main findings: 1) the factors influencing the onset of smoking within the four-year observation period among Korean adolescents were ‘attachment to friends’, ‘smoking friends’, ‘stigma’, ‘self-control’, and ‘aggression’; 2) ‘attachment to friends’, ‘drinking friends’, ‘stigma’, ‘self-control’, and ‘self-esteem’ were significant factors in causing the onset of drinking; and 3) the factors influencing the co-occurrence of smoking and drinking in Korean adolescents were the same as the factors influencing the onset of smoking.

**Conclusions.** The study findings suggest that an effective strategy for prevention or treatment of smoking, drinking, and concurrent use is to promote attachment to non-smoking or non-drinking friends and to enhance sound relationships with them. Prevention and treatment should include strategies that alleviate stigma and improve self-control. In the case of adolescent smokers and concurrent users, aggression should
be prevented and treated. Furthermore, self-esteem needs improvement in order to prevent or treat drinking problems among Korean adolescents.
Title: The Power of the Action Plan: A Cross-Disciplinary Tool for Education and Behavior Change

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Research Objectives
Within the David Geffen School of Medicine at UCLA, the mission of the Multicampus Program in Geriatric Medicine and Gerontology (MPGMG) focuses on three components: Education, Research and Clinical Care. Focusing on the MPGMG’s educational mission, its aim is “To train physicians and other health professionals to provide exemplary care of older persons, and train new faculty to educate and lead geriatric education.” Under that pretext, the California Geriatric Education Center (CGEC) serves as the MPGMG’s pioneer in geriatric education. Core objectives of the CGEC are to provide faculty development for health professions faculty and training to healthcare practitioners to improve the quality of care for older adults in California. The CGEC – along with other MPGMG programs such as the Donald W. Reynolds program and Leadership and Management in Geriatrics – offer faculty and professional development programs to cross-disciplinary audiences including those in medicine, nursing, social work, psychology, sociology, public administration, dentistry, pharmacy, allied health, gerontology and public health. At these programs, participants are coached to develop “Action Plans” to translate knowledge gained at these programs into their everyday teaching/practice.

Methodology
The Action Plan, an innovative evaluation method founded by the CGEC and utilized across MPGMG programs, states how the content presented at each conference will be integrated into teaching activities and/or professional practice to encourage behavior change toward better care for older adults. SMART objectives are created by each participant, which includes Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Time-specific activities. Other key components of the Action Plan include identification of resources needed, anticipated barriers, proposed solutions to overcome barriers, evaluation tool(s) and a month-by-month timeline for implementation. This approach is an ideal evaluation method where participants are granted the freedom to choose the topic area, method of delivery, and framework to ensure implementation.

MPGMG program staff conducted two follow-up surveys (at three months and one year post-conference) to gather information on participants’ progress in implementing their curricular innovations, and to collect any preliminary student evaluation data. Throughout the development and implementation phases of participants’ curricular innovations, they may opt to receive mentoring from UCLA faculty and/or content experts.

Results
An analysis done of participants who attended the 18 educational programs offered by the MPGMG between 2008 and 2010 shows that of the 314 participants across programs, 90% (n=282) completed an Action Plan. Of those 282 participants who created Action Plans, 55% (n=155) had completed their Action Plan by the time of the second follow-up. Evaluation tools
and data gathered as a result of participants’ curricular innovations were shared with MPGMG program staff to add both quantitative and qualitative merit to the effectiveness of the Action Plan.

**Discussion**
To date, use of the Action Plan methodology has shown effective in meeting the objectives of the MPGMG and the CGEC. This presentation will provide: 1) Details on the scope of the action plans developed; 2) Completion rates with an integrated discussion of challenges met during implementation; and 3) The transferability of the Action Plan as a behavior change tool across multiple disciplines and target audiences.
INDIVIDUALS AS ACTIVE AGENTS IN THEIR OWN SAFETY AND WELL-BEING? HOW IS THE IDEA OF RESPONSIBILIZATION PRESENTED IN FINNISH PUBLIC POLICY FRAMEWORK – SECURITY AND GAMBLING AS CASE EXAMPLES

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This presentation focuses on the concept of responsibilization of the individual in his/her own security and well-being in public policy framework in Finland through two case examples: security programs and problem gambling.

Behind the Finnish welfare state has been the idea that social problems are societally produced and hence should be strived to solve together. Since the recession in the beginning of the 1990’s, as the public sector costs had to be cut, the welfare services have gone through some major ideological and practical changes. The implementation of social policy has been increasingly divided between multiple actors, both on the state level, the private field and the third sector. Also, within this re-distribution of responsibilities of the well-being, the role of the individual has been emphasized: individuals are given a more active role in their own well-being and security. In a broader policy framework, this trend to give a more active role to the citizen has been connected to neo-liberalism. Due to these neo-liberal policies, problems that were once thought as collective have now become individual.

We ask how are these policies that emphasize the individual responsibility, conceptualized within the framework of Finland as a Scandinavian welfare state. We contemplate our ideas through two current themes in social sciences: security and problem gambling. What emphasis is placed on the role of the individual in the security plans made on state level in Finland? On the other hand, how is the responsibility of the individual gambler in his or her own well-being written out in the official state documents concerning gambling?

The presenters are PhD students from the University of Helsinki (Department of Social Research, Social and Public Policy) and they are preparing their dissertations focusing on surveillance (Mäkinen) and gambling problems (Heiskanen).
Student Paper/Debut

Urban Metroscores in Los Angeles, Berlin, and Beyond:

An Evocative Autoethnography

Cross-disciplinary: Communication/New Urbanism

Paper Session

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It is Saturday night of the Halloween weekend. Halloween is one of my favorite American things and I have been celebrating it diligently almost every year since 2001. It is getting increasingly more popular in Germany, but it is by far not such a craze as it is in the states, which I have always lamented. Anyway, this year, I am absolutely not feeling it. I do not know if it is because I am so busy with school this year or if I have just gotten fed up with it or if it is maybe a little bit of both. Thus, this year, I decided to head to West Hollywood, where I conduct an ethnographic study about male exotic dancers. Moreover, I have never been to West Hollywood on Halloween; so, I figured I could somehow combine work and pleasure. I did not really dress up, I just threw some clothes together (an “Angels” baseball jacket, cut-offs, and vans), wrapped a bandana around my head and put on a lot of make-up, which was supposed to result in something like “OC chola.” I think I might have subconsciously dressed up a little bit like the people I encounter while using public transportation in L.A.

Like usually, I have selected a metro route from metro.net. I try to choose a ride that has as little connections as possible because the metro lines are notoriously unreliable: No schedules on the train platforms or at the bus stops, unannounced train track maintenance, suddenly interrupted or detoured bus routes, or simply no-show. The route I have chosen this time has only two connections: I have to take the LAX express bus 232 from Long Beach Transit Mall to Pacific Coast Highway and Vermont Avenue in Harbor City, where I would take the 550 to Santa Monica Boulevard and San Vicente Boulevard in West Hollywood. The entire ride would take me “only” one hour and 40 minutes, while taking the car (which means finding someone to give
me a ride) takes a good hour – if car traffic is good. I send a few friends up in L.A. text messages that I will be coming to West Hollywood tonight.

Unlike the website of the Berlin public transportation system BVG (Berliner Verkehrsbetriebe), the metro website does not provide real time updates. Back home, I would immediately see the fastest connections in real time at once and I could easily see the next connections in case I anticipate to run late. Moreover, the BVG has an app that allows you to quickly find the fastest route from wherever you are at any time (of course, also in real time).

This past August, my friend Greg celebrated his birthday at his parents place which is in a suburban area in the very southeast of the city, whereas I live in the very northwest. It took me maybe three minutes to find approximately 5 possible routes, each taking roughly 90 minutes total. Even though busses and trains in Berlin can be late, too, you can be sure you reach your destination because the vast majority of lines runs at least every 20 to 30 minutes. So, I missed the first bus, took the next one 20 minutes later and my entire trip was just postponed for – exactly – 20 minutes. On my way, I told my friends with iPhones where I was and with that BVG app they could easily “track” my whereabouts and learn when and where it would be best for us to meet up. Hence, an hour after I had left my house, I met up with my friends Dirk, Pete, and Kira at the metro station Hermannplatz from where we would eventually continue our trip to Greg's house together. A wonderful birthday barbecue with friends and family ensued.

As compared to my home in Germany, there are a few key differences with regards to public transportation that I noticed. First, of course, the LA public transport system is less expansive, less comfortable and has far lower service frequency than those of comparable European urban areas. Seconds, the passenger demographic
the LA Metro area is rather different. In Berlin, public transport users are fairly representative of the general population. In LA however, the vast majority of public transport users seem to be lower income people. In my discussion with native SoCalers, I noticed that many display an almost irrational fear of public transport, while I never felt insecure, even while riding through supposedly notorious South Central LA. Furthermore, there seems to be slightly more human interaction between transit users in LA than in Berlin. It also feels somewhat more lively because especially on the Blue Line from Downtown LA to LBC, people were selling beverages, magazines and bootlegged DVDs in the carriages almost the entire route. And lastly, it is inconceivable to me why there aren't any timetables or even system maps at most stations. Without my iPhone, and access to Google Maps and the Metro website, I would have been gotten lost in the urban wilderness multiple times.

– Dirk (Berlin, Germany)

7:50 pm: Long Beach Transit Mall

The metro website told me that the 232 stops at Long Beach Boulevard and 3rd Street. I catch a bus that takes me to downtown and then I have to walk three blocks to get to that intersection. While I am walking down Long Beach Boulevard, watching out for the bus stops, I am unable to make out where the 232 is supposed to stop. All of a sudden, a bus is passing me and I read on the back “232.” “Ooohhh, nooo! Fuck!!” I yell and start running. I am fortunately a pretty fast runner – thanks to 20 years of running late, I guess – so I am sprinting down the street, ignoring traffic lights, swiftly surpassing cars and cutting through a crowd of zombies until I
URBAN METROSCAPES IN LOS ANGELES, BERLIN, AND BEYOND

reach Transit Mall, where the bus finally stops. I just chased the bus down six blocks. I run up to the front door, almost knocking over the poor woman that was standing in my way, just to learn that “This is the last stop.” I can feel rage and desperation coming up my throat. “What?!” I ask breathlessly. “What is that supposed to mean?!” “The next bus is coming in 10 minutes. This is the last stop,” the bus driver explains. I look at my watch. Okay, it is 7:52 pm. The bus is in fact scheduled to arrive at 8:02 pm according to the metro website. I am relieved.

I take a seat and start writing down some notes. As I am still sweating, I take my “Angels” jacket off. That very minute, a tall black man who is wearing corn rows and smoking a cigar, says: “Hi cutie!” More zombies – zombie doctors, zombie nurses, zombie cowboys, zombie police officers and the like – walk by on their way to the infamous Queen Mary Halloween party. A few minutes later, I get cold and put my jacket on again. I start becoming impatient because it is 8:00 pm and the bus is still not here yet (this is the route's first stop). 8:02, 8:05, 8:10, the bus is nowhere in sight. I know I only have 12 minutes “layover” time in Harbor City, if this bus is late, I will miss the connecting bus and who knows when the next one will be coming (or if there will be one coming at all). I am getting increasingly nervous: “What if I miss the 550? Is there another connection? Should I take the blue line? But I don't know if the connecting bus from the blue line station will still be running. Should I go home, just in case none of the connecting busses are running anymore? I don't wanna be stuck in the middle of nowhere!” While pacing up and down uneasily, I spot a poem by somebody named “Wendy” on one of the pillars of the bus stop. It is about friendship and connecting with people. Not the first thing I would come up with when thinking about what one could put up at an L.A. metro stop.

A couple of weeks ago we talked about “Crash” in class. The character played by Don
Cheadle says something like, “In L.A., people don’t meet each other, they don’t run into each other in the streets, they don’t touch. Everybody is in their cars, homes or malls.” I watched that film some years ago back home when it came out. Watching Don Cheadle’s character navigate his car through nocturnal Downtown L.A. made me think of this town as Gotham City – cold, dark, and almost apocalyptic. In Berlin, you inevitably meet people in the streets, especially since almost everybody uses public transportation. There is actually a campaign by the BVG, something like “missed connections,” that encourages people to use a service (an online platform I believe) that allows them to look for that special somebody they met on the bus or train. When I was 16 or 17, my best friend Kathi and I were very much into punk rock, which resulted in, among other fashion crimes, us writing nonsense on our knuckles with a sharpie. One night, she was on the Ringbahn (circle train) and some guy, a “true” punk covered with tattoos, approached her and offered her to make those sharpie tattoos “real” – he was a tattoo artist. He gave her his card and a good year later, we called him because I was thinking about getting a tattoo. He asked us if we wanted to hang out that night, but we instead said that we would come to his parlor the next day. So, we did, and what can I say, I had just turned 18 and it was love at first sight. He saw me, I saw him, and that was it. For the next month, at least. We went out together a few times, but he turned out to be a little sociopathic, so I ended things pretty soon. I never got a tattoo.

8:17 pm: On the 232 (Direction LAX)

At 8:17 the 232 bus is finally approaching, 15 minutes late. The bus gets pretty full, most of the passengers are male and between 20 and 40 years old. Nobody is wearing Halloween costumes. There is a larger group of teenagers, maybe five or six, all colorfully clad in L.A.
jerseys and new era hats and all exuding the notorious “too cool for school” attitude of adolescents. There are also three women with toddlers and babies. There is not a single white person on the bus. “Am I white?” I wonder. “Do they see me as white?” I know I can pass as white because of the way I dress (H&M, Urban Outfitters, American Apparel) or the way I talk (standard, academia-infused English with a German accent), but at the same time, I look somewhat “ethnic.” I am usually mistaken for Latina or Hawaiian. If people guess from what country I am, they often assume Brazil, Argentina, or Chile – pretty “white” Latin American countries. I cannot help but feel privileged compared to my fellow metro riders here, although I am as dependent on public transportation as they are.

While I am looking around, I notice that the bus’ lights are blue, which makes me feel as if I were in an episode of Twilight or Twin Peaks. “Why get married?” I hear a woman say on the phone while I am reading the Spanish ads for community colleges on the ceiling. The bus goes over a bridge from where I can see the lights of metropolitan L.A. Other than that, the ride is anything but picturesque: I mostly see grim residential areas and desolate industrial sites. At the next stop, a group of Indian boys get on the bus. They are possibly 18 or 19 years old and I wonder where they come from. The bus stop is in the middle of nowhere in Harbour City. Maybe they are clueless foreigners like me and just got stranded? I look at my watch and figure that the bus stop PCH and Vermont cannot be far away. I ask the bus driver and he informs me that that would be the next stop. I smell the citric scent of my hand sanitizer. A few minutes later, the bus driver announces: “PCH and Vermont.” I say: “Thank you” and get off. I will not lie, I am worried, my bus was 15 minutes late and I do not know when the next 550 is arriving or if it is still running at all. I hope it is late, too. As I leave the bus, I see a young man with a huge
backpack getting on it. For a second I think about asking him if he had been on the 550 and if he knew when or if there was another one coming. Too late, doors closed. The bus stop is located at the intersection of PCH and Vermont, two big streets, and there is nothing else here but a Kaiser Permanente Hospital. Well, and a gas station – without a store or anything. I wonder how long I will be waiting here.

It was a cool, foggy fall night in 2003, I was 17 years old. It was very late (or very early, depending on how you see it), approximately 3 or 4 am. I was on my way home from a party and I had just taken the last train. However, this had actually not been the train I took normally, that would take me home directly, but another one, that stopped in the same area. The station is called Karl-Bonhoeffer-Nervenklinik, the latter word meaning “mental hospital.” I knew there was a bus stop nearby where a night bus would eventually pass and drive up to my house. Yet, I did not know that the bus stop was not right by the train station but a couple of hundred meters way. There I was, standing on the platform, shivering in the fog. Nobody else in sight. I walked downstairs and looked for the signs that would show me were the bus stop was. “Okay, to the right,” I concluded and stepped out. I was in a residential area. I could not see any bigger street or bus stop and the darkness and the fog made it almost impossible for me to guess which direction to go. “Maybe I can hear some cars,” I thought, because the street where the bus stop was was a busy one and even at this time, there should be some traffic. I was standing still and listening. Indeed, I heard car motors howling in the foggy distance. I followed those sounds. My heels were click-clacking loudly on the cobblestone pavement and the more I walked, the louder my steps appeared to sound. I became increasingly nervous: “What if anybody hears me? What if some rapist jumps out of a bush and attacks me?” My heart was racing, I started skipping,
almost running, in order to escape any potential sexual predator hidden in the fog. A good five minutes later, I reached the street. I could make out the hazy outline of the bus stop, enlightened by a street light. Finally, I was safe. I know the night bus runs every 30 minutes, so from here, I only had to wait. The bus came a good ten minutes later.

9:15 pm: PCH & Vermont Bus Stop N/W Corner

It is 9:15 pm at PCH and Vermont. I have been waiting here for 25 minutes now. While I am staring at the ad for Rosie O'Donnell's OWN show “The Rosie Show,” I notice that my legs and my fingers are getting pretty cold. I glance over to the gas station to figure out if they might sell coffee or hot chocolate. “Should I just go over there and check? What if the bus comes the minute I get there?” I wager. I cannot decide. So, I try to access the metro website on my crappy Motorola flip phone. Of course, it does not work and it kills my phone's battery. I decide to turn it off, just in case I need to make an emergency call (like, ask a friend to pick me up). A few cars are honking when they pass me. “Great,” I think. Now my nose starts running and my stomach rumbling. The smell of tacos from across the street where the gas station is is way too tempting. “I will wait until I've been here for an hour, then I'll take the next bus home to Long Beach,” I decide. None of the other busses at this stop have shown up either. A few minutes later, I spot two women getting off the 205 across the street. The 205 has the same final destination like the 550, so I wonder if the 550 might still running. I just do not want to give up, at least for a few more minutes.

In the spring of 2010, while in graduate school, I lived just west of the UCLA campus, a few blocks from the Los Angeles National Cemetery. One Friday night, a friend and I were invited to a party a few blocks from the other side of the cemetery. If we had been able to
walk across the middle of the cemetery, the trip would have been easy to make on foot, but the pedestrian gates in the center are always kept locked. Taking a bus that went above the cemetery seemed like the best option. The bus trip would only take about twenty minutes and the stops for both my apartment and the party involved a very short walk. We checked the schedule online, which stated that buses came about once every forty five minutes and we arrived at the bus stopped fifteen minutes before the next scheduled bus. We then waited an hour and a half without seeing a bus. We should have given up earlier, but we feared walking away just before the bus arrived. After waiting for so long, we no longer had the option to walk, as we would arrive at the party just before we had planned to leave. So we missed the party. We felt frustrated, but not particularly surprised. We may have made a mistake ourselves: in where the bus stopped or which schedule it was running that particular Saturday, but we were so used to the information on bus times and routes being both difficult to find and not very reliable once found, that we didn’t put much effort into determining what went wrong. Instead, I went over to my friend’s apartment and helped her fix up her bike, giving us a more reliable, although somewhat more dangerous, option for the next party.

– Matt (San Francisco, USA)

9:45 pm: PCH & Vermont Bus Stop N/W Corner

Alright, I have been waiting here for an hour now, it looks like the 550 will not show up anymore, so I decide to grab a taco and head over to the bus stops across the street to catch the next ride home. To my knowledge, that bus is still running (regular busses run until 12:30 am)
and it is “just” 9:45 pm. I cross the street and approach the taco truck. Its warm light and oily smell comforts me. There are many people here, mostly Latinos in their teens and twenties. There is also a considerable number of (what seems to be) construction and domestic workers. I ask the two ladies that I have seen leaving the 205 a moment earlier if that bus was going to San Pedro (which was one of the final destinations of the 550). They replied yes, but it makes a turn and then passes the bus stop where I was waiting. That does not really help me. Anyway, I just want to go home now.

The mere sight of people and food is making my heart jump, as I suddenly hear the motor of a large vehicle roar behind me. I turn around and see the 232, direction Long Beach, pass. “FUCK!” I yell. Some people are looking at me. “Fucking great!” I hiss under my breath. A white man in his fifties asks me if I am okay. I say “Yes” and then he mentions that he heard me say that I wanted to go to San Pedro. “Oh no, West Hollywood, actually.” “Oh!” he replies. I tell him how long I was waiting and that I am now on my way back to Long Beach again. “You sure you will be alright?” “Oh yeah.” I answer confidently. He wishes me a good night and goes to his car. Now it is my turn at the taco truck. I order a chorizo quesadilla and a horchata and sit down at one of the booths they had put up. Hot carbs and fat is exactly what I want right now, flushed down with sugary rice water, mmmh... yummy! The cold horchata, however, was not the best idea, because now, after a few minutes of fat and carbs indulgence, I start trembling. I finish my quesadilla quickly and run over to the bus stop with the horchata in my hand.

This bus stop is even more pathetic than the previous one. It does not even have a roof, nor is it located on the sidewalk because there is no sidewalk. I take off my bandana and spread it out on the bench to protect myself from the cold. I keep looking at my watch, though I know that
that will not make my bus come faster. After ten minutes or so, the 205 shows up. The bus stops, the doors open, and the bus driver announces: “Last stop!” The handful of passengers look irritated. One man yells: “What the fuck? What is this bullshit? Last stop?” “Last stop,” the bus driver repeats. “What the fuck, why not the next stop?” “Last stop.” The three people leave the bus and the man who was yelling takes his phone out and dials a number. He is tall, black, maybe in his forties, wears a grey hoodie, black sweat pants, and a Du Rag. He is complaining about the bus driver to the person he is talking to on the phone until he turns to me and says: “What are you waiting for?” “Uhm, the 232 to Long Beach.” “How long have you been waiting for?” I look at my watch, “Actually, almost two hours.” “Damn, girl, you have been waiting here for two hours?!” “Yeah, it's a long story. I wanted to go to West Hollywood” In fact, it is not a long story, just one bus ran late. He squints his eyes and says: “Hey... you're really pretty...” Change of topic, I guess. “Thanks.” “You got a boyfriend?” “Yes.” Oh my, okay, one of those conversations again. “Ah, I see, you wanted to visit him tonight, huh?” “No, I was gonna meet up with friends,” I reply tiredly. “So, where's your boyfriend?” “He's in New Orleans, djing there tonight.” “Ah, I see... hey, you got a lighter?” I do not, but I refer him to the gas station across the street. His urge to smoke a cigarette seems to be more pressuring than interrogating me about my love life, so he gets up and leaves: “Have a good night. Be careful, okay?” “Yeah, sure, thanks.”

Past July in Berlin, I had been there for a few weeks now. I had moved back into my parents' home for my two-months stay in town. They live in the north west of the city, in a part called Maerkisches Viertel, which does not have the best reputation. Berlin's most infamous metro line, U8 (interestingly enough, also blue), ends and starts there. The U8 is also nicknamed
“Brennpunktlinie,” which would translate into “skid-row-line,” because it goes through the worst parts of Berlin. On the other hand, it also takes its passengers through the major tourist sites and nightlife areas of the city. Most of my friends and the boy I was seeing at that time lived in Kreuzberg, a.k.a. hipster central, which is located at the other end of the U8. One weekend, my friend Amina was visiting me from Goettingen. We spent the day in different parts of the town and met up with my friends for drinks in Kreuzberg later that night. On the weekends, the metro and the city trains run all night long, so we did not have to bother with night bus schedules. So, by 4 am, we left the bar and went to the metro station. A few drunk hipsters from the UK were arguing noisily on the platform. Kind of annoying, but not really discomforting. About 15 minutes later, the U8 arrived and it was packed with (as far as I could tell) international party people on their way home to their apartments/hostels. The further north the train went, the more people left it – especially the young and trendy ones.

North of Mitte (the “chic” center of Berlin), in another “skid row area” named Wedding, it got a little sketchy: the people left on the train became weirder and so were the people who entered it. A bigger group of young Turks (maybe 18-22 years old) came in and I knew immediately they would bother us. They were loud, obnoxious, and lewd. One sat down next to us, the other one in front of us, and the rest of them were standing behind us. Amina and I acted as if we could not care less. Then one of them started shouting: “Heeyyyyy, he likes you!!! Look at him! Look at his Kurdish penis!” They all burst into laughter. “Look at his Kurdish penis! His Kurdish penis! He has a boner! Look at his boner!” Amina and I kept our deadpan faces. The boys started banging something against the glass wall behind us and kept yelling about some guy’s “Kurdish penis.” I think to myself: “Just play dumb, all they want is attention. Oh good
god, I don't even want to know what they are banging with...” So, this show went on for a few more minutes until all but one of them left the train. The remaining guy got off a few stops later. The moment the doors closed behind him, Amina and I turned to each other and exclaimed: “Oh my god!!! What the FUCK was that?!” We could not help but laugh uncontrollably.

“You are taking the bus?” - Silence - “Whyyyy?” That’s the usual reaction if you announce to an Angeleno that you actually make use of the public transportation system. And if you tell Angelenos that you’re taking the subway, the most common reaction is something like “There is a subway in L.A.?” The answer is “Yes!” L.A.’s public transit does exist and it’s actually fun to use. I regularly jumped on the buses to get around Downtown L.A., which I enjoyed a lot because I had time to dream about a life in the condos with rooftop swimming pool and look out of the window to see stunning architecture and beautiful palm trees pass by. The only thing that really spoiled my experience was that on a beautiful 72 degrees Saturday afternoon, I needed the warmest sweater I had in order to not die from the cold in the over-air-conditioned bus. I also frequently used the subway to get from Downtown to Hollywood, and despite common Westsider's thinking, it’s not only used by freaks, beggars and drug addicts. I mean, there were some funny people hanging out in the subway, but really, no one has to be scared of the subway extension, dear millionaires of Beverly Hills. Being from Europe, I am used to public transport, especially subways which would bring me to any place in the city. So I was quite surprised to see that America’s second most populous city, with a
Metropolitan Area of around 15 million people has only 5 Metro Rail lines. Compare to Paris: half the population of L.A. but 20 lines without even counting all the trams. You can live in L.A. without a car, it’s possible but it’s very time-consuming…so, way to go L.A.! Oh, by the way, I eventually bought a car for the rest of my stay.

- Phil (Paris, France)

10:35 pm: PCH & Vermont Bus Stop S/E Corner

My feet are getting really cold now and I blame myself for not wearing socks. A white pick-up truck stops in front of me and a middle-aged Hispanic man asks carefully: “Are you okay?” He seems genuinely concerned. “Yes!” I answer cheerfully and smile. “Do I maybe look like a runaway?” I ask myself, sitting here all alone on my spread-out bandana with an horchata in my hand. Why do people in L.A. make such a fuzz about using public transportation? I mean, yes, it is obviously inconvenient and can be very frustrating, but aside from that, it is actually pretty “chill” and not particularly dangerous, at least compared to my past experiences. Sitting there on my own, I am getting a little defiant and think to myself: “I can fucking do this! I am self-reliant! I explored Mexico City, Sao Paulo or Manila via public transit, L.A. IS NOT GONNA PUT ME DOWN!” While I try to cheer myself up for being so “badass,” I have to giggle when I think of a conversation I had a while ago at a party where I mentioned I did not have a car and somebody unironically said: “That's so hip!” Well, car or no car, moving around in L.A. is just generally a mess because the city “is spread out like concrete pulp” as my dad said. Even if there was the money and the willingness to expand the public transit system, how would that logistically work? It is impossible to connect such a vast city where most people live in houses through a tight public transit net. On the other hand, since most people use a car,
freeways are usually congested and it is difficult to find parking in many places. Last time I went to West Hollywood in a friend's car, we got stuck on the 405 for a good twenty minutes and once in WeHo, we looked for free parking (I know, delusional) for another half an hour. Yet, at least I was not sitting on a cold bench in the middle of nowhere in south east LA all by myself.

Suddenly, almost out of nowhere, the orange 232 is crossing the intersection and headed in my direction. I jump up as the bus is almost passing me, grab my white bandana and wave it. The bus stops abruptly and the doors open. As I enter the bus, I realize that it is the same bus driver that was on the bus on which I got here in the first place. I am sure he recognizes me as well. He must be thinking: “What on earth was she doing here for the past two hours?” Or maybe he does not care at all. Anyway, I am glad I am finally in a warm place. I am glancing through the bus, I see almost only men in their twenties and thirties. Most of them are Black or Latino, but there a two white young men sitting across from me, possibly college students. One is wearing a Red Sox jersey and the other one a Kentucky Fried Chicken uniform. The two are the only ones who are wearing Halloween costumes. However, I notice that many wear “L.A.”-themed clothing, like hats, t-shirts, or jackets. As I am observing them, they are observing me closely. Is it because I am the only girl? Because I am somewhat costumed? Or because I am taking notes? Most likely, all of the above. I spot another white person, a man wearing the metro uniform. It look like he is on his way home from his shift. The young man right next to me is listening to “Californication” by the Red Hot Chili Peppers on his phone: “It's the edge of the world and all of western civilization...”

I used public transportation when living in LA as an undergraduate. I used it when I needed to leave campus because I did not have a car in Los Angeles. I didn't want to have my own car in LA
due to difficulty in finding a parking space, caution of avoiding parking tickets, and limited need for a car since I didn't have much time to venture beyond campus due to my course load. I did use buses and the metro on occasion to go to museums, to volunteer at a film festival, to go to the consulate for a visa, and to get to the train station to go to an academic conference. A few times I took the bus for a fun outing like dinner or to go to a movie. I usually met up with friend or traveled with them. A few times I had brief conversations with people on the bus, one time a longer one with a homeless man as we were en-route. The public transit system in Los Angeles allowed me to see how spread out LA is in comparison to more compact/organized cities like San Francisco. Over all I was frustrated and disappointed with the public transit in LA for its unreliability and for how long it would take to go a short distance. I come from a city with no public transit, so LA was a step up from that, but I have traveled extensively in Europe where the public transit there is wonderful. If LA had such a system, or if where I live now had a European-quality public transit system, I would not own a car.

- Jamie (San Clemente, USA)

10:50 pm: On the 232 (Direction Long Beach)

The bus keeps rattling down the street and I can see the lights of the L.A. harbor through the opposite window. I truly feel like I am returning home from a long journey. Moving through L.A. Always feels to me like traveling, also because I often carry a backpack containing a toothbrush, basic make-up, and a little tube of facial cream, as well as some clothes, because I
frequently spend the night at some friend's house before the busses or the train start running again. I am really tired now. I close my eyes. Nobody is talking. I only hear the bus rattling down the bumpy road, which reminds me of how bad the infrastructure and the quality of public transit vehicles in this city are. As I open my eyes, I can see the power lines of the Metro Blue Line and the familiar signs of Walgreens and Denny's. I am back home in Long Beach.

11:05 pm: Long Beach Boulevard and 6th Street

I get off on Long Beach Boulevard and 6th Street and walk straight up to Denny's. All I want is a caramel apple crumble. I go inside and it looks pretty busy. A zombie family is having late dinner at a table by the window. The cashier compliments my jacket. “Thank you,” I reply and order an apple crumble and a decaf coffee. I rush outside and skip to the other side of the street where the bus stop is. Conveniently, every bus stop in Long Beach has a number that you can text together with the bus line you would like to take to a service number, which will then tell you when the next bus is coming. “11:33 pm. 12:03 pm. 12:33 pm,” the female robot voice is informing me. Fantastic, I will be home in 20 minutes!
Title: Down and Out in the Digital Borderlands

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Down and Out in the Digital Borderlands

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Abstract
The Digital Divide remains a prominent feature, in America and globally, of the information environment. This essay argues that the very idea of the Digital Divide is problematic; it has been defined by a specific set of demographic variables and carries a great deal of cultural and racial weight; The static Digital Divide paradigm is both descriptively and prescriptively poor and may indeed represent a barrier to change. This essay proposes a new, dynamic paradigm with descriptive power and prescriptive foresight: the Digital Borderland. This new paradigm represents an honest acceptance of the gritty realities of near future and concerns itself with the transmission of 21st century survival strategies.
Introduction

The Digital Divide (DD), as it has been traditionally framed is problematic; even a cursory analysis reveals this metaphor to be two-dimensional and descriptively poor. This popular trope is invoked as shorthand to describe the issue of those excluded in the information age, but it fails to capture the complexity of the issue. Indeed, this concept seems to have been carefully constructed as misdirection. It dichotomizes this multidimensional issue into a simple matter of who has physical access to information and communication technologies (ICT) and who does not; it cynically situates blame for lack of access on those already excluded in society; and it portrays the Divide as a technological problem amenable to correction by capitalist market forces (Stevenson, 2009).

The DD seems to be constructed on a foundation of half-truths, with much omission. I would like to posit a new culturally situated paradigm, with greater descriptive power and prescriptive foresight: the Digital Borderland. Where the DD describes a static chasm, which must be spanned to enter into a promised land, the Digital Borderland describes a place were we are already situated and recognizes connectivity as dynamic, at times fleeting; technologies are accepted as means, not fetishized as goals in themselves. Whereas access to technology was the *sine qua non* of the Divide, the Borderland ontology recognizes that access is nothing without dynamic, creative thinking and adaptive skills; it reminds us that it is the machines that have ingrained obsolescence, not humanity. The Divide paradigm, seen in this contrast, seems seeped in religious themes (only the “saved” can enter the technological promised lands) and magical thinking (the computer as alter and fetish); the Borderlands paradigm on the other hand, is rooted in the gritty realities
of the now and near-future and concerns itself with the transmission of 21st century survival strategies.

This formulation of the culturally situated Digital Borderland ontology is my own, but this idea takes its inspiration from a number of sources, all of which have contributed to my synthesis. The Deepening Divide, by Jan A.G.M. van Dijk (2005), helped to provide insight into the subtleties of the issue, and it is from his priorities for future research that this work takes it's cue; Historical Perspectives on Analogue and Digital Equity, by Patricia Randolph Leigh (2008), helped me to situate my thought within a critical race theory framework; Finally, I credit the article, Indigenous, Ethnic and Cultural Articulations of New Media, by Ramesh Srinivasan (2006) for initiating my search for a new, culturally situated paradigm to replace the Digital Divide.

The following essay begins with a deconstruction of the DD as a hegemonic trope. It examines the shortcomings of this idea as a metaphor and scrutinizes the publications and policies, which have established the DD as the dominant way of conceptualizing this issue. With this done, the Digital Borderlands paradigm will be introduced and explored in brief. This essay is exploratory in nature and so reader and author step on new land together. The findings are not conclusive, but do point to fresh beginnings, novel modes of thought and new initiatives with the goals and means to address the issue at hand. It is my goal to spark conversation on this important subject and to propose a paradigm shift for all future work in this area.
The Digital Divide or, Whitey on the Moon¹

The mainstream conceptualization of the Digital Divide which focuses on providing access to technology as an end in itself, seems set up to fail and may constitute a large part of the problem itself. This is a key issue for the public library, which has long positioned itself as a primary “bridge” over the Divide; indeed, this role is now the primary source of the institution’s legitimacy (Stevenson, 2009, p. 11). If anything is actually to be done to address the issue of digital exclusion, we must begin by deconstructing the concept of the “Digital Divide,” to expose its hidden assumptions and agendas.

Siobhan Stevenson’s 2009 article titled, “Digital Divide: a Discursive Move Away from the Real Inequities,” takes on this chore of deep analysis of the DD and in doing so, he arrives at some very interesting insights. Stevenson takes issue with, in his words, “...the creation [by governmental agencies] of a policy cycle (problem definition, ameliorative program, implementation and evaluation) that is measurable, achievable, and does not disrupt the status quo [italics mine]” (p. 15). He suggests that researchers must turn a critical eye toward how the Divide has been defined (by who and to who’s benefit), how solutions have been framed and put into practice, and finally how these initiatives are evaluated; every step along this way seems to reveal a fixed game.

¹ From the 1970 poem by Gil Scott-Heron (1949-2011), detailing the ultimate in White flight:

“The man jus’ upped my rent las’ night. (’cause Whitey’s on the moon)
No hot water, no toilets, no lights. (but Whitey’s on the moon)”

Stevenson (2009) posits that by promoting a racialized script to explain away this disparity, the “Digital Divide,” paints this issue as being isolated to the already marginalized. This evasion tactic shifts the blame for one’s failure to thrive in the new economy from the system, to the individual. Stevenson further claims that mainstream studies on the DD tend to be a parade of census data that outline which marginalized groups have been left out of the digital revolution, but do so in an intellectually dishonest way, conflating correlation with causation. He writes, “…the digitally divided were defined using a highly specific set of demographic variables including geography (rural, urban, central cities), education, income, family type...race, age, disability status, and gender” (Stevenson, 2009, p. 13). For Stevenson, these “flagship” documents such as the Department of Commerce’s influential *Falling Through the Net* series go to lengths to point out that the poor, the undereducated, the non-White are excluded but never ask why this is; that these groups are already excluded is taken as reason enough. He is not alone in condemning this approach, social scientist Jan van Dijk (2005) writes, “[digital divide survey research] might result in useful data, but they do not automatically result in explanations, as they are no guided by theory or by hypotheses derived from theory. They remain on a descriptive level of reasoning” (p. 10). The implication here is that the shoddy analysis of these mainstream studies is given a pass because it plays to prevalent essentialist attitudes about race and class (i.e., the poor Latino family is not “wired” because they are Latino) (Stevenson, 2009, pp. 13-14).
The racialized framing of the DD not only confirms mainstream essentialist assumptions about the “other” but also, in so far as it has achieved hegemonic acceptance, this script helps to create this very situation. As Janelle Hobson (2008), writes in her article, *Digital Whiteness, Primitive Blackness*, “…by associating whiteness with “progress,” “technology,” and “civilization,” while situating blackness within a discourse of “nature,” “primitivism,” and pre-modernity, the digital divide amasses cultural and racial weight while highlighting among marginal groups hostile interactions with such technology,” (p. 114). For those people who have been excluded, the racial script of the DD provides a site for the internalization of feelings of racial inferiority. Here begins a cycle where those who would most benefit from the use of information and communication technology, begin to avoid it so as not to be confronted with such emotions.

The DD represents a complex semiotic bundle that has been distilled to easy platitudes and slogans; the sound bite conceals a mountain of assumption and agenda. By framing the Divide along these oversimplified lines three important objectives are accomplished. First this metaphor borrows legitimacy from its appeal to the hegemonic racism prevalent in American society. Second, it serves to affirm Capitalist *laissez-faire* idealism as it suggests pat, market-driven solutions. All of this serves to conceal the myriad social disparities that existed before, misdirecting attention away from what scholar Patricia Randolph Leigh (2008) has described as the “analogue divide.” She writes, “The analogue divide includes, but is not limited to, unequal access to up-to-date school books, science laboratories...engaging school curricula, adequately funded schools...safe communities, and adequate and
sufficient housing, food and health care” (p. 3). By placing the DD so that it obscures these historic inequities, proponents seem to suggest that the dominant in society achieved their status through honest Protestant “hard work,” and not through capitalizing on centuries of slave labor and vast areas of stolen land; it also suggests that delivering laptops and Wi-Fi to the barrio, the reservation, or inner city would erase the tolls of generations of poverty, neglect and miseducation.

Further, there is a thread of technological determination throughout this concept of the Divide that seems highly suspect; its champions claim that technology is not only inevitable, but also that it will bring in an age of untold abundance and success. The excluded, according to this line of thought, will be left well behind and doomed to irrelevance. At this point in history, it seems uncertain that ICT’s will necessarily improve life on Earth—in fact, the triumphant claims of techno-fetishists seems premature and overly idealistic. As Richard Stivers, author of the 1999 Technology as Magic: The Triumph of the Irrational, reminds us, “…we look to technology to solve all our problems. Yet in warfare, pollution of the environment, genetic and chemical manipulations, propaganda and the mass media, and bureaucracy, technology poses an enormous threat to our physical and psychological wellbeing,” (p. 23).
The Electric Mojado\(^2\) in the Desert of the Real

Given the shortcomings and hidden assumptions of the DD as a hegemonic trope, it seems important to abandon the idea altogether. A more apt metaphor to frame our thoughts by and give direction to our actions is the idea of the Digital Borderland. The Borderland is a contested place, a site for cultural transgression and creolization. Internet theorists Johan Fornäs, et al (2002) describe the interconnected contested sites that exist within a borderland environment, in their words,

Borderlands may be conceived in three interconnected senses. First as free fields, intellectual free zones or third spaces of refuge between established closures. Second, as battlefields, fields of fighting contradiction on the very borderline...Third as cultivation fields, fields of hybridizing bricolage construction in the overlap between what is elsewhere separated (p. 2).

Life in the Digital Borderland will unfold in these zones, but here all is transitory; attempts at achieving connectivity and inclusion will forever modulate between success and setback. We may never win, but we cannot afford to surrender.

The borderland native is a nomad, for there exist few end destinations, and moreover, no monolithic chasm baring anyone’s path. However, while the Borderland is defined by its amorphous fluidity, this analogy does recognize dispersed, objectified demarcations complete with checkpoints. “Hard” borders

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\(^2\) This is a reference to “The Electric Negro” from Matt Ruff’s 1997 book, “Sewer, Gas and Electric” The book is funny, insightful and provocative; it deals with White racism in a matter-of-fact way that is terribly confronting. For an excerpt see: [http://www.bymattruff.com/sewerprev.html](http://www.bymattruff.com/sewerprev.html) and scan for the subchapter titled “A Word about the Negro Problem.” I am also making an attempt to re-appropriate this nasty and divisive word; the 21st century seems to promise that the overwhelming majority of the world will be excluded to varying degrees, making transgression the shared survival strategy; “illegal” is quickly becoming the way of life.
trace lines around gated communities; there remain haves and their opposite, as ever. However, the hard borders are not as deterministic or ubiquitous as the Divide was: hard borders are crossed daily, both sanctioned and not. The Divide has been framed as a near-permanent feature, a scar left over from ancient injustices. In opposition to this, the hard borders that do exist within the Borderland are recognized as imagined lines imposed on the landscape; while they are defended with force they are far from permanent.

To be sure, this metaphor supports the idea of the siege communities of the digital elite; zones relatively fixed and impassible, where the privileged hope to defend their gains and hoard their opportunities. Social Scientist van Dijk (2005) reminds us that the adoption of technology by the digital elite has not only served to increase their power in relation to the excluded in society, but serves to perpetuate this situation (p. 11). The old mechanisms of unequal distribution in society namely, social exclusion, exploitation and control are now all achieved through technological means (pp. 18-19). In other words, the Divide was established because of unequal access to analogue resources, and it has only served to strengthen the position of the elite. What's more, given that the Divide is maintained through technological means it becomes clear that the gap has always been intended to keep the rabble out.

In opposition to the digital elite, are those digital migrants who strive for a better life, relatively flexible and mobile, who transgress hard borders as a matter of course. So too are there the equivalent of Libre Zonas and slums where the truly excluded struggle to meet basic needs and have time for little else.
Given the lens of this new metaphor, it is clear that there are starkly drawn, but dynamic levels of inclusion and exclusion economically, socially, and politically; barring a major social disruption of some kind, these will continue into the future. What the Digital Borderlands trope does do is erase the two-dimensional opposition between the haves and have-nots, and illustrates a more accurate and nuanced picture. Again we borrow from Jan van Dijk (2005), who describes “a tripartite distribution” of exclusion in society as opposed to the two-tired model of the traditional Divide (4). Van Dijk (2005) writes, “…on the one side we would find an information elite and, on the other, the digitally illiterate or truly excluded, but in between would be the majority of the population, which has access in one way or another, and uses digital technology to a certain extent,” (p. 4).

Rather than attempting to bridge a digital chasm, both wide and deep, to a digital promised land, Borderland solutions call for both trying to make due with where the excluded are, all the while asserting a place in the information age. Whereas the Divide paradigm focuses on access as a solution for a carefully constructed problem, the Borderlands paradigm holds that skill transmission (critical thinking and techno-literacy) and motivation (the creation of culturally relevant content), are the best tools to address the structural disparities in an unpredictable world (van Dijk, 2005, p. 192). The Borderland concept distances itself from both the technological determinism and fetishization of the market, which are also key features of the Divide. It recognizes the importance of both technology and the market, but it acknowledges that it may not now, or ever, follow the logic of “market forces” to uplift everyone into a digital age. In fact, the market
most likely benefits from a large unskilled labor pool that is excluded socially and politically; to surrender to the market is to accept this fate (van Dijk, 2005, p. 165).

**Concluding Thoughts**

The importance in escaping the hegemonic reach of the Digital Divide as a closed system of problem/solution/evaluation cannot be exaggerated. Although it has helped popularize the need for ameliorating pandemic exclusion in the networked information age, it has done so for the wrong reasons, and as I have highlighted, has exasperated the problem. The Digital Borderland as a new metaphor benefits from being culturally situated, and has descriptive power that rings true with the lived experiences of the excluded. What’s more, this new lens prescribes actions to address the problem of exclusion without the ideological blind spots and prejudices that have accompanied the DD. It is important to establish that this new paradigm isn’t utopian (again in opposition to the Divide), it accepts technology in a cautious and provisional manner and it does not proclaim to possess the answers to the problem of exclusion—merely the best practices.

A further fleshing out of the Digital Borderland idea will be important to fuel future conversations; the theory/action plans that will come of this work cannot be put into use too soon.
References


Identifying and Addressing Mental Health Challenges for Medical School and Non-Medical School Students by Renay Scales and Molly Davis and Halaevalu Vakalahi

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) was passed in 1992, and clearly defined covered persons as individuals who have a physical or mental condition that limits one or more major life activities. Operationalizing the ADA meant an examination in the halls of higher education of what physical and institutional barriers existed for students or potential students.

This body of research was motivated by researchers’ observation of increased cases of depression and other mood disorders among undergraduate medical students. A review of the literature on mental health challenges for medical and non-medical students yielded interesting background data. A self-report instrument was used with undergraduate medical students at an Osteopathic Medical School and non-medical undergraduate students in Social Work at a doctoral institution. Results were compared to findings in a previous study. While the literature supports a rise in report of these challenges between both groups in recent years, a significant difference between them as they matriculate in their respective programs exists.

These data provide implications for interventions that can allay these issues from rising to a level of limiting life activities.
The Study of Developing a Professional and Practical Curriculum of Digital Publishing for the Vocational Higher Education in Taiwan

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Abstract
This aim of this was to develop a professional and practical curriculum of digital publication for students in the institute or university of technology in Taiwan, in order to cultivate talents to meet the requirements of e-publishing industry in the era of digitalization. Based on the competence indicators proposed by the previous research project, this study adopted literature review, DACUM method and interview to develop a curriculum. The study first collected digital-publishing related courses from every institute or university of technology in Taiwan. The contents of the courses and students competence from those schools were fully discussed and evaluated through expert interviews. Next, the framework of the curriculum came out by adopting DACUM expert meeting method. Finally, the curriculum was developed into 20 courses with 3 aspects of objectives for the reference of cultivating talents.

Keyword: Digital Publication, Professional and Practical Curriculum, Vocational Higher Education

1 The study “Indicators of Competence of Digital Publication” was supported by 2009 National Science Council research grant, #NSC98-2511-S-003-035.
Introduction

Different from the traditional publishing through forms of newspapers, books or others, the digital publication has transformed a paper into the electronic form, differently displaying by different media. The digital publication has poured a new life into the publishing industry with the feature of easy circulation of large volume of information. The digital publication also added the value of mass customization and prevented books from being out of print or out of stock. Furthermore, the digital publication could satisfy the instant needs of customers and provided customized services or goods with cost down and better communication.

The more digitalized the publishing industry was, the more people involved. The cultivation of professionals must keep up with the speed of the industry for digitalization (Wang & Hsu, 2007). Moreover, a project of digital publication could not be fulfilled by a person, but a team of talents with the integration of skills relevant to text, graph, image, voice, video and so on.

So far, the institute or university of technology in Taiwan has applied courses like those delivered in general universities and usually ignored the learning difference of students between them. Most of students in the institute or university of technology came from the vocational high schools and were educated by a lot of skilling practices. Therefore, the institute or university of technology should enhance courses with more practices to motivate students to make achievements and enjoy learning other skills. Besides, the institute or university of technology would like to help students build up their abilities of creativity, problem solving, communication and team work in order to adapt themselves to the society of high technology. When graduating from the school, students could easily contribute what they learned for the industry.

The report (Ministry of Economic Affairs, 2008) indicated that in 2002, there was no plan for cultivating talents of digital content in Taiwan yet, and there existed a manpower
shortage for e-publishing industry. Many talents were raided from competitors in the industry. Most of them were partially engaged in the development of local market or the international subcontract. The study (Schmidt, 2008) indicated that requirements of the workplace manpower and their abilities could be assessed by probing into the new technology and workflow in e-publishing industry.

To date, training of talents has become a pressing issue of the industry. More efforts should be put on discovering and pooling together creative talents, providing advisory service for the commoditization of innovation, as well as cultivating talents of originality. Therefore, this research started off a survey of competence of e-publishing industry, and then came out a professional and practical curriculum which should cover 3 sections of courses including the fundamental theory, advanced skill, and integrated know-how. The research was proceeding as followings:

— to explore the current situation of curricula of digital publication delivered in the institute or university of technology
— to evaluate the performance of competence of students in the institute or university of technology
— to design a curriculum that is professional and practical to meet the requirement of e-publishing industry

**Literature Review**

*The Development of E-publishing Industry in Taiwan*

*The Current Situation of E-publishing Industry*

The products of digital publication currently circulating in the market of Taiwan presented several formats including CD (or DVD), electronic database, e-book, e-newspaper, e-magazine, mobile content and so forth. Although the productive value of e-publishing industry, equal to 4,603 billion Taiwan dollars in 2009, has grown up
significantly, few people utilized overall products of digital publication. It has been a challenge for many companies to expand the market and earn the profit.

**The Trend of E-publishing Industry**

Hsueh (2008) expressed that the developing trend of digital publication has moved forwards to followings:

*Web publishing*

With the influence of the publishing cost and user preference, the industry started to think that the web publishing should be developed as not the accessory of digital publication but an independent entity. More companies in Taiwan would like to invest in a long-term strategic plan for the application of internet, including the training of people, the introduction of networking skills, and the recruitment of e-marketing experts.

*Portable device*

The portable devices have accelerated the circulation of digital publication and created a lot of business opportunities for e-publishing industry. The iPad, marketed by Apple Inc., was developed primarily as a platform for audio-visual media including books, periodicals, movies, music, games, and web content. According to the commentary (Cheng, 2011), Apple sold more than a million iPads per month since April, 2010 in Taiwan. The demand of 400 million iPads would be expected in 2011, and 650 million in 2012. More portable devices will become a driven force in the development of digital publication in the foreseeable future.

*Multi-touch screen*

The mainstream exposure to multi-touch technology occurred in 2007 when the iPhone gained popularity, with Apple stating they 'invented multi touch' as a part of the iPhone announcement. It was predictable that small-scale touch devices
would be rapidly becoming commonplace soon.

*Paperless reading*

The market share of traditional publishing would be expected to drop gradually. Paperless reading might not completely replace the traditional publishing like books, newspapers or magazines, but will become the major development in the publishing industry.

*The Current Curriculum of Digital Publication*

In the recent two years, institutes and universities of technology in Taiwan have started to emphasize on cultivating talents of digital publication. The courses delivered in universities of technology were more than those in institutes of technology. The courses in private schools were also more than public schools. According to the data collected in this research, the number of schools (the institute or university of technology) delivering courses of digital publication has increased from 10 in 2006 to 21 in 2010, and the number of departments offering courses of digital publication has been raised from 16 in 2006 to 24 in 2010 (Table 1).

**Table 1 Statistic Numbers of Schools and Departments offering Courses of Digital Publication in Taiwan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The number of schools</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of departments</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The current courses of digital publication in Taiwan were mainly related to fields of the digital design, communication, and multi-media design. The required courses were almost proportioned to the non-required. (Table 2)
Table 2 Current Courses Delivered in Institutes and Universities of Technology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Departments</th>
<th>Courses</th>
<th>Required (R) or not (N.R.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tatung Institute of Technology</td>
<td>Digital Content Design</td>
<td>Digital Publishing</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da-Yeh University</td>
<td>Visual Communication Design</td>
<td>Digital Publishing and Printing</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Culture University</td>
<td>Information and Communications</td>
<td>Project, Hypermedia &amp; digital publishing</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shih Hsin University</td>
<td>Graphic Communications and Digital Publishing</td>
<td>Digital Publishing</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology and Science Institute of Northern Taiwan</td>
<td>Multimedia Design</td>
<td>Digital Publishing</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hung Kuang University</td>
<td>Cultural Development</td>
<td>Digital Publishing Technology</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tung Fung Design College</td>
<td>Arts and Craft</td>
<td>Digital Publishing</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Taichung Institute of Technology (Renamed as National Taichung University of Science and Technology after 2011. 12.1)</td>
<td>Multimedia Design</td>
<td>Prepress And Digital Publishing</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Formosa University</td>
<td>Multimedia Design</td>
<td>Prepress And Digital Publishing</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Chin-Yi University of Technology</td>
<td></td>
<td>Practice Of Digital Publishing</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Taichung Normal University</td>
<td>Digital Content Technology</td>
<td>Digital Publishing</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Tainan University</td>
<td>Information and Learning Technology</td>
<td>Digital Publishing And Archiving</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>Departments</td>
<td>Courses</td>
<td>Required (R) or not (N.R.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Taiwan Normal University</td>
<td>Graphic Arts and Communication</td>
<td>Digital Publishing</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Taiwan University of Arts</td>
<td>Graphic Communication Arts</td>
<td>Management Of Digital Media Publishing, Digital Publishing Management</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsing Kuo University of Management</td>
<td>Cultural Creativity and Tourism</td>
<td>Digital Publishing And Editing</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsing Wu Institute of Technology</td>
<td>Information Communication</td>
<td>Digital Publishing And Editing</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ling Tung University</td>
<td>Visual Communication on Design</td>
<td>Digital Content Creation And Publishing Research</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Method**

*The Frame of the Study*

The study started a data collection of the current curricula available in every institute or university of technology, and continued DACUM expert meetings to meet the requirement of e-publishing industry; and further, developed a professional and practical curriculum (Figure 1).
Interviews

To avoid disadvantages of adopting convenience sampling method, candidates for interviews were 4 people coming from either directors (maybe managers) of companies with practical experiences of digital publication or scholars leading projects of digital publication in the academic research. Interviews were proceeding with live recordings and manuscripts. The results collected from interviews came out the performance of competence of students and job requirements of e-publishing industry.

DACUM expert meetings

Ten members were invited to join DACUM expert meetings; among them, 5 persons were representatives of companies with achievements of Golden Tripod Awards which have been the highest honor for e-publishing industry in Taiwan, and others were
professors teaching courses of digital publication in institutes or universities of technology. All members finally reached the consensus about indicators of competence of digital publication through their repeated discussions, brainstorming many times, coordination and cooperation in meetings. As a result, a professional and practical curriculum was well-developed.

Data Reliability and Validity

Triangulation is a technique to facilitate the validation of data through cross verification from more than two sources. In particular, it refers to the application and combination of several research methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006). Therefore, this study has conducted three types of triangulation techniques: data, researcher and methodological triangulation (Deniz, 2006). The transcriptions collected from the expert interviews, current course contents and data collected from the literature were compared to check the validity. The DACUM meeting provided researcher to exam the data reliability and validity among professionals and experts. In addition, through the method of interview, expert meeting and DACUM analysis, this study verified the data reliability once again through mythological triangulation.

Results and Discussion

The Performance of Competence of Students in Departments of Digital Publication

Generally speaking, the performance of students in the competence of digital publication was not good enough to meet the requirement of the industry. The opinions concluded from expert interviews were followings:

The Training Courses for the Competence of Students

First of all, Students generally lacked enough knowledge and practices when entering
the e-publishing industry, possibly because the course development of schools hardly kept up with the speed of e-publishing industry for digitalization.

Secondly, if they would have learned from solid courses of fundamental theory, students probably adapted themselves to jobs through a short-time training of the company and working practices. However, it took at least a half year after graduating from schools for students to be used to the working environment and to be competent at their jobs. It cost too much for a company to hire a graduate.

Thirdly, students were usually trained to operate for the specific software, for example, Illustrator. However, when Illustrator might not be the software the company set up, students usually had troubles with responding to the working environment of the company software.

Finally, students in departments of digital publication seldom got involved in the learning of information technology. Although they did not specialize in information technology, students should still possess the ability of communicating with high-tech engineers.

Other Opinions

A few of students lacked the dedicated attitude of working, fastidious and demanding but inept at their jobs. Furthermore, graduates changed their jobs much more frequently than others and caused the company hiring them more troubles.

To sum up, the industry required that students could be well-prepared when entering the e-publishing industry. The institute or university of technology in Taiwan, playing an important role of cultivating talents for e-publishing industry, should improve the curriculum fast enough to strengthen students of theoretical foundation and encourage them to participate in more contests, exhibitions, and practices.

The Job Offerings of E-publishing Industry
By analyzing the data collected from many resources, such as websites of manpower bank, catalogues of job classification, literature reviews and interviews, job offerings of e-publishing industry could be grouped into 4 categories which were product marketing, content development, programming design, and trade and copyright protection. The contents and requirements of jobs would be described in detail as followings:

**Product Marketing**

Jobs of product marketing could be further classified into the development of digital products, e-marketing, planning and coordination, and etc. The competence required for those jobs were sorted by weight as perceiving channels of digital publication, understanding the operation of e-commerce, managing digital products or files, preparing fonts, specializing in various specifications of electronic publishing, planning outsourcing, selecting publication carriers, planning layouts, and innovating products.

**Content Development**

Jobs of content development could be further classified into the web art editing, digital media editing, digital content layout, and etc. The competence required for those jobs were sorted by weight as followings:

In the aspect of web art editing, the competence required in order were specializing in the software of webpage design, designing the style of pictures (e.g. button, tool bar, and so on), operating the software of animation, and utilizing the software of computer graphics.

In the aspect of digital media editing, the competence required in order were excelling in digital photography, planning for a storyboard, designing user interfaces, making print media, editing audio/video, recording audio/video, and integrating content designs.

In the aspect of digital content layout, the competence required in order were image scanning, color management, specializing in pre-print specifications, being familiar with interfaces of different readers, and transforming file formats.
Programming Design

Jobs of programming design could be further classified into the research & development engineering, web programming, system analysis, communicating software development, and etc. Most of jobs were responsible for developing dynamic websites, constructing the platform of online reading, and integrating the technology of mobile devices. The competence required for those jobs were sorted by weight as encrypting digital files, specializing in the software of developing platform, being good at programming languages of multimedia, managing database system, and designing metadata.

Trade and Copyright Protection

Jobs of trade and copyright protection could be further classified into the protection of intellectual properties and legal consulting. Most of jobs were responsible for the collection and trade of copyrights, the protection of intellectual properties, and etc. The competence required for those jobs were sorted by weight as managing copyrights of digital publication and understanding regulations of intellectual property rights.

The Professional and Practical Curriculum of Digital Publication

Drafting the Framework of the Curriculum

The first task of developing the curriculum was to draft the framework of it by referring to current curriculum contents and syllabi in institutes or universities of technology. The curriculum could be developed in three fields of courses, including of theoretical, technique-oriented and practice-oriented courses. Nineteen courses in total were outlined in the draft.

Modifying the Content of the Curriculum

After finishing the draft of curriculum framework, 10 people coming from experts of e-publishing industry and senior professors teaching courses of digital publication were
invited in DACUM expert meetings. The objectives and contents of the curriculum, concluded from meetings, were classified into three aspects including cognition, technique, and goodwill (Table 3).

**Table 3 Objectives and Contents of the Curriculum**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>To gain the knowledge of digital publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique</td>
<td>To be familiar with the procedure and skill of digital publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>To cultivate students for the dedicated working attitude</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides, examined step by step by experts in meetings and referring to the previous study of indicators of competence of digital publication, the curriculum possessed characteristics of integrity, fitness and foresightedness. Finally, the framework of the curriculum was modified to 20 instead of 19 courses. Each of theoretical and technique-oriented courses was further divided into fundamental courses which are required and advanced courses which are not required (Figure 2).
The curriculum of digital publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical courses</th>
<th>Technique-oriented courses</th>
<th>Practice-oriented courses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fundamental courses (required)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fundamental courses (required)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(required)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Chromatics</td>
<td>- Digital Editing of Audio/Video</td>
<td>- Projects of Digital Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Introduction of E-commerce</td>
<td>- Fonts &amp; the Layout Design</td>
<td>- Integration and Publication of Cross Media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Introduction of Film &amp; TV</td>
<td>- the Design of Web Pages</td>
<td>- Industry Practice of Digital Content</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advanced courses (not required)</th>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Advanced courses (not required)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Marketing and Distribution of Digital Publication</td>
<td></td>
<td>- The Design of User Interface</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2 Curriculum Framework of Digital Publication

The corresponding relationship between twenty courses and indicators of competence of digital publication was arranged (table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4 Courses and the Corresponding Indicators of Competence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of Digital Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chromatics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of E-commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of Film &amp; TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing and Distribution of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afflux Management of Digital Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management of Digital content and Protection of Intellectual Property Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digital Photography and Image Processing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Digital Editing of Audio/Video</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fonts and the Layout Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Design of Web Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to Make an E-book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Design of User Interfaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The System Design of Digital Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Construction and Management of Digital Publication Platform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminars of Digital Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projects of Digital Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration and Publication of Cross Media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry Practice of Digital Content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique-oriented courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practice-oriented courses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

15
Suggestions for the Future Development of the Curriculum

Other opinions from DACUM expert meetings were also concluded to make suggestions for the future development of the curriculum. Those suggestions were made as followings:

The plan of the curriculum

First of all, the curriculum of digital publication should be developed as essential courses covering the fundamental theory of the publishing, aiding with technique-oriented courses and practices. Technique-oriented and practice-oriented courses should not be overemphasized more than theoretical courses.

Secondly, courses of “the design of user interface” will be further enhanced because the demand of the industry for talents of designing user interfaces has been growing.

Thirdly, the experience sharing with experts from the industry will help students in their cognitions and plans for future jobs. Experts from the industry might be willing to join classes, if they were invited just for two or three weeks.

The cultivation of talents

The cultivation of working attitudes for students was more important than their skills. The student with the ability of problem solving and the dedicated attitude towards working will be highly valued by the industry.

The curriculum should be improved in response to the change of the industry. Therefore, the visionary plan for the curriculum will become the most important issue for the department of digital publication.

Conclusion

The curriculum of digital publication in this research provided a solid reference for
the institute or university of technology in Taiwan to cultivate talents for the e-publishing industry.

Courses of digital publication, focusing on digital content making, had been mainly delivered in departments of art design or communication since 2006. In 2008, with the rapid change of e-publishing industry, other departments, like the department of information management or department of information technology, started to set up a few courses relevant to techniques required for the digital publication, such as programming design, XML and so on.

However, according to many interviews and literature reviews, graduates hardly became competent at jobs offered in the e-publishing industry, especially for jobs of system design of digital publication, digital rights management, and designing user interfaces. It indicated that the current curriculum in schools needed to be modified or adjusted and should be developed under the visionary plan for the future.

The curriculum, developed through a consensus reached by DACUM expert meetings method, included 20 courses classified into theoretical, technique-oriented, and practice-oriented courses with three aspects of objectives including cognition, technique, and goodwill. Based on the previous study of indicators of competence of digital publication, the curriculum played an important role of cultivating talents competent in various jobs in the e-publishing industry. The process of cultivating talents was clearly depicted (Figure 3).
The Professional and Practical Curriculum

Objectives and Contents of Courses

Cognition—to gain the knowledge of digital publication

Technique—to be familiar with the procedure and skill of digital publication

Goodwill—to cultivate students for the dedicated working attitude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Fundamental</th>
<th>Advanced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 theoretical courses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 technique-oriented courses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 theoretical courses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 technique-oriented courses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 practice-oriented courses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cultivating Talents of Digital Publication

- Digital products developer
- E-marketing planner
- Copyright specialist
- Digital media editing
- Web art editing
- Digital content layout
- Web programmer
- R&D engineer
- System analyst
- Communication software developer

Figure 3 Process of Cultivating Talents


Do Lecture Videos Enhance Online Education: Results from Two Experiments

Topic Area: Political Science (Teaching)

Presentation Format: Paper Session

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Abstract

Since students have different learning styles, instructors should think about this when designing their online courses. For instance, many online courses offer only text-based instruction. These materials may not meet the learning needs of all students. Providing lecture videos allow students to feel like they are part of a classroom setting. Using two experiments, this study provides evidence regarding how online courses featuring lecture videos affect student learning and satisfaction.
Final Article Submission:

**Voices for Freedom –**

**A New Look at The Hyers Sisters –**

**Activist Divas of the Post-Reconstruction Era**

Area Studies: African-American & Women’s History and American Theatre Studies

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Voices for Freedom –
A New Look at The Hyers Sisters – Activist Divas of the Post-Reconstruction Era

by
Susheel Bibbs Ph.D.

Abstract

The Hyers Sisters, operatic prodigies, were the first African-American women to succeed as national touring concert artists in the United States. They also became music-theatre stars and social activists during the 1870's and 80's – the era of social backlash that produced the KKK, Jim Crow, and brutal public ridicule of their people. Although esteemed scholars, such as the late Erroll Hill and Eileen Southern, have researched and written about the Sisters, few know of these performers today, and no one has discussed them as arts activists. They held a dream, made a remarkable change, and left an important legacy of change in the American Musical Theatre -- largely unsung. The Hyers were the first to demand and establish natural (rather than black- or white-face) racial casting in mainstream American music-theatre, and they changed its subject matter through unique musicals centered on the black experience from slavery to freedom. Either the Sisters or their father commissioned these works and performed them nationwide and/or in Canada, including black performers in their first leading roles and serving as their only employer outside of minstrel shows for 20 years. They were “voices for freedom” for their people. In this article, scholar and former concert artist Susheel Bibbs, Ph.D., recounts the Hyers’ story, focusing on the origins and impact of their activism for the first time. Setting The Hyers’ lives in context through new research, archival photos, musical examples, and quotes, the article provides a new look at their contributions to African-American, women’s, and music-theatre history.
Article:  

**Voices for Freedom –**  

**A New Look at The Hyers Sisters – Activist Divas of the Post-Reconstruction Era**  

by  

Susheel Bibbs Ph.D.

**Introduction**

The Hyers Sisters, operatic prodigies, were the first African-American women to succeed as national touring concert artists in the United States. They also became music-theatre stars and social activists during the 1870's and 80's – the era of social backlash that produced the KKK, Jim Crow, and brutal public ridicule of black people. Although esteemed scholars, such as the late Erroll Hill and Eileen Southern, have researched and written about the Sisters, few know of these performers today and none have discussed them as arts activists. The Sisters held a dream, made a remarkable change, and left an important legacy -- largely unsung. This article offers new research and a new look at their lives and arts activism.

**The Hyers’ Dream**

Anna Madah and Emma Hyers (known as The Hyeres, or Hyeres, Sisters) were the products of zealous “stage” parents (Sam and Anna Hyers) and the three organized California black* communities that helped set their social compass – Sacramento, Oakland, and San Francisco. In 1867 the girls (as teens) debuted formally under the watchful eye of both parents before an audience of 800 people in Sacramento’s Metropolitan Theatre. Afterward, the parents soon parted ways, but mother Anna, who moved to San Francisco, secured more training for the girls. Then Sam took them on a musical journey across the land to realize their dream of operatic stardom. Three years
later the San Francisco Chronicle wrote a rave review, which was echoed across the land in the mainstream (white) press—

“*Their musical power is acknowledged...and those who heard them were unanimous in their praise, saying that rare natural gifts would insure for them a leading position among Prima Donne* of the age”  [*plural of Prima Donna]*

The Hyers Sisters Concert Company toured from Oakland to Salt Lake, through the Midwest to New York and Boston to critical and artistic acclaim! By 1873 the girls had become the first black women to succeed nationwide as concert troubadours – a field previously dominated by male artists. After the first national tour, the girls and Sam Hyers envisioned additional training abroad and tours in Europe to realize their dream (Trotter. 1878; Hill. 1993).

In song or ballad, still we find
Some beauties new to charm the mind.
Trill on, sweet sisters from a golden shore;
Emma and Anna, sing for us once more;
Raise high your voices blending in accord:
So shall your fame be widely spread abroad.”

**The Change**

**Issues of the Times**

But, the Hyers did not go abroad as the Boston Daily News implored them to do.

During The Reconstruction Era, which followed the Civil War, black/African Americans made social gains in land, jobs, and government representation; they felt protected nationwide by new Constitutional Amendments and in the South, by Federal troops who guarded their liberty and new-found voting rights. But economic depression soon caused

*The term “black” is sometimes used to include those who were not yet citizens*
job loss, political deal-making, failed businesses, and increased bias (even in California) - issues that resound in our time -- changed everything. Historian Michael Bellesiles put it this way--

_In 1877, not only was the United States gripped by a deep depression, but the country was also in the throes of nearly unimaginable violence and upheaval. In the wake of the contested presidential election of 1876, white supremacist mobs swept across the South, killing and driving out the last of the Reconstruction state governments. A strike involving millions of railroad workers turned violent as it spread from coast-to-coast, and for a moment seemed close to toppling the nation’s economic structure. The fires of that fated year also fueled a hothouse of cultural and intellectual innovation (Bellesiles 2010)._

The Hyers’ Community Awareness

The Hyers’ Northern-California communities in San Francisco/Oakland and Sacramento/Stockton rose in opposition as racial persecution increased in California toward the black and Chinese. Did their activism affect the Hyers? The answer appears to be “yes.” These communities and the experience of their activism surrounded the Hyers during their formative years and seem to have instilled in them a strong sense of social justice. These communities produced leaders in numerous fields, especially civil rights, from the 1850’s through the 1890’s. Community activists of the multi-racial Franchise League, port workers, and Freemasons were among them. Said noted historian Quintard Taylor,

_Despite their small numbers, black urban westerners established churches, fraternal organizations, social clubs, newspapers, and literary societies. These fledgling 19th century institutions and organizations immediately addressed the spiritual, educational, social, or cultural needs of local inhabitants. (Taylor 1998)_

The young Hyers Sisters actually lived and studied in the San Francisco African-American business community -- the oldest, most active, and diverse in California (Taylor. 1998). Businessmen and women, financiers, and activists, who lived throughout
the city and in Oakland, congregated businesses and social activist meetings in a well-defined area near the Hyers’ San Francisco home (Lapp 1977. De T. Abajian 1974).

In the 1850’s community members in San Francisco had created newspapers and organized liaisons with white citizens in a group called the Franchise League, and all three communities had sponsored organizations and facilities, such as The Athenaeum Library and The Brannan Militia. By the Hyers’ times, they had advanced to create establish organizations, such as The Savings and Land Association (Lapp. 1977). And, even though at the time of the Hyers’ birth (1855, 1857) racism had increased and many in that community had made an exodus to Fraser Valley in Canada (Lapp. 1977), by 1863, the time of the Hyers’ youth, the inhabitants had reached a new height of activist zeal.

This period brought the end of the Civil War and new Civil Rights Laws that gave black people the right to testify in court. Near the Hyers’ San Francisco home was First A.M.E. Zion church, a leading venue for civil-rights meetings that orchestrated tests of these new laws (The Pacific Appeal, 1867, 1870, 71-74). The Franchise League, led by Mary Ellen Pleasant, David Ruggles, and James E. Brown, Sr. (father of activist Charlotte Brown), orchestrated these tests via lawsuits against local streetcar companies. Pleasant aided Charlotte Brown in her case and won or settled two of her own. Having opposed slavery, opened jobs for African Americans, and aided the abolitionist John Brown in Canada, these cases during this period (1863-68) earned her the title Mother of Civil Rights in California. (De T Abajian. 1974. Bibbs 2007). Editors, poets, artists, such as sculptor Edmonia Lewis, and celebrated actors flourished in the Hyers’ San Francisco neighborhood as well.
The San Francisco and Oakland Communities overlapped. The Oakland community held a concert hall in which touring artists and musicians in the area held concerts. As a rail and port city, Oakland attracted workers, free masons, and railroad men and provided second homes and investments for San Francisco activists (Taylor 1998. Bibbs 2011. *The Oakland Inquirer* 1889). Strikes and labor movements were organized in Oakland to protest for workers’ rights. The Hyers first early major concert was sponsored at a concert Hall in Oakland.

Having spent their early childhood in Sacramento, Anna Madah Hyers and her sister Emma were also Sacramentans, and both Sacramento/Stockton were meccas for freemason activity and education for African Americans, the venue for the 1860’s civil-rights court battles, and important community-wide gatherings. The Sacramento community had a history of activism, having influenced Archy Lee, the slave whose fugitive-slave trial ignited California politics in the late 1850’s, and it hosted the all-California civil-rights meetings called “colored conventions” -- held periodically from 1855 to 1865. According to Delilah Beasley, the first African-American historian in California, the Conventions were designed to unify and set the direction of the California black community as a whole; these gatherings were responsible for birthing newspapers and educational projects. In fact, at the time of the Hyers’ debut concerts in 1867 and 71, the entire Northern California community held one of many civil-rights conventions and waged a series of major court battles in Sacramento. One of them was Pleasants vs. North-beach and Mission Railroad, which set precedent in the State Supreme Court and was used over 100 years later (in 1982) to change modern-day civil rights law (Bibbs 2011).
Acclaimed educator J.B. Sanderson was invited to establish and run schools in San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, and Stockton largely out of community mandates that developed in the “Colored Conventions.” During the Hyers’ times black children were barred from public schools (Beasley 1919). So the Hyers were surely touched by racial bias and segregation as children and were raised amidst intense social activism.

In 1867, amidst all of this activity, The Hyers’ held their formal debut concert at the Metropolitan Theatre in Sacramento before a crowd of 800 people -- African Americans and others (Katz. 1971. Hill. 1993). Thus, the Sisters got the full thrust of community support and activism and could not but be influenced by it (Beasley 1919. The Alta Californian 1863. The Pacific Appeal 1871). Said Charlotte Dennis Downs (the scribe of Mary Pleasant), who spoke to historian Sue B. Thurman of the influence of these elders on her generation (the Hyers’ generation),

There were fine colored people in San Francisco at that time. They were just out of slavery indeed, but brimming over with ambition. They owned their own homes; their community was eager for knowledge. They forged ahead rapidly and left their mark on the City. Yes, there were fine people here in that day (Thurman. 1949).

The Hyers Musicals
In 1866, violence erupted nationally, but African Americans were given advances in civil rights. For example, reports Dr. Quintard Taylor in his internet timeline,

“from May 1 to 3, 1866 white civilians and police in Memphis, Tennessee killed forty-six and injured other African Americans.... Still, in January of the next year, “overriding President Andrew Johnson's veto, Congress granted the black citizens of the District of Columbia the right to vote. Two days later it passed the Territorial Suffrage Act which allowed African Americans in the western territories to vote” (Taylor 2007-2011).
However, by 1873, when the Hyers made a big change in their careers, things had worsened, and by the 1876 Presidential election of Rutherford B. Hayes a compromise removed of protective troops from the South, and unleashed racial massacres. The KKK, lynching, bullying, and Jim Crow advanced, and civil rights contracted for African Americans across the land. Their hard-won representation in Congress and voting rights lost, by 1879, many fled oppression in the South to land that was promised them in Kansas (Taylor 1993); they have been called “Exodusters.” Such migrations between 1873 and 1879 brought new African Americans to the California communities, especially into port cities like Oakland.

According to American-theatre scholar Erroll Hill, during this period of public ridicule of their people, which depicted them as buffoons with names such as “Zip Coon” and “Mr. Tambo,” the Hyers Sisters consciously decided to abandon their dream of traditional operatic stardom to form The Hyers Comic Opera Company. This troupe commissioned and presented musicals that historian Thomas Riis called “the first full-fledged musical plays... in which African Americans themselves comment on the plight of the slaves and the relief of Emancipation without the disguises of minstrel comedy (Riis 1992).” Thus, the Hyers determined to counter the ridicule and bias of the times.
Given their community background, this change is not surprising. The Hyers had become popular in mainstream (white) Music-Theater circles, and they so used their popularity, art, and media to become a voice for their people. For the next 20 years they toured in these popular, new musicals -- the TV and films of their times -- offering them as a lone voice against Post-Reconstruction ridicule (Trotter 1878). They succeeded.

The Hyers’ Legacy
The Hyers family left us a legacy of seven musicals and 20 years of touring and advocacy. The family was eventually divided, when Sam Hyers promoted a young contralto named Mary Reynolds to rival his daughter Emma. He later married her. However, their separate companies did not lose focus -- The sisters toured in the US, and their father’s S. B. Hyers Co. toured in the U.S. and in Canada in similar repertoire. Both teams were successful. In 1891, Sam’s new wife, then called May C. Hyers, became the first “colored” woman to make audio-cylinder recordings. Overall, the sisters remained popular with black and white audiences, making lasting in roads in job creation while
standing against racism. Their musicals were flexible enough to allow guest artists to include their own featured works within them, and so they gave voice to many artists. Emma died in 1899; Anna then toured the world to great acclaim as a featured operatic artist with the “new” minstrel shows that featured opera. She sang in venues as far as Australia (and some say Hawaii), and so, almost realized the family’s original dream.

One testament to Anna Hyers’ alignment with the social agendas of the times and the ideals of the black communities that surrounded and supported the sisters is that she returned to Sacramento at the end of her international career and married Dr. R. J. Fletcher, a man many years her senior, who was a noted community leader – Fletcher founded and served as Grand master and lecturer of Sacramento’s Masonic order -- The Sovereign Grand Lodge of Colored Masons -- a nationally recognized unit of Freemasons. In Sacramento by 1910, Anna was known primarily merely as “Mrs. Madah Fletcher,” not the revered star that she had been. She might have sung in church; she certainly cared for her mother, Annie. Eventually she did not readily speak of her career, according to historian Delilah Beasley, who encouraged her to discuss it for her 1919 landmark work – Pioneers of Negro Origin. However, The Hyers legacy speaks for itself:

- According to the mainstream press, Hyers Sisters Comic Opera Company was one of the best in the US, bar none
- They were the first to bring African-American themes into music theatre -- new subject matter for this genre
- In so doing, they offered a lone voice for dignified representation of their people.
- By refusing to use black or white face characters and insisting on racially appropriate (natural) casting, they “changed” casting practices on the American Music Theater stage forever!
• By offering black artists leading roles, they remained the lone source of dignified employment for these artists in mainstream Music Theater for 20 years. The Hyers won respect, proved their worth, and made history, leaving an unsung legacy of activism, inclusiveness, and artistic achievement. Certainly the Hyers’ story engenders respect for their California communities (San Francisco, Sacramento, and Oakland – sometimes maligned). These communities’ efforts toward curbing violence, teaching respect, empowering their youth, and creating prosperity during perilous times are all but forgotten today, but they model a type of community self-determination that is relevant for today’s youth and other communities, especially in tough economic times. Members of those communities today will take pride in knowing of their communities’ accomplishments, which can also help foster better understanding for us all.

The Hyers Sisters’ story is also relevant for arts activists. It says that with any field one can make a difference, especially in mass media using the arts. Today’s arts activists worldwide use music (even opera) to foster social change. Just as the Hyers used the popular art form of their day – the musical – as a social platform, dissidents as far as Tunisia (during the so-called “Arab Spring”) are using the CD with art forms such as hip hop to sound voices for democracy. So today’s activists can relate well to the Hyers’ way of voicing protests for freedom and of fostering greater intercultural understanding through the arts.

END
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**Susheel Bibbs, Ph.D.**

Filmmaker-author-historian-performer Susheel Bibbs (Susheel) is currently known as the foremost expert on Mary Ellen Pleasant (Mother of Civil Rights in California). Bibbs -- a long-term U.C. Berkeley faculty member, who retired in 2010 -- holds a doctorate in Communications with an emphasis in the mass communication of African-American and Diaspora history and advanced degrees in Opera and Vocal Performance from Boston University and The New England Conservatory with diplomas from the Mozarteum in Salzburg, Austria. She has served the arts and the humanities for over 40 years.
As a performing artist, she apprenticed at the Santa Fe Opera, debuted in concert at Boston’s famed Jordan Hall, sang with the Opera Company of Boston under Sarah Caldwell, and finally became an internationally praised operatic concert performer for 30 years. Dr. Bibbs served as a California Arts and Humanities Councils and Missouri Arts Councils touring artist for 13 of those years.

In the humanities, she began research work in 1985 and created stage and media works based on that research. Like The Hyers Sisters, Bibbs first chronicled her experiences and her musical work in a musical called *A Thrill of Sopranos* on the challenges of three African-American sopranos seeking operatic careers. She later chronicled 200 years of the classical song of black composers in *An Unsung Muse* – a national touring concert and a TV documentary. Next she created a one-woman touring musical and Chautauqua (enactment) on pioneer/civil-rights activist Mary Ellen Pleasant. This work continues to inspire audiences in the US and Canada. It was formerly part of the California Council for the Humanities' *History Alive* Program and is currently part of the Network to Freedom Program of the National Park Service.

In media, Bibbs, who was trained as an executive at WGBH-Boston, became the youngest Television Executive Producer in the Public Broadcasting System in 1976 and subsequently won several broadcast honors, including a national EMMY. Recent awards as an independent filmmaker have includes six international film-festival “Best Director” or “Best Documentary” awards, a California Silver Telly Broadcast Award, screening at the Cannes Film Festival, and broadcast of two documentaries, *The Legacy of Mary Pleasant* and *Meet Mary Pleasant (Mother of Civil Rights in California)*, which is now on PBS nationwide through 2014. To honor Bibbs' work, The City Museum in St.
Louis and California African-American Museum in Los Angeles have issued commendations for Dr. Bibbs’ “extending the awareness of her community” and “making contributions to women’s history,” and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors awarded her the title “Foremost Authority on Mary Pleasant” within their Highest Commendation “for her tireless contributions to the arts and humanities.” (more on www.mepleasant.com)
Submission Title: Black Hair Narratives Explored

Submission Id. Number: 272

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Description for Conference Program

The purpose, methods and expected outcomes of a proposed research study to understand the significance of Black hair for women of African descent will be presented. The project uses survey research methods and qualitative interviews to collect data about and examine Black hair narratives with particular attention given to personal, political, and socio-cultural themes prevalent for women of African descent. Ideas about identity, beauty, self-concept and community perceptions will be analyzed. Findings from this project will be used to educate practitioners to better understand the experiences of Black women to facilitate more culturally responsive practice. Furthermore, the findings will give voice to this critical and often overlooked area of identity for Black women and demonstrate the unique and important role that hair has in their lives.
Description for Conference Proceedings

Research Objectives: The purpose of this proposed research study is to understand the cultural and political experiences of Black women with reference to their hair. The project aims to collect and examine Black hair narratives with particular attention given to their personal, political, and socio-cultural themes prevalent for women of African descent. For example, Black women's relationship with their hair and its impact on their identity, ideas about beauty and self-concept will be explored. Findings from this project will be used to educate practitioners to better relate to Black women to facilitate more culturally responsive practice. Furthermore, it will give voice to Black women and demonstrate the critical role that hair plays in their lives and identity.

Proposed Methodology: The project involves data collection using 3 methods. Four hundred subjects will be accessed via the Internet using a private Facebook page, project website with site-specific advertising, and personal contacts. In addition, 100 in-depth face-to-face or telephone interviews of people in various age categories and 4 focus groups will be used for data collection from participants who have a Black hair narrative. Criteria for project participation will include being identified as of African descent or caring for the hair of a person who identifies as such or having a unique personal impact story to share that is intimately connected to Black hair. A portion of our presentation will include solicitation of feedback from the structured interview questions contained in the survey.

Expected Outcomes: The researchers expect a myriad of unique and interesting stories related to the lived experiences of Black women in relationship to their Black hair. We expect these stories to have high impact and to be centered on socio-cultural and political themes that relate to power, position, oppression and freedom. We also anticipate statistically significant differences in positive attitudes toward Black hair for disparate generational groups and between people who wear their hair naturally and processed.
Submission #:273

Title: Masters Programs Preparing Nurse Educators: Four Decades In Review

Topic area: Education

Presentation format: Paper Session

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Abstract:
Enrollment in Master’s programs to prepare nurse educators has dramatically increased in response to the looming faculty shortage. To assess this issue, the authors reviewed annual report data from the American Association of Colleges of Nursing (AACN) and the National League for Nursing spanning four decades from 1968 through 2008. This review demonstrated a variable pattern of enrollment growth and decline, with dramatic growth in the past decade. A review of enrollment and graduation data from AACN shows an increase from 88 programs with a total of 1,238 students nationally in 1998 to 258 programs with a total of 12,111 in 2008. In 2008, MSN Education track graduates represented 16.3% of the 17,247 MSN graduates as compared to 3.3% of the total 10,760 graduates in 1998. As this rapid expansion has occurred, what evidence based curricular guidelines have been applied to these programs? In the absence of standards, questions arise regarding program design and curriculum models. A review of the websites for all institutions that reported having a nurse educator program in 2008 was the source of the curriculum information for this study. Of the 258 institutions reviewed, 198 schools published curricular plans available on their websites. Curricula were compared by total credit hours, core MSN courses (pathophysiology, research, theory, etc); nursing education courses (curriculum, teaching strategies, etc); numbers of courses and hours of practicum and evidence of required courses in specialty. Findings are then related to the AACN Essentials of Master’s Education for Advanced Practice Nursing and NLN Nurse Educator Certification Criteria. This session will report findings of this review. Curriculum development decisions need to be based on sound evidence in terms of national standards such as the NLN core competencies and proven curricular models. The results of this review will inform curricular development, evaluation and revision processes.

Purpose: Enrollment in Master’s programs to prepare nurse educators has dramatically increased in response to the faculty shortage. This study reviewed enrollment data for nurse educator masters programs across four decades and described current curricular patterns with emphasis on clinical course content.

Methods: Annual enrollment data from the American Association of Colleges of Nursing (AACN) and the National League for Nursing (NLN) was reviewed from 1968 through 2008. Websites of the 258 institutions reporting a nurse educator program in 2008 were reviewed. Of these institutions, 198 schools published curricular plans on their websites. Curricula were compared by total credit hours, core MSN courses, nursing education courses, numbers of courses and hours of practicum, and evidence of specialty courses. Specialty clinical courses were reviewed for content and required hours. Clinical course content was reviewed in relation to reports from IOM and the Carnegie Foundation.

Results: This review demonstrated a variable pattern of enrollment growth and decline, with dramatic growth in the past decade. A review of enrollment and graduation data shows an increase from 88 programs with a total of 1,238 students nationally in 1998 to 258 programs with a total of 12,111 in 2008. In 2008, MSN Education track graduates represented 16.3% of the 17,247 MSN graduates as compared to 3.3% of the total 10,760 graduates in 1998. A great degree of variability in curricula exists in the nurse educator
programs. Advanced specialty coursework was evident in 92 programs (46%) without any consistent curricular patterns.

Conclusion: Curriculum development decisions need to be based on sound evidence in terms of national standards and proven curricular models. In keeping with the Carnegie Foundation report, future nurse educators need to be prepared with advanced clinical practice preparation. The results of this review will inform curricular development, evaluation and revision processes.
Submission # 274

Title:
ASN-BSN Concurrent Enrollment: A Model For Seamless Academic Progression

Topic area: Education

Presentation format: Paper Session

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Abstract:

The Institute of Medicine’s (IOM) *Future of Nursing* report is challenging nursing to achieve higher levels of education through an improved system that promotes seamless academic progression. The report calls for a collaborative response to increase the number of nurses with the BSN from 50 to 80% by 2020 and to encourage associate degree nurses to earn the baccalaureate degree within five years of graduation.

A partnership established 8 years ago between the University of Central Florida (UCF) and Seminole State College (SSC) allows qualified associate degree nursing (ASN) students to be concurrently enrolled in the UCF baccalaureate (BSN) program. Students must meet all of the same admission requirements as BSN candidates and students graduate with the BSN within one to two semesters of completing their ASN degrees.

Outcomes include high levels of faculty and student satisfaction, significant increases in the SSC GPA, retention, performance on standardized benchmarking instruments and on the NCLEX. The positive gain to UCF has been significant increase in BSN admission capacity and retention of students who were choosing other fields rather than waiting for years to gain entry into the BSN program. The positive outcome for the Orlando area is the significant increase in supply of BSN prepared nurses. Another outcome in keeping with an IOM goal is increased pursuit of Master’s education. As of fall 2009, 26% of the graduates of the Concurrent Program have begun or graduated from the UCF MSN program; as compared to a national average of 4% of all ASN graduates who return to earn the MSN.

In response to our community, this partnership model has been established at another community college. This well established evidence-based curriculum can become a national model. We will share our curriculum development and innovative change methods used to help two large educational systems learn to work together to accomplish something many thought impossible.
The Social Work Role in Post-Mortem Care: The Continuum Does Not Stop at Death.

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This presentation will discuss how post mortem care is provided by social work in a large academic medical center through the Office of Decedent Affairs (ODA). The majority of end of life care happens in hospitals, especially tertiary care centers. Yet how hospitals deal with death and dying is rarely addressed. Much of the literature is focused on withdrawal of life support, organ procurement, discharge planning and autopsy rates, as opposed to how care at the time of death can significantly influence the grief process. The literature supports the theory that how one experiences the dying process, including time and place of death is an important component to how one grieves. The model developed is a coordination of efforts by multiple disciplines and departments to enhance the post mortem experience, with a decided emphasis on patient and family-centered care. ODA has developed standards for policy and practice protocols (i.e. body release, autopsy permits, staying at bedside after death, use of the viewing room, morgue access, bereavement follow up) across the medical center that cover all populations including fetal demise, pediatric, adult and geriatric deaths as well as medical examiner cases. Decedent Affairs works across departments to insure that the hospital stays committed to providing service excellence at the time of death and beyond, through conflict resolution among different teams, internal and external website access, strong committee work, and multidisciplinary involvement. Families and staff have a primary point of contact for questions and concerns regarding these issues since it is the job of ODA to know or to research the answers. This presentation will discuss the value of providing this level of psychosocial care and continuing to incorporate new clinical practices over time.
ABSTRACT

There is today in Taiwan a competitive environment where Not for Profit Organisations (NPOs) seek to differentiate themselves from each other. The tools of branding have become important to these organisations in order convey a slick corporate image. However, in reality NPOs are driven by a mission that is primarily linked to the public good and not to market success. It is not just marketing that is important to the modern NPO but public relations strategies that most appropriately fit their mission.

In this paper I study the Eden Social Welfare Foundation, established in 1985, and one of Taiwan’s top five NPOs. Eden looks after disabled people but it like NPOs faces the challenge of presenting itself as a caring, non-partisan, organisation while at the same time having to compete for the charity dollar. The purpose of this study is to investigate crises of “mission drift”, where NPOs charged with a public mission can lose their way by becoming too corporate-looking.

There are two major aspects of crisis of mission drift discussed in the thesis: one is as a business or social enterprise and the other is strategic alliance with corporations. In this study I present two case studies of The Wonderful Masters Cleaning Team by Eden and The 66 Event by CAUF linked strategically to the Taipei City Government where operated own bakery and restaurant. Both cases encountered serious problems in terms of how Eden and CAUF were perceived as NPOs and as businesses.
BUYING OR SELLING? A STUDY OF NEWS FRAMING, PRE-EXISTING SCHEMAS AND INVESTMENT INTENTION

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BUYING OR SELLING? A STUDY OF NEWS FRAMING, PRE-EXISTING SCHEMAS AND INVESTMENT INTENTION

INTRODUCTION

Economic transactions, whether domestic or international, have become an indispensable part of American life (Coolidge, 1925). In order to remain well informed and make rational choices concerning stock investment or equity owning, small investors have to rely on the news media, their major source of information (Lippman, 1922), for analysis of economic policies and interpretation of listed companies’ performance. The dependence on the mass media for timely economic information becomes so critical that any delay in response would lead to plummet of the stock market and damage of consumer confidence, and few countries could isolate their economies from this highly-interdependent global economic system. In fact, the United States has been a major stakeholder and initiator of this system and actively engaged in world economic liberalization (Crane, 2008).

Even though getting timely and truthful information is so important, no information could reach its readers in its fullness (Zaller, 1992). Due to lack of space, scarcity of sources and other unknown reasons, media practitioners often provide their audiences with news information that is oversimplified or highly condensed. One rhetoric device that helps them to fulfill their task is framing (Shen, 2004b). According to Tankard et al. (1991), a frame is “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” (p.3). Such selective exposure of audiences to certain elements instead of others amplified the importance of selective elements in weighing a public controversy (Iyengar, 1987). As a result, with attention conduced to the legitimized message frames, people could easily lean toward these message frames in attitude-formation process. This framing effect becomes stronger when the transferred issue is “out of reach, out of sight, out of mind” (Lippmann, 1922, p.18).

International trade is such a complicated issue that goes beyond direct experience of
individual Americans. Sometimes even the political elites could not predict the fate of an international trade agreement (Coyne, 2005). Therefore, how a trade agreement is framed and how the media practitioners word a cooperative project will critically influence public trade preferences (Hiscox, 2006; Mayda & Rodric, 2005; O’Rourke & Sinnott, 2002; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). However, message frames are not the solely initiator of public perception of international transactions. Pre-existing schemas and values play an even more important role in deciphering incoming information and consequently making judgments. Feldman and Zaller (1992) suggested that facing a public issue, individual Americans may take into consideration of different values and beliefs so as to make rational choices. This is also consistent with Zaller’s (1992) saying “every opinion is a marriage of information and predisposition: information to form a mental picture of the given issue, and predisposition to motivate some conclusion about it” (p.6).

This study explores whether news coverage of international trade programs, by focusing on pro-trade versus anti-trade characters as well as loss vs. gain frames (negativity bias), has any effect on public investment intentions. Even though framing effect has been one of the favorite research areas communications and political scholars like to explore, and a few papers even focused on media influence of stock markets (Lasorsa & Reese, 1987; Scheufele et. al, 2011; Warner & Molotch, 1993), few have targeted the framing effect of news coverage of international transactions on individual investment intentions. In addition, media frames seldom appear independently in the coverage of international transactions, but rather collaborate to influence how individuals evaluate information (Shah et al., 2004) and make investment decision.

This study conducts a 2 X 2 survey-based experiment to test the framing effects of business news, which is framed as either anti-trade or pro-trade, and gain or loss. Specifically, we want to check whether framing an international cooperation as anti-trade would produce different effects on participants’ investment intention from framing it as pro-trade. Similarly,
whether the variation between loss and gain frames would influence participants’ investment intention is another focus of this study. In addition, preexisting schemas of participants about free trade and international trade are also investigated to see whether and to what level these pre-existing schemas would impact people’s investment intention.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

*Framing Effects*

Individual attitude toward an issue is the summation of differentiated-weight considerations. This attitude formation can be vividly demonstrated by a simple equation: \[ A = \sum V_i W_i \] (Nelson, Oxley, & Clawson, 1997). Based on this equation, to influence people’s issue attitudes, either you find and make public new information (*new V*) that has been overlooked; or you change the significance of certain attributes, which is generally agreed as framing. According to Entman (1993) “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p.52). Put it in another way, framing not only connects a message frame with a public issue, but further implies that this message frame needs to be applied to interpretation of the issue (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2011). For framing effects to function, three premises need to be fulfilled. First, a specific interpretive schema should exist in the audience memory. Second, that schema is active and easily accessible. Third, the value of that specific schema is amplified by consciously weighing against or subconsciously overlooking other important considerations when audiences are exposed selectively to that consideration (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Lawrence, 2000; Scheufele 2004). In Nelson et al.’s (1997) words, “Frames tell people how to weigh the often conflicting considerations that enter into everyday political deliberations” (p.226). In general, framing, like a camera, shapes public opinions by placing the legitimate or relevant considerations on focus while pushing all the other competing attributes to the background.
Consistent with above-mentioned literatures, Nelson and Kinder (1996) suggested that message framing restricted available attributes that people may activate at evaluating a public issue, thus swaying public opinion. For example, people’s attitudes toward welfare reform were critically influenced by the frame the media legitimized; the more limelight the moral qualification of the welfare-policy beneficiaries received, the more intense the group sentiment became (Nelson & Kinder, 1996; Shen, 2004a). This is also true of the relationship between people’s tolerance of KKK rally and whether the free-speech frame was emphasized (Nelson, Calwson & Oxley, 1997). Consequently, describing a public issue in varied ways would endorse different causal and treatment responsibilities, and at last validate different problem-solving remedies (Iyengar, 1987). For instance, episodic newscasts treated a public issue as isolated and consequently threw the victim internal predispositions into investigation. In contrast, thematic newscasts stressed the influence of impersonal factors, urging audiences to consider a controversial issue against broader societal background (Iyengar, 1991). In general, framing a public issue differently would give audiences a clue as to who would be responsible or blamed for it and how the problem should be treated. As Entman (2007) summarized, framing is a powerful tool for political elites to influence the public in a “noncoercive” manner through manipulating what people need to think about (p. 165).

Even though framing research has been prevalent in each arena of communication field, only a few studies have targeted the framing effect on people’s perception of economic projects. One of them is Nelson and Oxley’s (1999) land development project. According to the study, participants reading the news story with an economic frame were more supportive of the proposed economic project than those participants administered under an environmental frame. Hiscox (2006) found that a pro-trade frame or no frame at all was more likely to induce supportive attitude towards international trade among survey participants than an anti-trade frame. Zha and colleagues (2010) examined the framing effect on public perception of international trade. Their study confirmed the close relationship between a
pro-trade frame and the enthusiasm about specific international transactions and international trade in general. Inoue and Patterson (2007) also suggested that individual Americans’ perceptions of Japan depended heavily on how the U.S. media depicted the pros and cons of Japan’s economic activities. Based on these literatures, the following hypothesis was formed:

**H1:** The message frame with pro-trade orientation in economic news coverage of international trade is more successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy relevant stocks and products. Specifically,

- **H1a:** The pro-trade message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is more successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy Chrysler automobiles.
- **H1b:** The pro-trade message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is more successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy Hershey chocolates.
- **H1c:** The pro-trade message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is more successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy Chrysler stocks.
- **H1d:** The pro-trade message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is more successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy Hershey stocks.
- **H1e:** The pro-trade message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is more successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy Chinese auto stocks.
- **H1f:** The pro-trade message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is more successful in motivating investors to keep Chrysler stocks.
- **H1g:** The pro-trade message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is more successful in motivating investors to keep Hershey stocks.

**Negativity Biases (Loss vs. Gain Frame)**

All studies targeting framing effects employ either emphasis frames or equivalency frames or both (Druckman, 2001). Emphasis frames, which we have discussed above, display an issue in terms of “qualitatively different yet potentially relevant considerations” (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p.114). Equivalency frames refer to logically equivalent considerations,
which were typically cast in either positive or negative manner (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). According to an array of studies (Cacioppo et al., 1994; Siegrist & Cvetkovich, 2001; Taylor, 1991), more psychological and behavioral responses would be enticed inside a people or an organism when an issue was cast in a negative light. This psychological process is called negativity bias. Cacioppo et al. (1997) confirmed the phenomenon that the same amount of input would generate more output in a negative motivational system than a positive one, since “negative events are more salient, potent, dominant in combinations, and generally efficacious than positive events” (Rozin and Royzman, 2001, p.297). If an issue is negative, novel and rarely available, it is more likely to be regarded as valuable and more likely to catch public attention (Fiske, 1980; Reyes et al., 1980). More than that, people would weigh a public issue more carefully if it is framed in a loss condition (Shah et al., 2004), a warning sign that would garner more resources to prepare for the potential danger (Siegrist & Cvetkovich, 2001).

For example, a new policy could be framed in a negative light with a potential to lead to a 5% unemployment rate rather than having the capacity of generating a 95% employment rate (Druckman, 2004). When ground beef was depicted as 25 percent fat instead of 75 percent lean, consumer evaluation of the beef tasting plummeted drastically (Levin, 1987). This evaluation remained unchanged even after the beef was actually tasted (Levin & Gaeth, 1988). Similarly, when the credit card processing fee was framed as extra charge (loss) for card holders instead of a reward (gain) for cash users, people were hesitant to use credit cards (Rozin & Royzman, 2001).

Functioning like a watching dog, the American news media are enthusiastic in covering negative news (Altheide, 1997; Bagdikian, 1987; Patterson, 1997; Shoemaker set al., 1991). This asymmetric response to negative information amplifies negative economic condition through neglecting economic revision indexes (Harrington, 1989). As a result, individual Americans tended to blame the government for recessed economy and consequently punished
them with their voting tickets (Aragones, 1997; Bloom & Price, 1975; Claggett, 1986; Goidel & Langley, 1995; Kernell, 1977). By the same token, individual attitudes toward international trade depend critically on whether a loss frame or a gain frame is offered (Hiscox, 2006). And American sentiments toward other countries were heavily swayed by how our mass media perceived the impact of foreign economic activities (Inoue & Patterson, 2007). Guided by these literatures, the following hypothesis is formed:

**H2:** The message frame with a loss orientation in economic news coverage of international trade is less successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy relevant stocks and products. Specifically,

*H2a:* The loss-oriented message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is less successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy Chrysler automobiles.

*H2b:* The loss-oriented message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is less successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy Hershey chocolates.

*H2c:* The loss-oriented message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is less successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy Chrysler stocks.

*H2d:* The loss-oriented message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is less successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy Hershey stocks.

*H2e:* The loss-oriented message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is less successful in stimulating people’s intentions to buy Chinese auto stocks.

*H2f:* The loss-oriented message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is less successful in motivating investors to keep Chrysler stocks.

*H2g:* The loss-oriented message frame in economic news coverage of international trade is less successful in motivating investors to keep Hershey stocks.

**Preexisting Schemas**

Preexisting schemas refers to mental frameworks that help individuals to organize and interpret incoming information. According to Gilovich et al. (2006), there are two parallel
information-processing routes individuals utilize to make sense of the world: bottom-up route and top-down route. The bottom-up route is used to gather information from the outside world. People use the top-down route to activate pre-existing schemas to filter and evaluate new information. Even though the message frames the mass media offer may slant public opinion, but people have the ability to “review and reject activated knowledge as irrelevant to the judgment they are called on to make” (Price et al., 1997, p.502). They would give priority to relevant preexisting schemas in forming opinion about a specific case (Lau & Schlesinger, 2005). In Chong & Druckman’s (2007) opinion, preexisting schemas have the function to amplify certain message frames while blocking additional ones. Once people establish their pre-existing schemas, they prioritize consistent information and rate it more important and even treat neutral information as consistent with their pre-existing schemas (Druckman & Bolsen, 2011). This effect grows even bigger if the information is ambiguous or unfamiliar (Trope, 1986).

For example, a voting decision of an individual was heavily associated with the relation between one of the two principles he/she prefers: equality and freedom and which one a candidate endorse (Barker, 2005). Similarly, individual endorsement of Concealed Handgun Law was extremely impacted by their pre-existing schemas on the gun-control issue (Haider-Markel & Joslyn, 2001). Pre-oriented for public safety, Democrats were more likely to go against the law, while Republicans and Independents were more possibly to endorse the law for personal freedom.

Since foreign policy is a domain that individual Americans seldom put their hands on, the public opinion on foreign policy is more sensitive to the influence of people’s prior knowledge. As Shapiro and Page (1988) suggested, the public respond to the changing world in ways “they perceived to be in their own interest or in the interest of the nation, based upon common sense, shared values, and common standards of judgment” (p.214). Lau and Schlesinger (2005) found that such social wisdoms as culturally-rooted norms and casual and
treatment attribution had great effects on individual Americans’ interpretation of foreign issues. Some other studies confirmed that the generic criteria applicable to American domestic issue assessment were useless when applied to foreign policy preferences (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1986, 1987; Zha et al., 2006)). Subject to these literatures, the following hypotheses were formed:

**H3:** Positive pre-existing schema about free trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy relevant stocks and products. Specifically,

**H3a:** Positive pre-existing schema about free trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy Chrysler automobiles.

**H3b:** Positive pre-existing schema about free trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy Hershey chocolates.

**H3c:** Positive pre-existing schema about free trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy Chrysler stocks.

**H3d:** Positive pre-existing schema about free trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy Hershey stocks.

**H3e:** Positive pre-existing schema about free trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy Chinese auto stocks.

**H3f:** Positive pre-existing schema about free trade is more likely to motivate investors to keep Chrysler stocks.

**H3g:** Positive pre-existing schema about free trade is more likely to motivate investors to keep Hershey stocks.

**H4:** Positive pre-existing schema about international trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy relevant stocks and products. Specifically,

**H4a:** Positive pre-existing schema about international trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy Chrysler automobiles.

**H4b:** Positive pre-existing schema about international trade is more likely to stimulate
people’s intentions to buy Hershey chocolates.

**H4c:** Positive pre-existing schema about international trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy Chrysler stocks.

**H4d:** Positive pre-existing schema about international trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy Hershey stocks.

**H4e:** Positive pre-existing schema about international trade is more likely to stimulate people’s intentions to buy Chinese auto stocks.

**H4f:** Positive pre-existing schema about international trade is more likely to motivate investors to keep Chrysler stocks.

**H4g:** Positive pre-existing schema about international trade is more likely to motivate investors to keep Hershey stocks.

**METHOD**

A survey-based experiment with a 2 X 2 between-subject factorial design was adopted to test the proposed hypotheses. The factors under manipulation were trade frames (pro-trade vs. anti-trade) and positive/negative frames (gains vs. losses). Two hundred sixty people voluntarily participated in the experiment, and their average age is 36.7 and 54.2 percent were female. Before experiment, participants filled out a survey questionnaire composed of a series of open-ended questions investigating their preexisting schemas about free trade. Answers to these questions were content analyzed and summed up to form pre-existing schemas about free trade (See Lau, 1989; Shen, 2004b; Zha et al, 2010). Their pre-existing schema about international trade was also investigated. After the survey, participants were put randomly to one of the four framing conditions. With this experiment, each participant was required to read two news articles on international trade events. The two news stories were counter-balanced to avoid potential order effect on their responses. When they finished reading the articles, they each filled out a posttest survey instrument and then were debriefed and thanked.
**Stimulus Material**

Two international trade projects were chosen for this study. One was Chrysler’s decision to cooperate with Chinese automaker Chery to produce mini-cars, while the other focused on Hershey’s outsourcing some of its production capacity to Mexico. Both issues were covered occasionally by major news media in the United States and Canada. Similar to prior research (Nelson & Oxley, 1999; Shen & Edwards, 2005), all four articles used several paragraphs to discuss the background information for the cooperative projects. The pro-trade or anti-trade frame went hand in hand with either a gain or a loss frame, thus forming four different framing conditions. In each article, two paragraphs were spared for experimental manipulation, with one devised for either an anti-trade or a pro-trade frame, and the other for either a loss or a gain frame. The four articles were similar in length and writing style to reduce possible confounding variables.

**Measurement of Variables**

*Pre-existing Schemas about Free Trade and International Trade.* The key questions in this study targeted on whether pre-existing schemas about international trade and free trade would influence individual purchasing intention for relevant stocks and products. In order to identify their preexisting schemas about free trade, respondents were asked to write down their first four considerations that popped up in their minds when they thought of free trade. Responses were weighted such that the first choice was assigned four points, the second three points, the third two points, and the last one point (See Lau 1989; Shen, 2004b; Zha et al, 2010). Besides, each response was also coded negative, positive or neutral based on whether that response endorsed free trade, went against free trade, or stood somewhere in between. In order to identify the direction of each response, two more open-ended questions were given as such: “Is there anything specific that makes you like free trade and what are they?” and “Is there anything specific that makes you dislike free trade and what are they?” If a respondent’s all four responses endorsed free trade, he/she got ten points; if all his/her responses went
against free trade, he/she got negative ten; if his/her first two responses supported free trade but the remaining two against free trade, his/her score was positive four. In general, the responses of each respondent were summed up, ranging from -10 to +10. To ensure reliability in coding the direction, a second independent coder helped code the responses and intercoder reliability reached .86 with Scott’s \( \pi \). The statistics showed that of all 260 experimental participants, 82 were anti-trade schematic, about 31.5 percent; 50 kept neutral; and the remaining 128 were pro-trade schematic, soaring to 49.2 percent. Respondents’ pre-existing schema about international trade was investigated in a 7-point scale, with 1 indicating their dislike of international trade and 7 indicating their most favorable attitude toward international trade.

**Issue Attitudes.** After reading the news stories, participants were asked about their intention for stock investment or product purchasing. The first question asked “Assume that you have the opportunity to buy stock in Chrysler Corp. how likely would you be to buy Chrysler stock? Responses were coded such that 1 indicated that they had no intention to purchase the stock and 7 the utmost intention to buy the stock. Similar questions were also posed to ask their intention to buy stock in Hershey Corp., Chrysler cars, Hershey chocolate and Chinese automaking stock.

**Control Variables.** In addition to the above-labeled measures, the questionnaire contained several other variables that could also influence subjects’ attitudes toward international trade projects in lieu with past literatures: nationalism, chauvinism, religiosity, age, gender, education, employment, party affiliation and political ideology. These variables were used as covariates in the analysis.

**FINDINGS**

The research question aims to examine whether message frames as well as pre-existing schemas about free trade and international trade have any effect on individual investment intentions, specifically their intentions to buy stocks or products of the companies involved.
Table 1. Relationships between Independent Variables in Interest and Dependent Variables

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<th>Independent</th>
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* $p < .05$  ** $p < .01$  *** $p < .001$

Chrysler Car Purchasing Intention. In order to see whether different message frames and pre-existing schemas influence respondents’ willingness to buy Chrysler cars? A hierarchical regression was conducted when all the other covariants were kept statistically in constant. The regression results showed that respondents who read the Chrysler-Chery cooperation story with an anti-trade frame were indeed less likely to express their intentions to purchase Chrysler cars ($t = -2.192$, $d.f. = 15$, $p = .030$). When the target turned to the influence of the loss/gain frame variation on car purchasing intentions, it was found that respondents reading the loss-frame news story were less likely to have the intention to purchase Chrysler cars compared to those who read the same news story but with a gain frame ($t = -2.084$, $d.f. = 15$, $p = .038$). Nevertheless, the pre-existing schemas about free-trade seemed to have no effects on respondents’ intention to buy Chrysler cars ($t = .1242$, $d.f. = 15$, $p = .216$). Neither did respondents’ pre-existing attitudes about international trade ($t = .515$, $d.f. = 15$, $p = .607$). Thus, H1a and H2a were accepted; but H3a and H4a were denied.

Hershey Chocolate Bar Purchasing Intentions. With respect to the intention to buy Hershey chocolate bars, a hierarchical regression was conducted and the statistical results demonstrated that neither the anti/pro-trade frame nor the loss/gain frame could add any knowledge to the prediction of people’s intentions to purchase Hershey chocolate bars when statistically controlling all the covariants in the regression ($t = -1.439$, $d.f. = 15$, $p = .152$ for the anti/pro-trade frame; $t = -.386$, $d.f. = 15$, $p = .700$ for the loss/gain frame). Similarly, the pre-existing schema about free trade had no effect on people’s chocolate bar purchasing
intention \( (t = 1.705, d.f. = 15, p = .090) \). Interestingly, people who had favorable attitudes toward international trade showed more intense willingness to purchase chocolate bars than those who disfavored international trade \( (t = 2.379, d.f. = 15, p = .018) \). So, H4b was accepted; but H1b, H2b and H3b were rejected.

**Chrysler Stock Purchasing Intentions.** With respect to respondents’ intentions to buy Chrysler stocks, the hierarchical regression showed that respondents exposed to the pro-trade news frame were more willing to buy Chrysler stocks than respondents exposed to the anti-trade news frame \( (t = 3.20, d.f. = 15, p = .002) \). However, respondents reading the news story with the gain frame did not harbor stronger intentions to purchase Chrysler stocks than respondents reading the same news story but with the loss frame \( (t = -1.081, d.f. = 15, p = .281) \). Furthermore, those pro-trade schematic respondents did not distinguish themselves from anti-trade schematic respondents with respect to their intentions to buy Chrysler stocks \( (t = 1.237, d.f. = 15, p = .218) \). Nevertheless, respondents’ attitudes towards international trade did have a significant effect on their Chrysler stock purchasing intentions, with one point increase in people’s feeling about international trade leading to an increase of .250 Beta points in terms of people’s intentions to purchase Chrysler stocks \( (t = 3.577, d.f. = 15, p = .0005) \). As a result, H1c and H4c were accepted; but H2c and H3c were rejected.

**Hershey Stock Purchasing Intentions.** The statistical results showed that neither the anti/pro-trade news frame nor the loss/gain frame had any effects on respondents’ intentions to buy Hershey stocks \( (t = -1.002, d.f. = 15, p = .317 \text{ for anti/pro-trade frame}; \ t = -.862, d.f. = 15, p = .390 \text{ for loss/gain frame}) \). However, respondents’ pre-existing schemas about free trade seemed to have certain effects on their Hershey-stock purchasing intentions, with one point increase in the pre-existing schema index leading to an increase of .162 Beta points regarding their intentions to purchase Hershey stocks \( (t = 2.19, d.f. = 15, p = .030) \). Thus, H1d, H2d, H4d was rejected, but H3d was accepted.

**Chinese Automaking Stock Purchasing Intentions.** With respect to the intention to
purchase Chinese automobile stocks, respondents administered under the pro-trade frame were more likely to have the intention to purchase Chinese automobile stocks, compared to respondents exposed to the news story with the anti-trade frame ($t = 2.499$, $d.f. = 15$, $p = .013$). Nevertheless, there was no difference in terms of Chinese automaking-stock purchasing intention between respondents reading the news story with the gain frame and those reading the same news story but with the loss frame ($t = -1.033$, $d.f. = 15$, $p = .303$). Likewise, pre-existing free-trade schemas did not have any effect on people’s Chinese stock purchasing intention ($t = 1.259$, $d.f. = 15$, $p = .210$). But those people with favorable feeling toward international trade preferred to purchase Chinese automaking stocks ($t = 2.276$, $d.f. = 15$, $p = .024$). As such, H1e and H4e were accepted, but H2e and H3e rejected.

Given the chance that respondents have already purchased Chrysler or Hershey stocks, what will happen to their investment strategies after reading the two news stories? In order to check the consequences, respondents were asked “Now assuming you had Chrysler stock, what would you be most likely to do: keep the stocks, buy additional stock, or sell the stocks?” Since the answers were categorical, the first two alternative answers were lumped together as 1 and the third answer sell the stocks was recoded as 0.

**Intentions to Keep or Sell Chrysler Stocks:** Since the dependent variable was categorical, a hierarchical Logistic regression was conducted. The statistical results confirmed that the loss/gain frame did not have any effect on individual Americans’ intention to keep or sell Chrysler stocks ($Wald = .469$, $d.f. = 1$, $p = .808$). However, the pro-trade/anti-trade frame did have a significant effect on people’s intention to keep or sell Chrysler stocks ($Wald = 10.708$, $d.f. = 1$, $p = .001$), with respondents exposed to the anti-trade frame being less likely than respondents exposed to the pro-trade frame to keep Chrysler stocks by the odds of 65 percent. But the pre-existing schemas about free trade had merely marginal effects on people’s willingness to keep or sell the stocks ($Wald = 3.514$, $d.f. = 1$, $p = .061$). Thus, H1f was accepted, but H2f, H3f and H4f were rejected.
**Intentions to Keep or Sell Hershey Stocks.** A hierarchical Logistic regression was also conducted to examine whether the message frames had any effect on individual Americans’ intention to keep or sell Hershey stocks, with all other relevant variables kept in control. The statistical results showed that neither the anti/pro-trade frame nor the loss/gain frame had any effect on individual Americans’ intention to keep/sell Chrysler stocks (Wald = .190, d.f. = 1, \( p = .663 \) for anti/pro-trade frame; Wald = .020, d.f. = 1, \( p = .888 \) for loss/gain frame). Furthermore, the pre-existing schemas of free trade had no effect on people’s willingness to keep or sell Hershey stocks either (Wald = 2.761, d.f. = 1, \( p = .097 \)). But respondents’ attitudes toward international trade seemed to have certain effect on their intention to keep or sell the stocks (Wald = 3.848, d.f. = 1, \( p = .050 \)), with each unit increment in respondents’ international trade attitudes increasing the odds of willingness to keep the stocks by 25 percent. Thus H4g was accepted, but H1g, H2g and H3g were rejected.

**ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

This study aims to investigate whether the framing effects prevail in news media coverage of international transactions. Specifically, will different message frames influence people’s investment intention? In addition, the study also proposes that individuals’ pre-existing schemas about free trade and international trade also sway investment intention.

The results showed that with respect to people’s individual investment strategies, pro/anti-trade frames had influence on people’s investment intension in four of the seven scenarios, whereas the loss/gain frames merely influenced people’s intention to purchase Chrysler cars. Moreover, investor pre-existing attitudes toward international trade had effects on their investment intentions in four items, while their pre-existing schemas about free trade merely influenced their intension to invest in Hershey stocks.

Shapiro and Page (1988) argued that two criteria might determine people’s foreign policy evaluation: benefits to his/her own interest and benefits to the interests of the nation. American attitudinal responses to international cooperation seem to fall to the
national-interest category (Inoue & Patterson, 2007; Zha et al, 2010), whereas individual investors see less direct economic or emotional involvement in their investment intention. No matter what forms of investment they engage in: stock investment or product purchasing, the investment intention is more closely linked to personal interest and under the control of their volitions. Thus, investor’s personal interest will be more readily activated to guide their decision-making.

**Chrysler Car Purchasing Intention.** This study found that respondents reading the news story with a pro-trade message frame were more willing to purchase Chrysler cars than their counterparts exposed to an antitrade-frame news story. As is well known that emphasis framing effects could focus respondents’ attention on certain aspects of a reality to the exclusion of others (Entman, 1993) and consequently suggest the relevance of these aspects (Nelson et al., 1997), the message frames have the capacity to impact international cooperation assessment. Framing it as pro-trade would narrow people’s attention on such factors as cost reduction, job creation, capacity to make profits, possible dividend increase, increased market niche and future cooperation potential. The subsequent positive attitudes, even though not necessarily heightening the purchasing intention, would at least block any negative emotional linkage. Car purchasing is indeed an economic activity and such economic elements as price, family income, family social-economic status, quality concern, gas consumption rate may determine an investor’s purchasing intention. It is reasonable for investors to focus on these personal-interest elements while neglect their perception about free trade and international trade, let alone to say they were selectively exposed to a positive image. Even though the news coverage did not touch quality factors, based on huge price elasticity of demand for cars, merely a 10-to-15 percent discount due to cost reduction would be extremely attractive and could surely impact some consumers’ car purchasing intention. To invest $20,000 on a car would be great burden for a normal American family under recessed economy, and price is definitely one of the two major factors that determine discretionary
purchase (Curtin, 1982), when quality is not a concern any more thanks to modern management and technology. The price may even become more decisive for those consumers in the lower echelon of socioeconomic status. A pro-trade news story furnishing such information may facilitate people’s purchasing intention. Furthermore, the news even suggests that purchasing Chrysler car at a much lower price but with the same quality is a rational choice. As such, respondents administered under a pro-trade frame were more likely to express their intention to purchase Chrysler cars than those reading a news story with an anti-trade frame. Likewise, an anti-trade frame may suggest that a Chrysler car may not be a good choice both technically and emotionally. With regards to respondents who may have thought of buying a “Chrysler,” this negative message frame produces a psychological noise, preventing them from connecting even emotionally with the project that harms American job market. For those who have not thought of buying a ‘Chrysler,’ anti-trade frame may suggest considerations they have never taken into prior consideration, thus heightening their dislike for Chrysler and legitimating their original preferences.

In this study, the equivalency framing effect does not exist in almost all scenarios but the case of Chrysler-car purchasing intension. The statistical result shows that respondents who read the news story with a loss frame are less likely to have the intention to buy Chrysler cars than their counterparts reading a gain-frame news story. According to the negativity bias theory, a gain frame focusing on winning back 1,000 jobs may not generate the same response in respondents from a loss frame that highlights losing 1,000 jobs. Even though the data at hand could not tell whether a loss frame has the capacity to change respondents’ purchasing intension from willingness to purchase to unwillingness, one thing is certain that the loss frame of the same value leads to a sharp drop of people’s purchasing intension (2.38) from the neutral point (4), much larger than the gap (.95) between the mean value of respondents exposed to the gain frame and the neutral point. Probably, a loss frame may reinforce the intention of those respondents who have no interest in Chrysler cars and make
them more determined on their prior decisions. As mentioned beforehand that car purchasing intention is subject to many factors, the loss frame may offer investors another excuse to shun from a ‘Chrysler’: punishing Chrysler for cutting jobs or outsourcing production capacity through boycotting its products. There is one more possibility: nowadays, consumers need not stick to one brand of cars; there are many substitutions, like Honda, Toyota, Ford and even Chevy. For those who originally intend to purchase a Chrysler, the loss frame may put them in an embarrassing situation, since they don’t want to be emotionally connected with projects that worsen American economy, especially when they have choices. This may weaken their original intention to purchase a Chrysler.

**Hershey Chocolate Bar Purchasing Intention.** The statistical results show that the only element that influences people’s purchasing intention is their pre-existing schema about international trade, with both the framing effects and free-trade pre-existing schemas generating no impact. The outsourcing of some chocolate assembly lines to Mexico could reduce Hershey’s production costs, however, when averaging to each chocolate bar, a 10-to-15 percent price drop: 10 cents could not motivate customers to buy more chocolates. Unlike automaking industry, which enjoys a more prestigious status in the American economy and touches more aspects of the society, chocolate industry may capture less attention, and moving out of the country some assembly lines would not harm people’s national pride as much as the automaking industry does. Meanwhile, the price elasticity of demand for chocolate is so stiff that price change in chocolate may have little effect on people’s purchasing intention. Consumers who like chocolate would purchase it anyway no matter its price is up or down, since the purchasing amount is comparatively definite and will not influence their daily necessity. Those who do not like chocolate will never buy it even the price is down, let alone to say a 10-cent drop. Therefore, framing the deal as pro-trade does not make any difference from framing it as anti-trade to both customers. These factors may also explain why this study does not find any equivalency framing effect in the chocolate
deal.

According to the statistical results, respondents who think that international trade has helped the U.S. economy may be more likely to express their intention to purchase Hershey chocolate than those who have unfavorable attitudes toward international trade. As mentioned above, the price for a chocolate bar is merely several dollars, placing no economic burden for consumers who consume chocolate. Meanwhile, there seems to be less emotional arousal in this deal. Hence, as for those who support international trade practices, outsourcing chocolate manufacturing capacity out of the country, an industry that occupies merely a tiny bit of the national economy and is not associated with the most innovative and high-tech factors, is nothing but an active and rational method to improve the manufacturing capacity and cut the production costs. In their minds, this kind of cooperation may contribute to both the national economy and individual consumers. As such, pre-existing schemas about the international trade do have a powerful impact on respondents’ purchasing intention of chocolate bars.

**Intention to Purchase Chrysler Stocks and Chinese Automaking Stocks.** According to the statistical results, respondents exposed to the pro-trade news frame about the automaking cooperation are more likely to purchase Chrysler stocks than those exposed to the anti-trade frame. Stock investment is somewhat different from goods purchasing. When purchasing a commodity, consumers may mainly highlight price, commodity quality and their personal needs without thinking other consumers or the broad situation of the national economy. With regards to stock investment, even though investors may continue concentrating on both the quality and price of a commodity, they think from a different perspective. They will consider whether the quality and price are competitive enough to lead to product demand increase so that the company could make profits and consequently they make profits. Even though a lot of factors will influence a person’s stock investment decision, the most important is how an investor assesses the worthiness of an investment. In other words, is the investment capable of generating economic return and how much? As Gibbons (2008) suggested, predictable,
sustainable growth is one of the crucial reasons for a value investor to prefer a certain stock rather than another. The news information about any change in a listed company would surely influence people’s prediction of its profitability. The news story with the trade deal framed as pro-trade focusing on cost reduction and potential sales increase due to introduction of new car models would easily lead to positive prediction. As mentioned above, the price elasticity of demand for cars is larger, and the cost reduction in Chrysler cars may have more effects on consumers’ car-purchasing intention. Therefore, the combination of a competitive price and a new niche market would suggest potential sales increase. What’s more, simply linking to the dynamic Chinese auto market is a sure proof that Chrysler stock is a good investment. So, it is not surprising that respondents reading the pro-trade frame news story would have more intention to buy Chrysler stocks than respondents receiving an anti-trade frame news story.

The overall condition associated with international cooperation is another factor stock investors may pay attention to. In other word, how they think of international trade in general would influence their prediction of an industry future deeply involved in international cooperation. For example, if their pre-existing schemas about international trade are positive or their past experience of stock investment in the industries that highly engage in international cooperation is affirmative, let’s say WalMart, they would be more likely to deem that the cooperation like Chrysler-Chery cooperation will be a good investment choice. This confidence in the overall situation of international trade, accompanied with the concrete information offered by the news media about lower sale price, ever-growing niche market and expanding Chinese automobile market, and the special characteristic of automobile industry—large elasticity of demand, would prompt investors to form higher benefit-return expectation from investment in Chrysler stocks both in the short run and long run. Therefore, the respondents who are confident in international trade would be more likely to express their interest in Chrysler stocks than those who think the international trade has hurt the United States.
The same explanation could also apply to the phenomena that respondents exposed to the pro-trade frame and respondents who think international trade has helped the U.S. economy may be more likely to purchase Chinese automaking stocks. There is only one predictor that distinguishes people’s intention to buy Chrysler stocks and Chinese automaking stocks: people with higher education are less likely to have the intention to buy Chinese stocks. Perhaps the more education an investor receives, the more conservative one will be about investment strategies. Even though Chinese automating stocks are attractive due to its huge market potential, more education may prevent an investor from conducting risky investment in a stock market one has neither knowledge nor control of.

This study finds no relationship between the loss/gain frame and automobile stock purchasing intention, nor could people’s free-trade pre-existing schemas help predict their automobile stock purchasing intention. These results are not surprising since framing an employment situation as winning 1,000 jobs back or still losing 1,000 jobs has nothing to do with people’s stock investment strategies, let alone to say they are logically the same but presented in different arbitrary wordings. By the same token, pre-existing schemas about free trade is an index to investigate people’s preference for an ideal economic globalization pattern, which does not exist and has no influence on stock performance. Therefore, it is understandable that free-trade pre-existing schemas are difficult to activate when investors make stock investment decisions, especially when they could get contextual cues from the news media (Chong & Drukman, 2007).

**Intention to Keep or Sell Chrysler Stocks.** The statistical results show that pro/anti-trade frame is the only factor that helps predict people’s intention of whether to keep or sell Chrysler stocks. Given the situation that respondents have already had Chrysler stocks, which strategy would they adopt: sell the stocks or keep the stocks after they read the news story? It is found that respondents reading the news with a pro-trade frame are more likely to continue keeping the stocks or buy additional stocks than respondents exposed to an
anti-trade news story. Here the question shifts from whether the respondents would purchase the stocks so as to make profits to whether they should sell the winners or wait for the winners to bring more profits. The explanations for people’s intention to purchase Chrysler stocks also fit here. Framing it as pro-trade would associate the deal with confidence in Chrysler’s future profitability and encourage people to keep the stocks for more profits. The conventional wisdom suggests that people sell the winners upon receiving good news, but that occurs mostly under the condition of uncertainty (Shefrin & Statman, 1984). If investors have concrete evidence about the sustainable profitability of a stock, they may continue keeping it or even buy more. However, the pre-existing schemas about international trade that has influence on people’s intention to purchase Chrysler stocks do not show up in this scenario. The possible reason may be that the most important factor influencing a person’s stock investment is the concrete information about a company’s sustainable growth. When investors’ stocks have already appreciated and made profits, the importance of the overall situation of international trade or how investors view international trade in general diminishes in assisting decision making, because investors could sell the winners and realize the profits. This choice of realizing profits makes them pay less attention to the overall situation of the international trade but highly concentrate on concrete evidence of a company’s profit-making capacity.

**Intention to Purchase Hershey Stocks.** The framing effect that shows up in Chrysler stocks does not exist in the Chocolate project. This difference may be attributed to the different idiosyncrasies of these two specific products. It is well known that the price elasticity of demand for cars is much larger than that for chocolate bars. The outsourcing of chocolate production may help Hershey reduce its production costs, but this move could hardly affect chocolate sales. Even though chocolate bars are not daily necessities, their consumption pattern parallels somewhat that of necessary expenditures, which are mainly regulated by need and the force of habit (Curtin, 1982). Meanwhile, the price range of
chocolate bars is so narrow that there is not much room for the company to reduce its price. For stock investors, what matters the most is the predictable and sustainable growth inherent in the nature of a stock (Gibbons, 2008). There is no doubt that Hershey movement would reduce production costs, but it does not touch any future market concern and shows no further sustainable-growth potential. Therefore, depicting outsourcing of chocolate production assembly lines to Mexico as pro-trade may not have any effect on respondents’ assessment of the investment return, compared to framing it as anti-trade. Hence, people’s investment intention in the form of purchasing Hershey stocks is hardly associated with the emphasis framing effect.

The only factor that could help predict investors’ Hershey stock purchasing intention is their pre-existing schemas about free trade. The respondents who have positive attitudes toward free trade are more likely to purchase Hershey stocks than those who do not endorse free trade. There is no concrete explanation for this scenario. Perhaps those who endorse free trade think free trade is the only remedy for continuous cost reduction and sale boost based on the principle of comparative advantage. Therefore, pro-trade schematic respondents are more likely to support international cooperation and are more confident that their investment in such projects would be worth every penny of it.

**Intention to Keep or Sell Hershey Stocks.** Given the chance that respondents have already purchased Hershey stocks, which investment strategy will they use: sell the stocks or keep them? The statistical results show that the only factor that influences people’s investment strategy in this scenario is their pre-existing schemas about international trade. In other words, respondents who think the international trade has helped the U.S. economy may be more likely to keep the Hershey stocks they have already purchased. There may be one explanation for this phenomenon: even though Hershey is not an “attention-grabbing” stock in the stock market, its outsourcing part of the assembly lines to Mexico, a move to reduce production costs and make the company more competitive, would ensure the profitability of
the company in the long run and maintain its dividend constant for quite a long time. Hershey stocks may not be a good choice for speculators who want to make huge economic return in a short period of time or for those investors who always pay attention to stocks that are in the limelight of the media, whereas they behave more like bonds and could be a perfect target for long-term investment. The respondents who believe international trade has helped the U.S. economy may be more inclined to concentrating on the long-term performance of a specific stock. Therefore, they are more likely to keep a stock like Hershey.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

International trade is such a complicated phenomenon that constitutes many different economic and financial activities. What has been done here is merely a tip of the iceberg. Even though the public opinion on foreign policy in general has been found to be quite stable (Chittick, Billingsley, & Travis, 1995; Hurwitz and Peffley 1990), no research has contributed specifically to the influence of foreign trade policies on public investment intention. This study casts light on this field and adds to the literatures about the public involvement with commodity purchasing and stock investment. The findings suggest that individual Americans’ investment decisions are quite rational and competent. Even thought people subject their investment intention not only to their predispositions about free trade and international trade as well as the latest news information, they do not accord the same value to all communication references and their preexisting schemas. Upon making investment decisions, they seemed to base investment strategies on different combinations of message references and preexisting schemas so as to garner more financial returns. In other words, given the available information or the market is efficient, the public know how to make rational choices for themselves (Fama, 1970; Shapiro & Page, 1988). As a result, it would be wiser for the media practitioners to put forth both the merits and costs of international trade projects and let the public make their own decisions. Even though this study depicts the relationship between message frames and investment intention, real-life transactions are much more
complex. Investors are bombarded daily with millions of competing economic information and they could hardly make any investment decision without being influenced by other events and people. Besides, commodity purchasing and stock investment may seldom occur immediately after receiving new information, and there might be a time-lapse effect, which one-shot experimental setting could hardly detect (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2011; Scheufele et al., 2011).

REFERENCES


Transition in Social Activities of Hansen Disease
Sanatorium Residents in Japan from the perspective of
“generativity”

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Hansen’s Disease (HD) is an infection caused by the *Mycobacterium leprae* discovered by Hansen of Norway in 1873. This bacillus has the capacity to invade the skin and peripheral nerves. But this bacillus is of low pathogenicity and it is rare that the symptoms appear even when infected. Chemotherapeutic drugs such as Promin developed in 1943 have been found to cure the disease.

In Japan, the nation policy which compulsorily segregated people diagnosed as HD in remote sanatoriums began in 1907 and continued even after the of cure had been established in the 1960s. This policy was finally abolished in 1996. Most of the sanatorium residents were obliged to live a life in which freedom, such as movement, career choices etc. were restricted for many years. They were not free to return home and their family relationships were also restricted for over fifty years because their hometown families had also suffered serious discrimination. Moreover, although the
authority allowed the resident couples’ marriage, they were not permitted to have children.

This study examines the transition of the residents’ social activities since entering sanatorium until now from the perspective of “generativity”. We adapted a personal interview method. We conducted interviews on 15 residents (age over 60s).

Our interview records suggested the following five phases:

1) At the beginning of their sanatorium life (around the time of Second World War), the cure method had not been established and so most of residents were bothered by fear of death. Under such conditions, writing poems, Japanese-style poetry Tanka and Haiku got boom inside sanatoriums. It seems that they intended to express their feelings toward unhappy backgrounds. In addition, noted writers came to the sanatoriums to correct the residents’ work and this was one of the few opportunities to interact with people outside.

2) After the start of Promin treatment in the latter 1940s, most of residents recovered. Those with relatively mild aftereffects served as workers at the sanatoriums, providing care and nursing, hairdressing, doing laundry, and laboring on pig and chicken farms, etc. in order to gain slight wage. They also set up the residents’ association and played a certain role in the management of the sanatoriums. At the same time, they engaged in the activities such as baseball, tennis, sumo wrestling, Kabuki, Japanese chess Shogi, and Go etc. and various opportunities for presentation to the outer world were arranged several times a year. Because the national segregation policy continued in spite of the Promin effect, the residents were forced to give up social rehabilitation and settle inside the sanatoriums. Although these activities seemingly might be like leisure activities, they might be reflected conflict between hope for social rehabilitation and reality of settlement. These situations continued into the latter 1960s.

3) When the residents got middle-aged in the 1970s, the activities which acquired less
physical strength such as calligraphy, painting, photography, and Bonsai (Japanese-style gardening), etc. replaced demanding activities like physical work and sports mentioned above.

4) In the 1980s, ordinary citizens’ interest in social welfare grew. Some of the residents who continued to write poems, Tanka and Haiku got a chance to have their work published. At the same time, a few residents published their autobiographies. Moreover a tree-planting campaign was launched in Tama Zensyo-En, a HD sanatorium in the west of Tokyo. Thus, growing number of residents had a strong interest in leaving something to posterity, that is, “generativity”.

5) In 1996, national segregation policy was finally abolished. This aroused ordinary citizen’s interest in HD problem and many people visited the sanatoriums. Thus more residents began to interact with people outside. Some residents told their life stories to the visitors. Other residents took part in citizen’s groups for affirmative action, PR activities to enlighten people on HD. Most residents thought that terrible lesson of HD problems should not be forgotten. A few of residents established a family-like relationship with younger visitors. Thus, the residents’ tendency of “generativity” was supported by the understanding people outside. This tendency has become more evident after an unconstitutional judgment against the national segregation policy at the Kumamoto District Court in 2001.
Title: Contemporary Trends and Approaches to Native Nation Building

Abstract:

This research explores various approaches to Native nation building research to locate a systematic method of applying lessons from the literature to contemporary and future Native nation policy language. Three focus areas organize the current literature: philosophy, institutions, and economics. All three foci are constrained by contemporary institutional barriers within and beyond Native nation boundaries. Foci remain implicit in the current literature. The focus of current literature coincides with a level of generality. More focused research is more concrete. The broadest research is philosophical, followed by institutions, and most precise in terms of economics of Native nations. Suggestions are offered for current and future Native nation policy makers about the application of philosophy, institutions, and economics into their pending policy. Concrete decisions should be made regarding philosophical orientation in terms of institutions and economics. Otherwise, imprecision in policy language may allow unintended influence over Native nation building efforts.
Introduction

One of the most difficult challenges for Native nation building and Native nation policy making is the fact that they are relatively new fields. The rules of the game in the United States keep changing every generation, (Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams 2005). The constant changes force policy makers and scholars to either focus on repealing bad Federal Indian policy or learning the latest policy and how best to work in the interest of Native nation building. The second issue inhibiting researchers and policy makers’ abilities to advocate for specific Native nations involves the diversity of the Native nations within the United States. The current research has attempted to draw broad conclusions but the cost is to write abstractly and, hence, it is up to individual Native nation policy makers to first find some usefulness in the current research and then modify such research so that it will fit a specific Native nation. Of course, all of this must occur while Native governments continue to deal with the everyday emergencies. Daily crises tend to crop up more often in individual communities than the current research on Native nation building tends to reflect. Since it is beyond the scope of this research to review every instance of Native nation-specific policy reforms, focus remains on some of the more recent Native nation literature as well as recent endeavors in governance reform.

The main objective here is to explore current research on Native nation building and determine the appropriateness of applying lessons from the literature to future Native nation policy language. First, the contemporary literature is arranged according to institutions and levels of abstraction. This research will explore some key institutions in contemporary Native nation building. These institutions are philosophical, economic, and political. Institutions are quite resilient at encouraging certain nation behavior and discouraging others depending on the regional hegemon. Then, an exploration of level of abstraction suggests some ways in which
more abstract research may be better explored and applied to future Native nation policy language. The current literature is then re-contextualized based on philosophical orientation and level of abstraction. Next, a two-dimensional model is introduced and used to further illuminate patterns in current Native nation-building literature. Concluding remarks involve the relationships between philosophic orientation and level of abstraction and suggestions for future research and applicability to future Native nation policy language.

The Institutions for Contemporary Self Governance

Countless Native nations are wrestling with issues of self governance. The challenges are similar in many respects. Some Native nations are more open to traditional Indigenous philosophy-based solutions than others. Generally, Native nations are attempting to reconcile their own traditional institutions of governance while facing contemporary challenges. The approaches Native nations can use vary widely and can be as extreme as negating all traces of Indigenous philosophy, on the one hand, or negating all traces of European philosophy, on the other hand. These extreme points may help us better arrange the contemporary research on Native nation building since all of the research falls somewhere in between the two extremes. Hence, it may be wise to arrange Native nation-building policies along a horizontal continuum of policy choices, (Goertz 2006, 30; Ragin 2008, 13).

Figure 1 here

The main purpose here is to recognize the most extreme points represented by 0 and 1 along at least two continuums. One continuum is the Indigenous philosophy approach and the other is the non-Indigenous philosophy approach. At the 0 point is a complete disavowal or elimination of one philosophy. On the other end of the spectrum, represented by 1, is a pure acceptance of a given philosophy. Two assumptions will be made: First, the philosophy preferences represented
by the extremes 0 and 1 probably do not exist. Second, it is not possible to prove whether or not these extreme points do exist. The purpose of laying out the extreme philosophy preferences is to ensure clear understanding of Native nation philosophy preference boundaries. The observable examples of Native nation philosophy preferences will all fall someplace in between the extreme points along the philosophy preference continuum.

Each Native nation, then, can only have one complete philosophy. Thus, philosophy preferences from both continuums can only ever equal 1 when added together. For example, if we assume that a Native nation orients its government as .5 Indigenous and .5 non-Indigenous, the resultant philosophical orientation may be represented as in figure 2, (Ragin 2008, 13). Figure 2 here

It appears Native nations, deliberately or otherwise, are engaging in their current governments’ level of orientation on (at least) these two spectrums. Many of these “decisions” are, in reality, Native nations rebuilding themselves in the aftermath of colonial onslaught, (Jorgensen 2007, 55-77). For some Native nations, orientation towards an Indigenous philosophy may not be possible. In the most extreme or “ideal cases” (Goertz 2006, 10), no distinction can be drawn between a Native nation and a non-Native nation. In other words, two nations that both have a pure non-Indigenous philosophy should not be distinguishable from one another based on philosophy of governance alone. The more philosophy preferences lean towards a given Indigenous traditional norm, the closer we can imagine their preferences lean towards 1 along the Indigenous philosophy continuum. The less such philosophy preferences lean towards Indigenous philosophy, the closer they are to 0. But we must also consider the level of specificity each example of current Native nation-building research (not including practice) assumes.
The notion of Native nation building can take on various forms. Some of the research is quite general while others are specific to a given Native nation. Perhaps a vertical continuum on Native nation research levels of generality is in order, (Sartori 1970). The most abstract and general Native nation-building research is represented by 1. A 0 is represented by the most specific Native nation-building research. Public policy research can generally become too difficult to manage if no foresight is given to notions of philosophy orientation (figure 1) and levels of generality. Both issues, orientation and generality, can at least be addressed quickly with little need to overly complicate matters. (Figure 3 displays the policy spectrum and related level of generality in one place only after we visit each example of Native nation building.) But, one glaring omission from almost all Native nation-building research is the role economic liberalism may play in future Native nation policies.

Native Nations and Economic Liberalism

Former Soviet bloc countries are currently going through the process of developing their own institutions for governance. Former colonies are dismantling the remnants of their past crowns and they are making mistakes in the process. Meanwhile, a relationship of unequal trade continues to be maintained by more powerful and established nation states. Emerging polities in recognition of “free trade” protocols are quite aware of the unequal trade practices and, hence, are building their domestic and international mechanisms for interaction to offset the unequal trading practices to the best of their ability. And while the majority of attention has gone to emerging third world nations, Native nations will necessarily need to grapple with their own individual orientations towards one another, towards non-Native nations, and towards the international political economy. Complicating matters will necessarily be the role that Indigenous institutions can play in international concerns. Yet, to ignore the future of global
interaction is guaranteeing failure to have some control over one’s Native nation in the international community. If a Native nation is not relevant, there is no way that the Native nation can have much of an impact on the future interaction it has with other international actors. Some geographically-based examples will illuminate the need for attention on Native nation interaction in the global political economy.

Native Nation Building in the United States

Generalizing about contemporary reservation conditions is difficult. There is so much diversity that generalizations must be carefully undertaken. One potential hurdle is that Native nations continue to struggle with their perception by outsiders as trapped in history and this perception can obscure the assessment of current-day problems and solutions, (The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination 2007, xix). Colonial legacies that have set the stage for contemporary Native nation building can be reviewed elsewhere if necessary, (Jorgensen 2007, 55-77). Hence, with the assumption that a Native nation is attempting to rebuild itself in the aftermath of colonial activity, many potential solutions have been visited and revisited by policy makers and theorists. Research on North American Native nations (mostly focused on Native nations within the United States) can be organized along at least three central themes: Indigenous philosophical institutions, political institutions, and economic institutions. The themes themselves are not strict categories. They will be used here to better organize the current research on Native nation building.

1. Nation Building In Terms of Indigenous Philosophical Institutions

The most general research tends to be what appears to be Indigenous philosophy-based literature. The research primarily deals with traditional characteristics, political entanglements, and economic consequences of the political entanglements collectively. Perhaps as a
consequence of the focus, such research is more broad and abstract relative to the other two themes mentioned earlier. Examples for Indigenous philosophy-based research are reconciliation with pre-contact philosophy and contemporary issues, (Champagne 2007, 9-24, 25-44, 66-106). A general theme involves pointing out the contradictions inherent in a given Indigenous philosophy and a European political philosophy. Philosophical themes are supplemented with case study examples which may only fit in specific areas alone. Cases or examples will have less of a fit when trying to generalize the specific pattern to other Native nation experiences. As recent research gets into more specific details, it has focused more on political and economic issues.
2. The Politics of Native Nation Building

Political research involving Native nation building has focused primarily on the United States followed by Canadian experiences. Once again, it is difficult to generalize about the level of attention given to traditional institutions of governance. In many ways, the focus has justifiably been a response to a given Federal Indian policy. It should go without saying that the Native nation-building experiences have been impacted by federal policies directed at interaction between colonial actors and Native nations, (Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams 2005).

Since at least 1934, the proposed interaction process between the U.S. and Native nations has revolved around some form of constitutional development. The experiments with written constitution (U.S. presidential/legislature) style governments have had very diverse impacts as evidenced by the history and aftermath of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, (Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams 2005, 186-198; Lemont 2006, 49-106). As a result, some argue that Native nation building should continue with constitutional reform to resolve the issues left in the wake of the colonial impact as long as the match between culture and government are at least not contradictory and, at best, complimentary to one another, (Jorgensen 2007, 78-114; Cornell and Kalt 2000; Lemont 2006, 184-219).

Other advocates for constitutional reform focus on merging tradition with contemporary challenges such as globalization, (Lemont 2006, 11-34). Notwithstanding, constitutional discussions have also reverted back to pre-contact Indigenous constitutions, which students of European philosophical thought may neglect or refuse to recognize as a legitimate constitutional government, (Lemont 2006, 144-183). All of the research on Native governance gets even more complicated when one considers that no one definition of “constitution” currently exists. Thus, Native nation policy-maker definitions and cross-cultural definitions make the term
“constitution” subject to conceptual stretching, (Sartori 1970). As a consequence, the challenges for constitutional reform within Native nations remain an enormous undertaking, (Lemont 2006, 252-332). One caveat is that constitutional reform should be addressed in pursuit of the best interests of a given constituency by Native nation policy makers. Regardless of individual Native nation policy makers and their inherent and explicit self interest, all Native nations must necessarily address their interaction with the U.S. and other colonial actors.

The impact of varying political institutions and their tug of war over current and future policy language must at least acknowledge the current situation between the United States and Native nations. At the very least, Native nations must interact with four governing institutions. As self governing bodies, Native nations are domestic polities onto themselves and must begin to reconsider their international (extra-domestic) policy preferences and platforms. Secondly, Native nations are constantly interacting with the U.S. federal government. Third, Native nations are constantly interacting with neighboring U.S. states. And, finally, local or regional municipalities and counties become a factor, (Wilkins 2007). What is complicating matters is the fact that it is very possible that the varying polities will have co-existing policies which directly contradict one another. In other words, what may be technically legal in Indian country may violate state or federal law and vice versa, (Biolsi 2007, 100-204). Issues about the international and domestic status of individual American Indians within the U.S. remain unanswered and even unquestioned, (Deloria 1974). To be certain, American Indians are today still subject to tribal, state, and national citizenship, which makes their benefits and obligations all the more tenuous to briefly and clearly explain, (Wilkins 2007, 52-59). With these large issues in the background, one can envision that a diversity of foci and proposed solutions currently exist.
The journey of policy switches by the federal government is a subset of the colonial legacy Native nations must face and surmount to be successful on their own terms. From war to self determination, the overly simplistic view has almost exclusively been that Native nations are forced to interact with other polities (colonial actors) that refuse to see Native peoples as nothing more than “obstacles” or as a collective “problem”, (Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams 2005, 140-257). For our purposes, it is necessary to revisit the most recent era of federal policy toward Native nations. Briefly, the Era of Self Determination has been characterized as the culmination of a pan-Indigenous revolt against termination policies, (Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams 2005, 216-218). The results were the Indian Self –Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978, and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, to just name a few, (Wilkins 2007, 122). These U.S. congressional acts, more or less, held the spirit of Native nation building and rebuilding on terms set forth by Native nations independent of non-Indigenous influence. In practice, the policies have proven less than ideal but are still an improvement over past federal policies geared as a fix to the “Indian problem”. The congressional activity of the 1970s opened the door for Native nation policy makers and scholars to begin focusing on Nation building and not merely nation preservation in political terms.

Many Native nations today are attempting to reconcile their philosophies and world views to co-exist alongside the U.S. polity and global polities. Challenges remain daunting from various polities including state and municipal governments, (Corntassel and Witmer 2008). Challenges aside, efforts have yielded links between traditional knowledge and contemporary Native nation government. For example, the San Carlos Apache currently utilize an Elders Cultural Advisory Council so that traditional knowledge has a place in contemporary San Carlos Apache policy, (The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-
Determination 2007, 24). Also Navajo Nation has made overt efforts to incorporate the Fundamental Laws of the Diné into their own branches of government, (Council 2002). Diné Policy Institute, or DPI, was recently commissioned to address Navajo Nation government reform, (Yazzie et al. 2008; Begay 2008). Unrelated to the reform question, the Navajo Nation voted to reduce its legislature from 88 to 24, (Begay 2009). The Navajo Nation Council further requested information on implementing Navajo philosophy into their current legislature, (Yazzie et al. 2011). Some recommendations were later incorporated into the Council by the delegates, (Smith 2011). The story continues on with various DPI research projects meant to incorporate Navajo philosophy into contemporary Navajo institutions of governance, (DPI 2012).

Other issues of interest include restarting and expanding tribe to tribe interaction both politically and economically, (The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination 2007, 29). The challenges of incorporating Indigenous philosophy with contemporary tribal government have most overtly been addressed in terms of tribal constitutional revisions and amendments, (Lemont 2006, 11-34). This makes sense because many Native nations currently work with a modified version of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) constitution they first adopted during the mid 1930s to 1940s. As laid out in the Act, tribes were given the option to vote for accepting or rejecting IRA provisions. It is estimated that 258 tribal elections were held, in which 181 tribes accepted the act provisions, while another 77 tribes rejected it. By 1946, 161 constitutions and 131 corporate charters had been enacted in Indian country. This means that today at least 292 Native nations could be working to amend and modify their old IRA era governing documents, (Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams 2005, 192). As the treatment of tribal constitutional revision and amendment gets more focused, the question
of tribal citizen participation becomes a factor, (Lemont 2006; Champagne 2007). Regardless, political restructuring cannot occur without addressing economic concerns.

3. The Economics of Native Nation Building

Research on economics and Native nations grants the least attention to the intersection of Indigenous philosophy and contemporary issues. The trends in Indian country economies have been organized around the typical indices one might see in non-Indigenous community research. Comparative research indicates that unemployment rates continue to be higher among Indigenous communities than non-Indigenous communities in the U.S., (Wilkins 2007, 165-168). Positive aspects of reservation economies involve better utilization of land, land consolidation, and land recovery in the face of allotment, termination, and self-determination policies, (Wilkins 2007, 169-171; The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination 2007, 93-110). Natural and agricultural resources (such as energy and timber) have also been a focus for some reservation leaders depending on their particular assets, (Wilkins 2007, 180-188; The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination 2007, 159-176). Environmental issues also remain a concern, generally, as Native nations continue to grapple with their experiences with the global political economy, (The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination 2007, 177-196). Additionally, tourism remains a vital pipeline for economic development for some reservation communities, (Wilkins 2007, 188-190). One of the most ambitious treatments of contemporary Native North American governance looks at many examples of positive occurrences today, (The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination 2007). The text begins with many qualifications over the necessity with which readers accept the breadth of the subject matter at hand and its inherent diversity.
If there is a “message” to [Native nation building research] . . . , it is that Native nations, communities, and peoples are living real lives on the contemporary stage of our increasingly globalized world” (*The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination* 2007, xix).

The diversity of topics covered include social development (197-274), culture, arts, and media (275-318), and less commonly studied topics on Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, and Urban Indians, (*The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination* 2007, 319-376). Currently, however, no research on contemporary economic development can ignore the gaming phenomena.

i. The Impact of Gaming on Native Nation Building

Economic research has received the most recent treatment and has primarily focused on issues surrounding the contemporary phenomena of gaming, (*The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination* 2007, 145-158). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, some tribes (Seminole and Cabazon) began running gaming operations, (Wilkins 2007, 173). State officials moved in to ban the practice but tribes cited the lack of jurisdiction most states have in Indian country, (Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams 2005, 492-508). In 1987, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the legality of gaming in *California v. Cabazon*. Cabazon held that states which authorized some form of gambling must also allow tribes to run gaming operations, (Wilkins 2007, 173). In 1988, the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, (Wilkins 2007, 173). For our purposes here, we only need understand that these events gave way to some very lucrative gaming operations that made it more interesting for some academics to research the economic impact of gaming on reservation economies. Perhaps because of the relatively new development of gaming, much of the research has focused more on the economic aspects of the gaming phenomena. A future generation of researchers will need to
conduct studies on traditional and contemporary Indigenous institutions of governance within the
context of gaming. The trend, however, is moving away from purely economic treatment.

One of the most comprehensive studies of the gaming impact on reservation economies is
the comparative study of the U.S. economy, reservation economies with gaming operations, and
reservation economies with no gaming operations between 1990 and 2000, (Taylor and Kalt
2005, i). The findings suggest that all reservation income rose by 20 percent while the U.S.
income rose by 11 percent, (Taylor and Kalt 2005, 6-19). Poverty rates among non-gaming areas
dropped by seven percentage points, gaming areas dropped by ten percentage points and U.S.
rates dropped by eight-tenths of a percentage point, (Taylor and Kalt 2005, 20-27). Non gaming
unemployment dropped by two and a half percentage points, gaming unemployment dropped by
more than five percentage points and U.S. unemployment dropped by half a percent during the
same 10 year period, (Taylor and Kalt 2005, 28-39). As a result, the gaming phenomenon has
had immense impact on Native nations with gaming operations. However, gaming is just one
aspect of economic development.

Independent of the gaming impact on Native nation political economy is the general
treatment of economic development in Indian country. Some instances of economic development
have been framed as a consequence of self determination. Although a great deal of Native
nations continue to live under conditions of poverty, various examples of successes have been
documented, (Cornell and Kalt 1992, 3). After continued monitoring of conditions in Indian
country, the findings indicate some patterns of interest. After acknowledging the very serious
constraints on development, it seems that at least three necessary conditions are present within
successful Indian country economic development: external opportunity, internal assets, and
development strategy, (Cornell and Kalt 1992, 8-13). Still, research on guiding contemporary
Native nations remains too abstract for immediate utilization and implementation. The advice is merely a restating of the generalities that exist in Indian country such as use of sovereignty, use of capable institutions to exercise sovereignty, and use of institutions to implement a development strategy, (Cornell and Kalt 1992, 53-54). How a specific Native nation with poor economic development up until now is able to utilize such advice is not clear.

Specifically regarding the notion of capable institutions, the research findings indicate that in the face of poor conditions on reservation lands (such as a lack of natural resources), the fact that pre-contact and post-contact institutions are similar seems to promote sustained economic development, (Cornell and Kalt 1996, pg. 18). In other words, Cornell and Kalt argue that a cultural match between pre-contact Native philosophy and contemporary institutions of governance matters. This line of thinking is regurgitated several times in subsequent Native nation-building research, (Cornell and Kalt 1995). Cultural match arguments are based on other Cornell and Kalt research, in which findings are supported by statistical regression and qualitative comparative analysis methods, (Cornell and Kalt 2000). However, there are many problems with the methodology of the source research, which should have us call all of the findings on cultural match into question. The cases in support of the findings seem cherry-picked to reinforce the conclusions, (Ragin 2008, 20-23). It is unclear why “strong executive” is used as the baseline for running statistical regression analysis. Using “Strong Executive” as a baseline for regression implies that a strong executive government is necessarily a point of governmental mediocrity and can only be improved upon. Such a leap of faith requires a built in normative assumption that has not been made explicit by the researchers, (Cornell and Kalt 2000, 461). Furthermore, the levels of significance must be extrapolated from the data in a way that seems to obscure the research premises. Regardless, the data is not showing any levels of significance.
traditionally accepted by statisticians, (Cornell and Kalt 2000). In other words, the data is not statistically related to cultural match and institutions, hence, we should reject the null hypothesis that institutions matter. At the very least, we can conclude that the economic research is still up for debate. Nevertheless, the policies that Native nations choose to restructure go a long way toward explaining what is working and not working in Indian country.

Much of the current research on Native nation building remains, in no properly defined manner, a step or two removed from current-day application, (Sartori 1970). As suggested in the introduction, our future steps toward Native nation building must involve a map of where the research has been in the past. Having a decent idea about existing research and its orientation towards political philosophy and level of generality is a step towards bringing tips from past research into current-day policy language. While this research does not propose a specific philosophical orientation, it behooves policy makers and members of the academy to be fully aware of the potentially hidden assumptions buried in research with implicit philosophical norms. In more practical terms, policy makers may not find any utility in specific research if it is so abstract that its relevance to a given situation is obscured.

Policy Spectrum and Level of Generality among Native Nation Building Strategies

What follows will place the current research on Native nation building along the policy spectrum proposed at the beginning of this chapter. How general are the policies and approaches used in current Native nation building research relative to one another? What relative orientation do the various approaches take with respect to a broadly defined notion of traditional institutions of governance? Policy preferences specifically detailed enough will be assigned a ranking between 0 and 1. While each specific numerical ranking of policy preferences is less important, close attention needs to be paid to the relative rankings of each policy preference explored. The future of Native nation building will necessarily need to examine many dynamics of history,
political science, law, geography, and sociology, to say the least. The hope is that these complex issues can be better understood if we arrive at a scheme by which we rank relative orientations toward traditional and non-traditional philosophies of governance. We can simultaneously address policies and their level of generality relative to one another. Some may question the necessity to explore these issues in such a manner. To the naysayer, perhaps a larger pattern is currently at work among Native nation building efforts. It can serve us better to have a general pattern of Native nation building in front of us. This is not to assume this specific model will be the one that works best. We can all collectively pursue a model of organization that is reliable, replicable, and valid in order compare notes and refine where necessary, (Lomawaima and McCarty 2002). Nations all over the world (Indigenous identity not withstanding) are taking control of their futures. The orientations of any future government will need to maintain some balance between their internal norms of practice and the external interaction norms necessary to participate in the global political economy.

Figure 3 is a plot of policy orientation and level of generality of the current research on Native nation building. Each dot represents a policy orientation and level of generality. One general pattern is that research tends to be very general and oriented toward integration with non-Indigenous philosophies of governance. Another general pattern indicates that as research gets more specific to Navajo Nation building, the trend is going toward Navajo philosophy. Figure 4 is a table of scores that works well descriptively. While readers may not agree with all of the decisions made about rankings, the rankings will help us to better understand various orientations of researchers. Still, readers are invited to be critical of the rankings as research can only improve if the rankings represent the actual orientations authors explicitly or implicitly attempted to convey.
Concluding Remarks

The research on Native Nation building can only do as well as it is specifically focused on a given case. As the research gets broader, its efficacy requires more work for the policy maker to find it relevant. As the research fluctuates in its orientation toward philosophy, the policy maker needs to be aware of Native constituency preferences regarding a given Native nation orientation toward their own endogenous philosophies and worldviews. This research attempts to create some frame for organizing research (past, present, and future) on Native nation building. Broad researcher is difficult to apply and narrow research may be too specific to apply with more than one Native nation without major revision. Finding an appropriate level of focus seems key to contributing to future Native nation sovereignty maintenance and expansion.

Should Native nation leaders wish to borrow from the academy on future policy language, such leaders should be furnished with as much information as is possible on all consequences involved with a new policy direction. Our options for future Native nation policy language are more diverse now than they have ever been before. Our future approaches to governing in collaboration with Native nations require clear philosophical assumptions lending to institutional and economic stability for Native nation citizens. Native nation citizens deserve nothing less.

References


Figures 1
Figure 2
Table 4 – Table of Policy Orientation and Level of Generality Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref Number</th>
<th>Author (or Title if edited)</th>
<th>Policy Orientation</th>
<th>Level of Generality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>State of Native Nations</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Austin</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cornell</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Champagne</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Navajo Nation Council Resolution</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rebuilding Native Nations</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lemont</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Nielsen</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Taylor and Kalt</td>
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<td>.76</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Wilkins</td>
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<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Yazzie et al</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: Policy Philosophy Orientation and Level of Generality – Based on the current research on Native Nation Building
Definitions of “Native” nations can be located in (Jorgensen 2007, 1-54).
Mindful Acceptance Can Improve the Negative Relationship Between Hostility and Perceived Stress.

Veronica Y. Womack, MS and Lloyd R. Sloan, PhD
Howard University

Hostility is a mistrustful disposition positively associated with perceived stress. Mindfulness is both a trait and attentional state that can influence coping strategy selection towards stressors through metacognitive awareness. This study investigated the relationship between hostility and perceived stress and assessed mindfulness’ effect on this relationship. 84 undergraduate college students completed measures of hostility, trait mindfulness, and coping strategies. As expected, high hostility predicted high perceived stress ($R^2 = .22$, $\beta = .47$, $p < .01$) while mindful acceptance without judgment predicted low perceived stress ($R^2 = .16$, $\beta = -.31$, $p < .01$). Together, hostility and mindful acceptance without judgment were independently predictive of stress. Importantly, mindful acceptance without judgment has explained an additional 8% of the variance in stress, after controlling for hostility; $R$ squared change = .08, $F$ change (1, 81) = 9.74, $p < .01$. This finding indicates that mindful acceptance without judgment affects hostility at all levels and is simply reducing the impact of hostility on stress. A subsequent analysis did not reveal any moderational effects from the mindful acceptance without judgment trait; it did not interact with hostility in predicting perceived stress. Thus, this research replicated findings that hostility is positively associated with perceived stress, and discovered that high mindful acceptance without judgment reduced the strength of the hostility and perceived stress relationship. Therefore, stress-management programs for hostile individuals should strongly consider simultaneously teaching mindfulness techniques and encourage them to accept and acknowledge their thoughts and feelings in the present.

Notes: This research was supported in part by NIMH Grant MH 16580 to the second author. 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 lsloan@howard.edu
Adverse health conditions that are positively related to stress, specifically those associated with the cardiovascular system, impact Americans at alarming rates (American Heart Association, 2010). One personality disposition that predicts both perceived stress and cardiovascular disease is hostility (Powch & Houston, 1996; Barefoot, Dahlstrom, & Williams, 1983). Hostility is characterized by a suspicious, mistrustful attitude or disposition toward interpersonal relationships and the wider environment (Everson-Rose & Lewis, 2005). Recent studies have shown that trait mindfulness, the tendency to focus one’s attention in a non-judgmental or accepting way on the experience occurring in the present time, is negatively associated hostility (Brown & Ryan, 2003). The current study seeks to explore whether or not the mindful acceptance without judgment component of mindfulness will influence the relationship the hostility-perceived stress relationship among a sample of college students.

According to Barefoot & Lipkus (1994), hostile people generally harbor negative beliefs toward others, including cynicism and mistrust. The affective aspects of hostility consist of anger, irritation, and resentment, while behavioral manifestations are reflected in a multitude of aggressive behaviors, both overt and subtle. Research has shown that trait hostility predicted greater levels of daily interpersonal stress and is positively associated with the frequency and intensity of negative social interactions but negatively associated with the frequency and intensity of positive social interactions (Benotsch, Christensen, & McKelvey, 1997; Brondolo, Riebbi, Erickson, Bagiella, Shapiro, McKinley, & Sloan, 2003). Chronic hostility has also been associated with physiological stress indicators during interpersonal interactions including increased systolic blood pressure reactivity during interpersonal stressors, poorer systolic blood pressure recovery to harassment and increased adrenocortical activity, and cortisol secretion during daily events (Powch & Houston, 1996; Suarez & Williams, 1990; Pope & Smith, 1991).

The transactional model (Smith, 1992) posits that hostile individuals not only respond to interpersonal stressors with greater cardiovascular reactivity (see Brondolo et al., 2003), but actually create stressful interpersonal environments through their pervasive mistrust, cynicism, and overtly hostile suspicious behavior. An activity or personality disposition that helps the hostile individual adopt a nonjudgmental approach to interpersonal interactions may help the person better assess whether or not a situation or a person is actually threatening, thereby influencing whether or not an environment should be perceived as stressful.

The concept of mindfulness can be assessed as either a dispositional trait or a state of awareness that can be enhanced through various techniques. The essence of mindfulness practice is knowing what you are doing while you are doing it (Kabat-Zinn, 1990). Mindful activities teach individuals how to watch their thoughts and how to let go of them without getting caught up and driven by them. Previous research has revealed that trait mindfulness is positively associated with self esteem, optimism, positive affect and greater capacities to respond constructively to relationship stress (Brown & Ryan, 2003; Barnes, Brown, Krusmark, Campbell, & Rogge, 2007). In contrast, trait mindfulness is negatively associated with anxiety, anger, hostility, depression and stress symptoms (Brown & Ryan, 2003).

The four pillars of mindfulness that support this unique way of relating to one’s thoughts and adaptively coping with potential stressors are: nonjudgment, nonstriving, acceptance, and letting go. Kabat-Zinn (1990) noted that the natural habit of categorizing and judging our experience generally has no objective basis and locks us into mechanical reactions that we are
not aware of. Rumination, a core mechanism of depression in which one attempts to deal or cope with a negative thought by criticizing the self for having it, is a process that is directly related to judgment and mindfulness (Segal, Williams, & Teasdale, 2002; Lyubomirsky & Nolen-Hoeksema, 1995). Segal and colleagues (2002) explained that ruminative thinking involves judgment about one’s experience and with time, it becomes more difficult for one to separate the raw experience from the judgment about it. The nonevaluative component of mindfulness helps one become aware of the small lag between the stimulus and one’s response, thereby allowing one to experience reality more directly (Leary & Tate, 2007). For example, rather than labeling pain as “bad” and something to avoid, mindful people view pain as just one of many sensations to experience (Borders, Earleywine, & Jajodia, 2010).

The current study will investigate the influence that mindfulness has on the relationship between hostility and perceived stress among college students. It is hypothesized that mindfulness will moderate, that is reduce, the strength of the positive relationship between hostility and perceived stress.

METHODOLOGY

Eighty-four students attending a historically Black college in the southeastern United States participated in return for partial course credit. All of the participants self-identified as Black or African American. Of this sample, 55 (65.5%) were female and 29 (34.5%) were male. The participants in this study ranged in age from 18-30, with a mean age of 19.

The Aggression Questionnaire (AQ; Buss & Perry, 1992) is a 29-item scale which assesses an individual’s hostility, trait anger, verbal aggression, and physical aggression. The hostility subscale was utilized for the current study. A sample item from the hostility subscale follows: “When people are especially nice to me, I wonder what they want” and “I am suspicious of overly friendly strangers”. The participants rated each item on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (extremely uncharacteristic of me) and 5 (extremely characteristic of me). The AQ scores had adequate internal consistencies with alphas ranging from .70 to .89. The Cronbach reliability alpha for the current sample was .92.

The Perceived Stress Scale (PS; Cohen, Karmark, & Mermelstein, 1983) is a 14-item self-report measure designed to tap the degree to which situations in one’s life are appraised as stressful. The participants responded to each statement by indicating how often (on 5-point scale ranging from never to very often) they have felt or thought in the way indicated by the statement during the previous month. Example items include: “In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?” or “In the last month, how often have you been able to control irritations in your life?”. The reported alpha coefficient for the PS is .85 and the current sample’s coefficient was .77.

Kentucky Inventory of Mindfulness Skills (KIMS; Baer, Smith, & Allen, 2004) is a 39-item instrument consisting of four subscales that measure traits of mindfulness. Participants rated each item on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (never or very rarely true) to 5 (almost always or always true). The subscales include: observing, describing, acting with awareness, and accepting without judgment. Example items of the “accepting without judgment” subscale included “I tell myself that I shouldn’t be thinking the way I am thinking” and “I criticize myself
for having irrational or inappropriate emotions”. The reported internal reliability for the “accepting without judgment scale” is .87 and the current sample’s coefficient was .82.

Participants were recruited from undergraduate psychology courses at a Mid-Atlantic historically black university. Students who agreed to participate received the questionnaires and a consent form indicating that participation was voluntary and confidential. The participants were informed that completion of the questionnaires fulfilled course requirements. They completed the questionnaires in small groups. The battery of questionnaires assessed their current level of hostility, perceived stress and trait mindfulness. The University’s human subjects committee approved all procedures. SPSS statistical software was utilized to perform bivariate correlations and multiple regression analyses on the hostility and mindfulness variables to determine their direct and moderational effects on perceived stress in college students.

RESULTS

The mean and standard deviation for the primary dependent variable, perceived stress was 42.50 and 6.72 respectively (See Table 1). This mean is equivalent to “sometimes” perceiving stress, indicating that the sample perceived a moderate degree of stress. The descriptive statistics for hostility and mindful acceptance without judgment are presented in Table 1. The sample’s hostility mean score was equivalent to “somewhat uncharacteristic of me while the mindful acceptance without judgment score was equivalent to “sometimes true”. Overall the sample was a relatively non-hostile group that experienced moderate degrees of perceived stress and mindful acceptance.

Table1

Descriptive Statistics For Psychosocial Factors (N=84)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Perceived Stress</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>42.50</td>
<td>6.72</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hostility</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22.14</td>
<td>5.89</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mindful Acceptance Without Judgment</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27.42</td>
<td>6.48</td>
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</table>

Note. The higher means indicate more of the given concept for all of the psychosocial factors presented in the table.
As expected, high hostility predicted high perceived stress ($R^2=.22$, $\beta=.47$, $p<.01$) while mindful acceptance without judgment predicted low perceived stress ($R^2=.16$, $\beta=-.40$, $p<.01$) (See Table 2). Both hostility and mindful acceptance without judgment were independently predictive of stress. Importantly mindful acceptance without judgment has explained 8% of the variance in stress, after controlling for hostility, $R^2$ change=.08, $F$ change (1,81)=9.74, $p<.01$ (See Table 3). This finding indicates that mindful acceptance without judgment effects hostility at all levels and is essentially reducing the impact of hostility on stress. A subsequent analysis did not reveal any moderational effects from the mindful acceptance without judgment trait.

Table 2

**Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Perceived Stress from Hostility and Mindful Acceptance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variable</th>
<th>F (df) for Equation</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$t^a$</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Hostility</td>
<td>22.90 (1,82)</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>4.79**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mindful Acceptance Without Judgment</td>
<td>15.97(1,82)</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.42</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.40</td>
<td>-4.00**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .05$  ** $p < .01$

Table 3

**Hostility and Mindful Acceptance Without Judgment’s Predictions of Perceived Stress**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variable</th>
<th>F (df) for Equation</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>F Change</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$t^a$</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Hostility</td>
<td>22.90 (1, 82)</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>4.79**</td>
</tr>
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<td>2. Hostility and Mindful Acceptance Without Judgment</td>
<td>17.54(2,81)</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>9.74**</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>4.02**</td>
</tr>
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<td>3. Hostility x Mindful</td>
<td>11.63(3,80)</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.40</td>
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</tbody>
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Note. The first block is an analysis of the predicted variable’s impact on perceived stress. The second block is an analysis of the predicted variable and moderated variables’ impact on perceived stress. The third block is an analysis of the interaction between the perceived and moderated variables.  * $p < .05$  ** $p < .01$
CONCLUSIONS

This research replicated the findings that hostility is positively associated with perceived stress. This study also discovered that high mindful acceptance without judgment reduces the strength of the hostility and perceived stress relationship. Limitations of this study include reliance on self-reported data and the absence of physiological measures of stress to corroborate perceived stress in the participants. Another possible limitation of the study is that causation and direction of the tested factors are unclear due to the correlational nature of the research.

Based on the additive effect that mindful acceptance had on the hostility-perceived stress relationship, stress management programs for hostile individuals should strongly consider simultaneously teaching mindfulness techniques (i.e. breathing exercises, mediation, yoga etc.) and the importance of accepting one’s current thoughts and feelings in a non-evaluative fashion. Future research should investigate whether the nonjudgmental component of a mindfulness intervention influences a hostile individual’s physiological response to interpersonal stressors. It would also be interesting to assess whether or not a mindfulness intervention influences the words that hostile people use to describe a current experience. An adoption of more nonjudgmental phrases and tones may positively influence their interactions with others and put them in a better position to develop stronger social support systems. In conclusion, mindful acceptance’s influence on hostility warrants further investigation. Such research may lead to interventions that effectively enhance interpersonal social skills and decrease perceptions of stress for hostile individuals.
References


Title Page: Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences
James B. Bush, PhD

a. An Actor’s Makeup: A Psychological Profile
b. Psychology
c. Paper Session
d. James Beekman Bush, PhD

Department of Theatre and Dance in the College of Visual and Performing Arts
Texas Tech University. I am an active member of both the APA and the APS.

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Abstract:
This research investigates if there are elements of personality profiles particular to student actors. We administered four separate instruments for assessment. Results indicate that actors are interpersonally perceptive, high self monitors, slightly neurotic and extroverted, imaginative, open to new experiences, emotionally sensitive, and advanced acting training is a significant factor.

Supporting Summary:
Acting students of the legitimate stage have always been considered a little different; but are they and what constitutes those differences? What does an actor need to give a great performance and what are the dependent and independent variables in that process? Is acting an honest or a dishonest behavior for the actor? The four instruments used in this research are the Interpersonal Perception Task, the Self Monitoring Scale, the Big Five Inventory, and the Positive Disintegration Assay. While not exhaustive, they are a well-rounded array chosen specifically to create an actor’s profile, providing a “personality taxonomy” detailing the characteristics of actors. These instruments are causal and dynamic throughout various levels of abstraction and are reasonably close to sharing a common nomenclature.

Self monitoring appears to be a matter of a propensity rather than any advanced training. Actors are higher self monitors than the control groups. These findings suggest that self monitoring is not a matter of intellect but rather of imagination. For actors, acting is an emotional portrayal, while for others results indicate that it is more of an intellectual process. Actors appear to consider themselves no more extroverted than anyone else, although the process of their acting is statistically linked to both imagination and extroversion. Actors have an intense need to impress others. Good interpersonal perception skills appear to be natural byproducts of acting training rather than a propensity they innately possess. It is also linked with a high degree of self monitoring. For actors, their degree of interpersonal skills is combined with a competitive nature, and the ability to accurately recreate lifelike situations on the stage is a hallmark of highly developed acting skills. Actors are also better able to detect deception, status, and the interpersonal relationships of other individuals. An actor’s intellectual prowess is often highly focused on emotional issues. The internalization and the subsequent effect on a personality occasioned by some external or emotional events are additional hallmarks of a high degree of acting skills. The learning process of intellectualizing emotions while studying a role and then having the skills to publically betray them on stage certainly requires conscientious study and rehearsal for the actor. It is also supported by the actor’s openness to new ideas and methods of expression, a keen eye for interpersonal truths. Acting and emotions are inexorably linked. Many actors have a propensity for feeling and displaying emotions rather than learning to do so through acting training. This would suggest that advanced acting training benefits actors in their ability to honestly portray these emotions under a magnification adjusted to suit the optics of the stage, rather than enhance one’s emotional sensitivity. Actors scored high marks in the imaginative domain, as expected. Interestingly, imagination correlated with openness for actors, while for non-theatre groups it correlated with acting and extroversion. This suggests that the actor’s imagination, like their emotions and intellect, are simply different both in focus and intensity from others. Emotions were the most statistically significant differences between actors and others.
Increasingly, women are better represented at all levels of higher education – as undergraduate students, graduate students, faculty, and administrators. The gains made by women in the academy are noteworthy and commendable. Yet, women’s representation at the highest levels of the academic pipeline remains low. What happens to women as they move through academic careers? Why is there inertia in women’s movement towards positions of power, importance, and influence?

This paper draws on case studies of women faculty’s negative experiences in North American colleges and universities. These were collected over a period of five years by the authors. Methodologically, case studies provide a snapshot of a particular incident that is influential or significant to the storyteller. This method is useful in drawing attention to details about a key issue of relevance. The case studies utilized in this paper are derived from two sources. First, we have collected case studies for academic workshops geared towards helping women faculty and graduate students navigate the structures and cultures of academic life, which are often antagonistic to women, *as women*. These case studies were solicited via email requests on an academic feminist listserv to which the authors are subscribers. Second, in the process of writing a book about the experiences of women faculty in the U.S., we have collected additional narratives that detail specific instances of “hostility” experienced by women academics. Approximately 30 narratives were collected via an online survey tool that provided anonymity to participants. The authors recruited these respondents via emails to approximately 90 distinct women’s disciplinary (academic) organizations requesting participation in the study.

Our analysis suggests that the kinds of hostilities women face in today’s academic environments, across disciplines, are deeply gendered. Five analytical categories emerge from our analysis, and suggest that academic cultures and structures work in tandem to create uncertainty, fear, confusion, and difficult choices for the women academics in our study. 1) Our women respondents report multiple instances of *real or perceived threats* from colleagues (primarily other men) and danger to their physical safety. 2) Women who have participated in our study receive *conflicting and persistent messages about mothering* (or not mothering) in the academy, which have the potential to derail a career if a woman makes an erroneous choice. 3) From our
case studies, women who turn to university policies for support or guidance in their career decisions often find lack of clarity and problematic chains of command to address their concerns, which inhibit their ability to resolve workplace issues. 4) Our participants report having to manage “tough choices” where they either have a life outside of their work, or are completely immersed in their careers; they perceive little in-between. Further, they report perceived costs (e.g., emotional, familial, professional) to any decision; there is no in-between. And, 5) women who speak out, confront their negative situations, or challenge the status quo find themselves facing (sometimes severe) retaliation from administrators, colleagues, or students.

Together, the narratives suggest that women academics in hostile workplaces experience a sense of isolation, silence, disbelief, and confusion about their experiences, which tend to fall within the five broad categories outlined above. And, they demonstrate that even when gender is an obvious variable in workplace conflicts, women question whether egregious gender discrimination has occurred. This perpetuates what we recognize as the “culture of silence” for women in the academy. We call for greater awareness and research regarding these experiences as systematic and systemic, not isolated and rare instances of hostility against individual women. These experiences emanate from the culture and structure of many academic workplaces.

We conclude our presentation with a summary of the personal and professional costs to women academics and the academy. For highly trained and dedicated women scholars/teachers these are sometimes insurmountable, and many women leave academic careers as a result of their experiences – and some some of our case studies illustrate this. Others experience health problems and are unable to successfully meet the demands of their jobs. As such, they are not promoted, not tenured, and effectively ousted from the academy. This attrition impacts academic institutions negatively as well. Fewer women succeeding in academic careers results in fewer women administrators and full professors in positions that have the ability to influence positively the policies, cultures, and processes that drive women out in the first place. And finally others persist, and even succeed. They are either worn down and jaded by their experiences, or motivated to change the academy for upcoming scholars/teachers who should not have to endure such hostilities.
Communicating with the majority: The question of Quebec and Canadian contemporary dispute on national unity (1980-1995)

Topic Area: Communication

Format: Paper/poster Session

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Paper Abstract for the Eleventh Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

Honolulu, Hawaii
May 30th – June 2nd, 2012
Communicating with the majority: The question of Quebec and Canadian contemporary dispute on national unity (1980-1995)

(Abstract)

The issue of Quebec has long been a historical one for Canadians. Both the majority (the Anglophone) and the minority (the Francophone) populations have struggled for more effective communication that brings forth satisfactory outcomes for both parties. However, at the core of this issue lie cultural and political tensions arising from philosophical questions of how minority and majority populations interact effectively with each other, given that the minorities must preserve their own identity while being in harmony with the greater majority. The ideas and arguments of Plato (Jowett, 2009) and Machiavelli (Bondanella & Musa, 1979) are used in this paper to analyze the Quebec issue so as to understand Quebec’s claims for political sovereignty and cultural distinction, especially during the height of political factionalism from 1980-1995. From this perspective, the paper further reflects on the factors that may have led to this modern-day Canadian dispute on national unity.
Natural Opposition: Exposing the American Divide on Higher Education

Topic Area: Education

Format: Paper/poster Session

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Paper Abstract for the Eleventh Annual
Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

Honolulu, Hawaii
May 30th – June 2nd, 2012
Natural Opposition: Exposing the American Divide on Education

(Abstract)

Past research (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) reveals that Americans generally assume the superiority of those with higher education. Indeed, the American public has begun to lose respect for those without higher education, and many consider the divide between those possessing higher education and those without higher education a natural opposition. Using the argumentative techniques and philosophical ideas of Plato and Aristotle (Richards, 1966), this paper exposes the falsity of this divide on higher education and comments on the wider social and cultural implications. While the educated may make better choices, obtain lucrative employment or enjoy better lifestyles, it is also true that the highly educated often make poorer life choices than their lesser educated counterparts due to lack of worldly experiences. In the last few decades, the American public has begun to lose respect for those without higher education, and has consequently lost touch with the cultural mentality of innovation over academic tradition. By exposing the faulty logic and inconsistent reasoning behind this popularly-held divide, it becomes clear the assumption is not a natural opposition but simply a contemporary idea with wide-ranging impact on American culture and society.
A Study on Use of Metallic Yarns in Formal Wear.

Topic Area: Social science
Sub-category: Clothing and Textiles

Submitted by:
Mehreen Ijaz
Title:
A study on use of metallic yarns in formal wear.

Introduction:

Clothing is one of three basic necessities of life. Man is always looking for innovations and inventions in every field of life all over the world. Clothing is considered as ‘second skin’ which makes the man different, unique and identifiable from others. Women always want to attain individualistic touch in their clothes and at the same time they like to be fashion leaders or fashion followers. As life is becoming more social and busy, they need to focus on their clothing trends. Marketers and researchers are always trying to search for new materials, designs, colors, textures and styles for them.

Most societies develop norms about modesty, religious practices, behavioral appropriateness, social status, and even political affiliations in which clothes play an important role. Finally, clothing functions as a form of adornment and an expression of personal taste or style. (1). There are different categories of dresses suitable for various types of events in any particular society like work or office clothes, informal or casual wear, formal or party wear and bridal wear etc.

Formal wear includes both party wear and evening wear costumes. To cater the specific needs of the occasions, these dresses need to be embellished. Metallic yarns play a vital role in beautifying the material. The use of metallic and fancy yarns made the outfits fabulous because they are the ‘formal’ yarns which are especially design to cater the needs of aesthetics and creativity that are most required factors demanded by the females.

Metallic Yarns (are also called shimmery and fancy yarns, Fils Guipe, Kasab, Badla, Gazab yarns, Jari & Zari). Metallic yarns, as the name indicates, made up of a core completely coated with metal or metal coated with plastic. “Fancy yarn is a yarn that is made with distinctive irregular profile or a construction that differs from a basic single and folded yarns, the objective of which is to enhance the aesthetics of the end product with respect to visual and textural properties” (2)

Now a days, as fashion dictates, metallic yarns are becoming more and more important in formal wearing including party or evening attires. Metallic yarns can be made into fashionable fabrics by using many construction methods like weaving, braiding or knitting. For interesting and additional effects, metallic yarns are blended with other fibers like nylon, wool, cotton, polyester, viscose, polyamide and many other synthetic materials to add up unique characteristics in the final product. Moreover, dyes and pigments which are used to color these yarns are also fast to light and crocking. They do not fade away their shine and spark even after many washings. But care should be taken in washing, drying and ironing them. Labels should be carefully read before use.

Significance of the study:

The glittery look and appearance of formal attire is supposed to be an essential feature of all occasions in Pakistan. This shimmery look itself suggests the happiness and pleasure, associated with the particular event. Everyone whether the little and young girls or adolescent women want to present their joy with colorful, shiny and expensive clothes. In ancient times, Mughals used to wear garments constructed with pure gold and silver threads, but now-a-days it is unaffordable to prepare such type of clothes, so metallic yarns are used to imitate that marvelous and inspiring look.
Formal dress is that type of dress which is used for formal occasions like formal dinners, receptions, balls, wedding functions etc. Women in Pakistan like to wear formal dresses with great enthusiasm and they spend a lot time in choosing their attires. They spend lavishly in purchasing the garments especially for formal occasions and also used to wear heavy makeup and jewelry to match with their clothes. High class and middle class women also look for designer wear. Metallic embellishments give the feeling of luxurious material and every woman want to obtain expensive articles and those who do not afford, like to obtain the material that gives the same look as that of costly garment.

Shining yarns in clothing are always attractive, gorgeous, striking, eye catching, and appealing all over the world by women. Metallic yarns are considered as value added components for textile industry. They add beauty and glamour in the garments. Fashion designers are working more and more towards adding diversity in clothing trends with the use of formal wear. Designers target the women market to attract their attention in purchasing and using metallic and fancy fabrics for their functions. There is no other alternative to them.

It is indicated by the researchers that gold and silver filaments were the first man made yarns. In recent years, with the advancement in the technologies, new colored and coated metal fibers and yarns are being produced now-a-days. (3) So, now we can have these yarns available in many attractive and vibrant colors and in many florescent tones. These yarns are extensively used as embellishments for formal wear dresses worn by fashion conscious ladies. Gold and silver metallic yarns are used for additional luster and shine. Different color combinations are used for making metallic fabric as well as these are also used for making ribbons, laces, braids, embroidery thread, other embellishments materials like gota, dabka, zari etc. color trends may change but their use in party wear or evening dresses always remain. They never be out of fashion. They can be used as single colored or multi colored ranging from smooth to heavy textures, in different sizes and diameter and thickness may also vary according to the end use. The has led women to choose from a wide variety of these shiny and shimmery yarns and incorporate in their dresses to make them adequate for the occasion. "yarns are not only the items to admire but also have a great market value. Carrying out market analysis shows fancy yarns market potential" (4)

Different types of metallic materials are used traditionally gota work is mostly used in rural areas as well as in few urban areas of Pakistan. Gota work is usually used to create women's formal wear. Fashion is returning to its rustic roots again and this time its both the fabrics and the silhouettes along with embellishments that are making news. The designers play with shiny and shimmery effects with matt look to create their unique designs. (5)

Color is the most important element in designing. Designers always look for different and unique combinations because color is supposed to be the major reason of purchase especially in apparels. So, colors used in metallic materials also deeply associated with wearer’s feelings. For this designers need to look this aspect as important as the material or embellishment stuff. The choice for specific colors is associated with different aspects like current trend, age, profession, style etc. This issue of color is also highlighted by Dr. Kim Anderson that color responses are also learned and can change over time. As our age and socio-economic status increase, our response to color can change as well. It is important to note that a specific response to a particular color will vary tremendously depending on where and how that color is utilized. (6) Thus, it is very important to use colors in adequate amount at adequate space over a dress. It also depends on the socio economic status of people that which shade and tint of color as accepted by them.

Technological advancements have led its use to a greater extent. New and innovative techniques are constantly incorporating amazing results that make it much harder to differentiate pure gold and silver threads with modern metallic manmade yarns. This makes an intense increase in its use for formal wear.
Objectives of the study:
1. To compare attitude and choices of females in selection of formal wear.
2. To evaluate consumers priorities in regard with metallic yarns.
3. To collect information about colors which are used in metallic yarns
4. To study the changing fashion trends in metallic yarns

Research Questions:
1. What are the attitudes and choices of females in selecting formal dresses?
2. What are consumer priorities in selecting metallic yarns?
3. What are the colors mostly used in metallic yarns?
4. What are the latest trends in choosing metallic yarns?

Research Method
This study uses quantitative research approach. A set of 20 close ended survey questionnaires were constructed. Multiple choice questions technique was used to formulate the questionnaire that were administered to the consumers as well as another set of questionnaire based on the same technique, was administered to the fashion designers. The multiple-choice questions offered the respondents with three options to choose for a given response.

A pilot test was conducted on 10% of the sample size to check the adequacy of questionnaire and to identify the errors before it was administered to the respondents. This helped to ensure the validity and reliability of data collecting tool. Few alterations as indicated in the pilot study were made in the questionnaire.

Sample Size
The study was conducted in Defence and Gulberg areas of Lahore. These areas are selected because of the easy access of the researcher. A sample of 100 females (50 from each area) were selected for the study.

Data Collection
The questionnaire was self-administered and was distributed by visiting different people to get the desired sample. One hundred and fifty questionnaires were distributed but only hundred questionnaires were used for the final findings after eliminating those that were partially completed or do not fall in the category required. Second set of questionnaire was distrusted to 20 designers out of which only 17 were considered for the final analysis. After collecting the data, it was analyzed statistically and was presented graphically in the form of pie chart for more clarity.

Limitations:
1. Population will be Lahore (Defence and Gulberg area)
2. High class and upper middle class consumers will be selected.
3. Formal dresses made in metallic yarns will be considered.
4. Only house wives were selected for the study.

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<th>QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE CONSUMERS:</th>
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It is concluded from the gathered data that 48% people preferred metallic ribbons and laces on their formal dresses, whereas 33% women want to use traditional gotta and dabka work and only 19% have chosen sequences with embroidery for their formal wear.

74% women choose moderate price range dresses and 26% opt for expensive clothes. No one likes to wear inexpensive clothes for formal occasions.

56% are of the opinion that they can have different type of metallic materials according to their choice from the market and 33% replied that to some extent. Whereas 11% females do not able to get metallic materials of their choice from the markets.
40% females consider economy as a major factor while buying garments, and 33% look for style and fashion. 27% consider religion as an important criteria in choosing their dresses.

95% respondents opt fashionable embellishment materials and nobody wants to have out dated embellishing material for their dresses.

58% women like matching or same embellishing material as of their fabric, and 15% like to use contrast colors. 27% still like to use traditional gold and silver colors for their formal dresses.
78% women look for quality of material while purchasing, where as 20% focus on price and only 2% want to focus much on quantity of dresses.

56% females prefer metallic embellishments used on plain fabric, 20% prefer the use of metallic laces only and 16% want to have glittering fabric.

78% respondents considered media in bringing awareness about latest trends, 11% think fashion designers for bringing change and 11% opt for society.
60% choose silk for party wear, 38% choose chiffon for their formal dresses and only 2% opt for georgette.

84% do not like to wear glittering fabrics in daytime, 15% wear to some extent where as only 1% want to wear shiny dresses during daytime.

46% females considered metallic materials as durable, 38% find these long lasting to some extent and 16% considered them as non durable materials.

45% women like medium work that means not too much heavy and not too much light on their garments. 35% want to have heavy work over their dresses and 20% like light work.
87% women consider metallic yarns as a basic necessity for formal dresses, whereas 13% consider it to some extent.

95% women think media is responsible for promoting new trends, 4% think it as to some extent and only 1% do not consider media as important.

65% women prefer designer wear, 30% do not prefer and 5% prefer designer wear to some extent.
40% think that any one kind of formal wear can be used for all formal occasions where as 38% do not agree and 22% agree to some extent.

75% people like to retain their individuality through clothing, 15% agree to some extent and 10% do not agree.

72% women accept abrupt changes in fashion, whereas 18% accept to some extent and 10% do not want to accept.
34% think dress designers as trend setters in Pakistan, whereas 56% considered them to some extent and 10% do not agree.

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE FASHION DESIGNERS:**

Name: 
Qualification: 
Date: 

**Which type of dresses do you have in your outlet?**

- Party / evening wear
- Casual wear
- Both

70% designers have both party and casual wear dresses in their outlets whereas 30% have only party wear.

**You design for**

- Male
- Female
- Both

93% designers design female dresses and 5% design for both male and females. Whereas 2% design for male members.
88% are of the view that their designs are self created, 2% take help from fashion magazines and 10% uses both.

52% designers uses silk as foundation material for formal dresses whereas 48% use chiffon.

35% designers use traditional gold and silver colors in metallic materials, 55% sometimes use these colors and 10% do not opt these colors.
49% designers keep style in mind the most, while designing, 30% consider the cost and 21% focus on culture.

78% designers use combination of eastern and western styles, 10% prefer eastern styles and 12% prefer western styles.

62% prefer to use ribbon and thread work in embellishments these days, whereas 25% traditional dabka and tilla work and 13% opt for beadwork.
38% design for middle class and 61 design for both upper and middle class women.

73% designers think that bright colors express feelings where as 27% agree to some extent.

All respondents agree that both price and quality of design are responsible for attracting customers towards them.
55% consider quality as a distinguishing factor from other designers, where as 30% consider price and 15% consider popularity.

30% consider T.V advertisements as important tool in promoting their brand, 35% consider bill boards and 35% consider fashion shows.

65% designers agree that consumers accept abrupt changes in fashion, where as 20% agree to some extent and 15% disagree.
79% do not incorporate shiny materials for daytime dresses, 16% sometimes incorporate and 5% always uses shiny materials.

22% designers consider themselves as pioneer of changing fashion trends, 68% agree to some extent and 10% do not agree.

75% are of the view that collaboration with foreign fashion houses help to promote Pakistani fashion at international level, whereas 5% consider fashion shoes as important factor. 20% suggest other things including attending seminars outside the country, focusing on researches in different areas and calling different designers in our country to held lectures and workshops.
82% designers consider that metallic yarns are always in fashion, where as 15% agree to some extent and 3% do not agree.

Conclusion

Metallic yarns and formal dresses both are necessary for one another. They both provide a sense of luxury for females. So, that’s why women are attracted towards the beauty and shine of these yarns and want to use them in their special purpose garments. It is well understood that women pay much time in choosing their formal dresses as compare to their casual dresses. They want something different and attractive, no matter if they provide uncomfortable feelings for them.

It is observed from the questionnaire obtained from the responses of females that different types of ribbons and laces are mostly like by them. Some of them are also attracted towards the traditional gota and dabka look. Almost all women are ready to pay such a handsome amount to get a good dress embellished with metallic yarns. There are almost many colors with different shades and tints are available in the market. So, they have a wide range from which to choose for themselves. Style is given much priority as compare to their religion or folkways to act upon, in choosing their dresses. Matching colors of metallic materials are mostly preferred. The quality of material is considered to be the major reason of purchase. The use of metallic yarns on plain fabrics such as silk and chiffon are much common as compare to use the shimmery fabric. Media plays a strong role in bringing awareness about latest trends and styles to the public. People do not want to wear metallic materials in daytime. They prefer them in evening functions and parties. Not too much heavy and not too much light work is liked by most of the respondents. As trend in Pakistan is changing rapidly, females are more prone to wear designer clothes. So, they are ready to wear any one kind of formal wear on many occasions like weddings, birthday parties, evening functions etc. because some of them consider fashion designers as trend setters, so they just like to follow them. It is easy to say that metallic materials are considered as the important and basic ingredient in designing formal dresses.

The data is also collected from some designers to gather their view about the use and implementation of metallic yarns in formal wear. Most of the designers work on both categories of dresses like casual wear and formal wear and few only focus on formal wear in females. They use to create their own designs with different inspirations to fulfill the consumer needs and bring individuality in their designs, but some of them do not hesitate to consider that they take inspirations from magazines and then convert them according to their own tastes. Silk and chiffons are the most favorite materials for formal wear because of their natural
superior look. Mostly different combinations of colors are used to some extent they prefer traditional gold and silver color to incorporate conventional themes in contemporary designs. Style is given much value in preparing these fashionable garments whereas price is also given consideration by few of them. Rather than using pure eastern and western styles, they always look to amalgamate these two styles into single attire. The upper and middle class both are chosen as their segmentation area. Mostly ribbon work and threadwork is used to embellish the outfits. Colors are used by keeping in mind the liking and disliking of customers by using different shades for different personalities. Quality and price both are considered important factor in purchase of their products. Fashion shows and bill boards help the most in promoting their products and they think that it is easy to bring an abrupt change in fashion because people will accept it easily. So, they can use different styles after few times to eliminate the monotony and bring a change for the customers. The use of metallic yarns is seen in evening wear by keeping in mind the nature of event. Most of them consider themselves as the pioneer of creating new innovations in styles and designs to some extent. It is possible to bring Pakistani fashion at international level by taking different steps like making collaborations with foreign houses or by presenting our fashion to them and as well as by delivering lectures and setting up workshops in this field. The metallic yarns are never out of fashion but are always remain in fashion especially when one talk about the formal wear.

Finally it is well understood the scenario that metallic yarns are very essential in making formal attires for females and this issue is equally acceptable by both the customers and by the designers. But there is still need to search out many other techniques, materials, and methods of incorporating these yarns into dresses so that Pakistani fashion can reach at its highest level by keeping in mind its own culture, uniqueness, individuality to attract the international market as well.

References:

Did Corporate Governance Safeguard Investor Interest
In the Global Financial Crisis

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Abstract

The financial crisis that started in the United States in 2008 quickly sent exchange markets into a freefall. A number of renowned investment banks, including Lehman Brothers and Merrill Lynch, collapsed. Share prices plummeted on the New York Stock Exchange. The Dow Jones Industrial Average instantly fell more than 500 points and many investors were caught in the turmoil. Even though the U.S. government immediately implemented a US$700 billion financial market rescue plan, the American economy continued to shrink and the national unemployment rate shot up to nearly 10 percent.

The U.S. financial collapse sent shockwaves across the planet and throughout Asia. Immediately after Lehman Brothers filed for bankruptcy protection on 15 September 2008, Japan’s Nikkei Index fell by 4.95 percent, Taiwan’s TWSE Index by 4.89 percent, Shanghai’s SSE Index by 4.47 percent, and South Korea’s KOSPI plummeted 6.1 percent. The impact on the Asian markets was comparatively weaker than the initial crash in America. Nevertheless, Asian governments quickly adopted a range of measures, such as expansionary monetary and fiscal policies, to mitigate the effects of the crash and to stimulate the economy.

Hong Kong, one of the world’s key financial centers, was inevitably hit by the global crisis. The Hang Seng Index plunged by 5.4 percent. Like in other countries, the government and the monetary authorities implemented imperative measures to support Hong Kong’s financial system. A 100 percent deposit protection scheme was promptly announced and HK$179 billion was injected into the banking system between September and December 2008 to enhance public confidence in the sector. Nevertheless, the stock market continued to tumble. On 28 October 2008 and 9 March 2009, the Hang Seng Index recorded its two lowest
troughs at 11133.94 and 11344.58, respectively (- 42.47% and - 41.38%, respectively, from the end of August 2008).

The market performance of individual companies is of the greatest concern to investors. While some shares dropped by less than 20 percent (e.g. Beijing Enterprises Holdings and Addchance Holdings), others plunged over 80 percent (e.g. Agtech Holdings and Acrossasia) in the months following the September crash. These huge discrepancies raise the question of why share prices of some companies are more stable than those of other companies when the market is falling. In other words, why did shareholders or potential investors still have confidence in certain companies during the slump?

Good corporate governance is the most important factor in maintaining investor confidence. It entices outside capital during periods of economic depression. In addition, good corporate governance is expected to curb excessive levels of executive remuneration and safeguard against excessive risk-taking by management. With good corporate governance, shareholder interests can be protected. Investors are willing to pay premium prices for companies with good corporate governance. To a large extent, share price fluctuations during financial crisis reflect the degree of investor confidence in a company.

Most of the literature in this field measures the efficacy of corporate governance structures over non-crisis periods. Consequently, the results may not fully reflect the defense abilities and caliber of the mechanisms of corporate governance. Since there is inadequate research on the impact financial crises have on existing corporate governance mechanisms, the global financial disaster of 2008 offers a good setting for assessing the effectiveness of governance system in protecting investor interest when capital markets are suddenly confronted with an unanticipated and rapid decline in stock prices.

This study examines the relationship between corporate governance systems and firm market performance during the financial crisis in 2008-2009. The objective of this study is to assess the capability of corporate governance mechanism to self-defend and self-regulate during periods of crisis. While most research on financial crisis focuses on financial services companies, this study focuses on all non-financial sectors.

Financial statement information and stock price data are extracted from Datastream database. Information on corporate governance and firm ownership is collected from the 2008 annual reports of companies included in this study. The following regression model is used in this study.

\[ \text{Return}_{t+1} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Duality}_t + \beta_2 \text{NonExeChair}_t + \beta_3 \text{NumDirs}_t + \beta_4 \text{IndDir}_t + \beta_5 \text{CEOSh}_t + \beta_6 \text{DirSh}_t + \beta_7 \text{Chg\%BlkSht}_{t+1} + \beta_8 \text{BlkSh}_t + \beta_9 \text{AudIndDirs}_t + \beta_{10} \text{AudIndSh}_t + \beta_{11} \text{RemIndDirs}_t + \beta_{12} \text{RemIndSh}_t + \beta_{13} \text{Committees}_t + \beta_{14} \text{Lev}_t + \beta_{15} \ln \text{Sales}_t + \beta_{16} \text{Industry}_t + \varepsilon_t \]

where

\[ \text{Return}_{t+1} \] is one of the following five different return measures:

- AbnorRtn: market-adjusted cumulative stock return
- Rtn_Fall: absolute value of the lowest price minus beginning price divided by beginning price times 100%
\( \text{Rtn\_Bounce:} \) absolute value of the highest price (after the occurrence of the lowest price) minus the lowest price divided by the lowest price times 100%

\( \text{Day\_Fall:} \) number of trading days between the beginning of the period and the occurrence of the lowest price

\( \text{Day\_Bounce:} \) number of trading days between the occurrence of the lowest price and the rebound to the highest price

\( \text{Duality}_{i}: \) dummy variable--1 if CEO and chairman of the Board of Directors is the same person

\( \text{NonExecChair}_{i}: \) dummy variable--1 if chairman is non-executive director

\( \text{NumDirs}_{i}: \) number of directors

\( \text{IndDirs}_{i}: \) proportion of independent directors

\( \text{CEOSht}_{i}: \) shares held by CEO divided by total number of shares outstanding

\( \text{DirSh}_{i}: \) shares held by all directors (except CEO) divided by total number of shares outstanding

\( \text{BlkSh}_{i}: \) shares held by all block shareholders divided by total number of shares outstanding

\( \text{Chg\%BlkSh}_{i+1}: \) percentage change of shares held by block shareholders during the period

\( \text{AudIndDirs}_{i}: \) proportion of independent directors on the Audit Committee

\( \text{AudIndSh}_{i}: \) shares held by independent directors on the Audit Committee divided by total number of shares held by directors on the Audit Committee

\( \text{RemIndDirs}_{i}: \) proportion of independent directors on the Remuneration Committee

\( \text{RemIndSh}_{i}: \) shares held by independent directors on the Remuneration Committee divided by total number of shares held by directors on the Remuneration Committee

\( \text{Committees}_{i}: \) 1 if the firm has all three key committees (Audit, Remuneration, and Nomination), 2/3 if two, and 1/3 if one

\( \text{Lev}_{i}: \) ratio of total long-term debt to total assets

\( \text{LnSale}_{i}: \) natural log of total sales in HK$ millions for the fiscal year ended during the period

\( \text{Industry}_{i}: \) dummy variable for industry control

Instead of measuring only cumulative return, the dependent variable, Return\(_{i+1}\), used in this study is measured five different ways in two aspects: market return and duration. The five dependent variables are: AbnorRtn, Rtn\_Fall, Rtn\_Bounce, Day\_Fall, and Day\_Bounce. The first three dependent variables measure rates of return of the stocks during the period. While AbnorRtn measures the above-market return of the stock during the period, Rtn\_Fall measures the return from the beginning of the period to when the price reaches its trough, reflecting the self-defense ability of the stock when the market falls, and Rtn\_Bounce measures the return from when the price reaches its trough to when the price reaches its peak afterwards, reflecting the stock’s ability to self-regulate when the market rebounds back from the trough. The last two dependent variables measure the duration of the price fall and the rebound of the stock price.
The results of this study indicate that although whether or not the CEO and Chairman of the Board of Directors is the same person does not affect stock returns, having a non-executive Chair and large proportion of independent directors on the Board boosts investor confidence during the period. Firms with independent Board of Directors are better able to self-defend and self-regulate, resulting in price stability. Although prices fall, the decline is small and gradual, but the recovery from the trough is speedy.

This study finds that high concentration of ownership leads to lower stock returns, which supports the Expropriation Theory of ownership concentration that suggests high concentration of management ownership intensifies the conflict of interest between majority and minority shareholders. The finding is in contrary to the Alignment Theory, which suggests that high concentration of management ownership mitigates the conflict of interest between managers and shareholders. The results of this study also indicate high ownership concentration results in firms’ ability to better self-defend and self-regulate during the crisis. In addition, managerial ownership and block shareholdings prevent stocks from sudden share price freefall while the market is tumbling and speed up share price rebound afterwards.
South Korea’s ownership on foreign aid in 1950s
- Foreign exchange control of Rhee Syngman Regime -

1. Introduction

The Republic of Korea (hereinafter South Korea) officially joined the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). It is the first-ever recipient country becoming a donor of official development assistance (ODA). In addition, G20 hosted by South Korea in 2010 tried to attract an attention from participants regarding to development issue and address the issue as a matter of global community’s duty which can be achieved by holistic and comprehensive approach through the strong global partnership. Also South Korean government demonstrated its willingness to share Korea’s experiences, helping less developed countries to overcome their current situations and eventually achieve economic development. Moreover, in November 2011, the Fourth High Level Forum (HLF-4) on Aid Effectiveness

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Due to South Korea’s rapid economic development and its active participation in the discourse of international development, developing countries have started paying attention South Korea’s unique experience. Therefore, it becomes worthwhile to discover key factors underlying Korea’s successful economic development. The rapid economic growth derived from the effective management of foreign assistance by South Korean government’s effective management of foreign aid which can be analyzed as ownership on foreign assistance. Even though there can be some limitations to apply current or recent concept such as ownership to past cases, this research aims to find how the South Korea tried to increase its ownership on foreign aid especially in the relation with U.S. government especially from 1948 to 1960. The reason to focus on the aid from U.S. is that the U.S was a major donor to Korea in this period. The U.S and Japan were Korea’s the two largest donors and the U.S. aid's one of the top three recipients was Korea from 1946-1980, thus suggesting that the aid from U.S. played significant roles in almost every part of Korea’s economic situation. (Jung, 2010a; Lee, 2009). As mentioned earlier, this study will conduct research and analyze the term of the Korean president Rhee Syngman because Rhee’s regime has been evaluated dichotomously, success or failure, and most of them previous studies has been focused on the negative side of Rhee’s regime(Park, 2010). Especially most of the researches in 1990s regarded the first republic as a failed regime and this tendency was influenced by Park’s military regime because the regime had to justify its military coup by criticizing its prior regime(Park, 2010). Moreover, compared with the Park’s regime in 1960s, the number of
Despite of the criticism on dependency of Rhee’s regime on U.S., there had been efforts to have ownership for implementing and planning economic policies in the process of negotiations on the U.S. aid with U.S. government. Especially Korean government made a different voice from the U.S. about foreign exchange control and constantly delivered its message to U.S. in the course of negotiations. Although foreign exchange rate issue generated resulted in the most conflicting argument between Korea and U.S., however there is not much very few studies research have examined the foreign exchange policy and economic growth of the First Republic and the Rhee administration has been underestimated in terms of ownership on foreign aid. Therefore, the current research will analyze investigate Rhee Syngman regime’s efforts for getting its ownership on U.S. aid for economic development in the relation with U.S. government in terms of foreign exchange control by through analyzing the agreements and letters and minutes of official meetings between two countries.

2. Literature review

2.1. Key factors for rapid economic growth in South Korea

There have been many different opinions to explain Korea’s successful economic growth especially in particular as a recipient country of foreign aid. Some insist
that recipient’s strong will and independent voice on foreign aid eventually led such success, while others argue that donor’s willingness played a key role for the development.

When the U.S. assisted Korea, U.S. government or aid agencies wanted to establish an institution to manage the military aid and control the economic aid. However, Korean government preferred to separate these two different aids. In addition, U.S. tried to concentrate more on the aid management, while Korean government was only interested in the volume of aid (Lee, 2009). In other words, the donor’s goal of foreign assistance was different from the recipient’s. Korea could overcome extreme poverty through the government’s strong will to obtain self initiated aid which may possibly giving an important implication to developing countries (Jung, 2010b). That is, Korean government gave the priority to reconstruct the country and develop the economy, whereas the U.S. preferred to stabilize the livelihoods of the public and the economy (Lee, 2004). For instance, Taska, a special emissary from the president of United States for the US foreign aid policy to South Korea, made a report mainly focusing on the stabilization of the Korean economy as a goal of U.S.’s aid. However, Korean government emphasized the reconstruction of its infrastructure instead (Lee, 2002).

It was quite difficult for Korean government to establish development plan as expected due to the disagreement with the donor country. However, once the development plans were decided, the Korean government pushed ahead the projects to make successful results. The recipient’s proactive efforts demonstrated its ownership which played a key role in increasing efficiency of foreign aid (Lee, 2002). The Korea’s unique experience,
becoming a donor of foreign aid from a recipient, was enabled by effort of self-help which was shown as the five year plan for economic development and Saemaeul Movement. Those endeavors made solid foundation for economic growth (Team, 2010). Furthermore, Korean government suggested establishing a consultative organization to assist South Korea’s development and devise plans for economic growth systemically. As result, International Economic Consultative Organization for Korea was founded in 1966 to assist Korean economic development efficiently (Lee, 2004).

On the other hand, there are arguments that U.S. military government attributed more to Korea’s development rather than Korean government’s ownership. For instance, Krueger said that Korea's land and education reform were accomplished by the help of the American occupation government (1979). American ambassador to South Korea also mentioned that the inability of Korean government and inefficiency of its system negatively affected the result of aid from U.S. (Lee, 2009).

There is no absolute answer to explain the key factor underlying Korea’s success but some convincing arguments prove the answers. One of the persuasive claims which demonstrates the main factor of Korea’s economic development was ownership. Korean government’s ownership shown as its own economic development plan and played an important role to achieve the economic growth. The Korean government consistently delivered its development strategies to the donors and tried to convince the National Assembly to increase aid efficiency and to lead economic development.
2.2. Perspectives on Rhee Syngman Regime

As mentioned earlier, Rhee’s regime has been evaluated dichotomously, success or failure, and the majority of previous studies have solely focused on the regime’s negative side of Rhee’s regime (Park, 2010).

According to MacDonald (2001), President Rhee’s hardly understood blindness in about the economics and trusted foreign advisors seemed lack of qualification. Rhee did not make effort to develop economic policies but only concentrated in the volume of foreign aid. In addition, Rhee Syngman emphasized his authority when he planned policies and made decision based on his personal emotion and character (Steinberg & Development, 1985). Moreover, Rhee’s administration was dependent on the foreign aid rather than developing its own strategies (Steinberg & Development, 1985).

In contrast, some studies supported that Rhee’s regime did have ownership on foreign aid by planning its own development policies and delivering its message to the donor in order to increase ownership on aid. In the course of the negotiation on the aid, Rhee administration constantly delivered its opinion for economic development (Lee, 2009). Also the economic policies of Rhee administration seemed to be pursuing developmental state (Park, 2010; Park, 2007). According to Choi (2003), Rhee’s regime had coherent economic goals and systems in order to solve high inflation rate problems and foreign exchange rate issue (2003).

Ironically, Rhee Syngman’s regime was criticized by its dependency on U.S. and recognized as pursuing its independency from U.S. at the same time in terms of economic
development. This research hypothesizes that foreign exchange control of Rhee’s regime worked as ownership on aid in support of the latter aspect Rhee administration.

### 2.3. Definition

After the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were declared in 2000, the global community started to make every effort to increase aid effectiveness. Even though the amount of foreign aid provided by the developed countries was considerably huge, the aid could not work efficient enough to alleviate poverty. Despite aid flow to Africa was peak between 1970 and 1998, a poverty rate in Africa increased from 11 percent to 66 percent (Moyo, 2009). Thus, international community’s concern on aid effectiveness led to convene the First High Level Forum on harmonization in which representatives from recipient countries, donor countries, and multilateral and bilateral development agencies gathered to discuss on the harmonization of foreign aid to increase aid effectiveness and adopted the Rome Declaration. Participants agreed that it was important to coordinate donor’s practice and recipient’s development priorities and thus emphasized the significance of recipient country’s ownership such as leadership for development. Followed by the Rome Declaration, Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness was adopted at the second HLF in Paris on 2005 to present more specific measures to achieve the MDGs. Especially the Paris Declaration placed emphasis on the partnership commitments for development and suggested ownership of recipient country, alignment, and harmonization between donor’s strategy and recipient’s policy to get a better result. Furthermore, the declaration stated that the indicators of progress would measure and monitor the process and result of foreign assistance.
Moreover, the Accra Agenda for Action was adopted at the third HLF on 2008 which elaborated on more detailed plans to achieve the MDGs and increase aid efficiency.

Throughout the series of HLFs on aid effectiveness, the ownership of recipient county was consistently emphasized to reduce poverty and improve aid efficiency. However, the definition of ownership varies with its diverse dimensions. In the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness, ownership is described as the leadership of partner country which exercises over development policies and strategies and it can be shown as follows (DAC):

- Exercise leadership in developing and implementing their national development strategies through broad consultative process.
- Translate these national development strategies into prioritized results-oriented operational programs as expressed in medium-term expenditure frameworks and annual budget.
- Take the lead in co-ordinating aid at all levels in conjuncture with other development resources in dialogue with donors and encourage the participation of civil society and the private sector.

Eberlie defines ownership as a participation of partner country’s population. That is, ownership means that the majority of the population or representatives are participating in the process of development strategy implementation or formation (2001). Meanwhile, International Monetary Fund (IMF) defines the ownership as will of partner country’s officials which promotes to carry out development policies for country’s own interest. In addition, ownership can be defined as the aid management and ability to make foreign aid suitable for country’s development process (Ohno, 2005).

In present study, Korea’s ownership as a recipient of the United States of America’s aid...
Ownership on Foreign aid

Ownership on aid is a vague term which is used differently according to the context. According to Ohno (2005), ownership can be defined at the same point between the two sides: one side where decision making on aid and aid policies about aid are done by recipient country and the other side where donor country makes decisions of them. Ownership on aid is related with the distribution of roles and power between donors and its partners especially when they establish development policies and implement the development plans (Saxby, 2003). However some studies stated that in the relationship of donor and recipient country, there can be compromised ownership of partner country’s for the better comes (Eyben, 2010). Also Morrissey (1999) argued that the rhetoric of ownership and partnership may could cause tension between the donor and the recipient. In the case that developing countries heavily rely on foreign aid in socio-economic areas, recipient country may encounter with limitation of exercising its ownership on aid and policy autonomy (Ohno, 2005). In addition, donors tend to make priority according to the international developing discourses rather than specific need of recipient country (Weeks et al., 2007).

In many studies argued that the recipient’s ownership on foreign assistance is
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important for development (Booth, 2003; Killick, Gunatilaka, & Marr, 1998). In this regards, internationalcommunity made initiative to enhance aid effectiveness and regarded ownership as one of the important factor for aid effectiveness. Thus international community’s concern on aid effectiveness led to convene the First High Level Forum on harmonization in which representatives from recipient countries, donor countries, and multilateral and bilateral development agencies gathered to discuss on the harmonization of foreign aid to increase aid effectiveness and adopted the Rome Declaration. Participants agreed that it was important to coordinate donor’s practice and recipient’s development priorities and thus emphasized the significance of recipient country’s ownership such as leadership for development. Followed by the Rome Declaration, Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness was adopted at the second HLF in Paris on 2005 to present more specific measures to achieve the MDGs. Especially The Paris Declaration placed emphasis on the partnership commitments for development and suggested ownership of recipient country, alignment, and harmonization between donor’s strategy and recipient’s policy to get a better result. Furthermore, the declaration stated that the indicators of progress would measure and monitor the process and result of foreign assistance. Moreover, the Accra Agenda for Action was adopted at the third HLF on 2008 which elaborated on more detailed plans to achieve the MDGs and increase aid efficiency. Throughout the series of HLFs on aid effectiveness, the ownership of recipient county was consistently emphasized to reduce poverty and improve aid effectiveness.

In contrast, some studies pointed out negative side of the ownership. They doubt whether the ownership was enough to make aid more effective. According to the
Johnson (1993), the ownership is not enough to make aid program effective and the legitimate authority is also needed in order to enhance aid effectiveness. Although there is recipient’s ownership, lack of accountability, transparency, and corruption may prevent implementation of development plans (Nelson & Eglinton, 1993).

In sum, there have been two different views on role of ownership in terms of aid effectiveness. On the one hand, some researches supported that recipients’ ownership could help to increase aid effectiveness and the development goals could be achieved by partner countries’ ownership on planning and implementing the development policies (OECD, 2009). On the other hand, some studies doubted on the impact or role of ownership on aid. This study, however, will examine whether Korea’s ownership on U.S. aid under Rhee Syngman enhanced the aid effectiveness.

3. Background Information

From 1945 to 1960s, the foreign aid was the main source of Korean government revenue (Lee, 2009) and South Korea received about three billion dollar from U.S. as foreign aid. The U.S. aid comprised about 12 percent of annual GNP of Korea in average at that time period (Mason, 1980).

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<th>Korean government revenue structure and aid (1953-1960) (%)</th>
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<td>Tax</td>
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<td>Monopoly enterprise</td>
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<td>National property</td>
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<td>Etc.</td>
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<td>Government bond</td>
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<td>Foreign aid</td>
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As the volume of U.S. aid to South Korea increased, the American government tried to influence on the Korean economy through the agreements with Korean government or building institutions in Korea (Lee, 2009). (Lee, 2009)

From the 1948 to 1960, the official foreign exchange rate was far below than the price increase in Korea due to the high inflation and unstable or unpredictable exchange rate adjustment (Ahn, 1992). From 1953 to 1957, the average inflation rate was about 40 percent in Korea, leading U.S. to insist to decrease the rate by 20 percent (Mason, 1980). There were three main causes of inflation such as including budget deficit by South Korean government, lack of consumer goods, and expenditure for the UN forces (MacDonald, 2001).
In 1950s, while South Korean government pursued the economic growth, the U.S. government emphasized the price stabilization. Since the U.S. government wanted to secure budget for national defense and maintain its economic stability, U.S. representatives strongly suggested an increase in exchange rate to Korean government to increase the exchange rate.

In contrary, the Korean government asked more aid from U.S. instead of increasing the exchange rate because reconstruction was its priority rather than the stabilization of economy. Thus, both parties’ different goals were directly reflected in foreign exchange control issue. (Lee, 2002)

Even though Korea and U.S. had different views on the Korean economic development, especially in foreign exchange control issue, both countries signed ‘Agreement on Aid
between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America’ in 1948 which was the first agreement on aid between two countries and included foreign exchange control issue as well. After that, they hoped to make some amendments based on each party’s requests and ideas on U.S. assistance thus formal and informal meetings not only between two presidents but also among the officials from both countries. As a result, South Korea and U.S. signed ‘Agreement on Economic Coordination between the ROK and the Unified Command’ in 1952. Then, Korea and U.S. agreed on more agreements concerning various topics of U.S. aid to Korea.

4. Analytical Framework

The present study aims to show how South Korea’s ownership as a recipient of the United States aid was shown and influenced Korean economy. In the course of U.S. foreign assistance to South Korea, the Korean government had a different opinion on several issues such as the foreign exchange control, decision making process, and expenditure of the UN forces. Therefore, this study will demonstrate Rhee regime’s ownership on U.S. aid by analyzing both parties’ different opinions shown in the course of signing agreements.

First of all, in the current research will look at Korea – US agreements regarding foreign assistance are rearranged by timeline chronological order and then examined. Then, of the several agreements between Korea and US regarding aid, This research focuses on three agreements (‘Agreement on Aid between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America’, ‘Agreement between the Government of the ROK and the Government of the USA regarding Expenditures by Forces under Command of the Commanding General of the Armed Forces of the Member States of the United Nations’, and ‘Agreement on Economic Coordination between the ROK and the Unified Command’) from 1948 to 1953 because the first agreement on aid between two countries gives initial conflicting issues thus this research starts from the agreement on 1948 and due to the huge amount of documents such as letters, minutes, and presidential speeches between each agreements.
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minutes of meetings including and arranging them by timeline then analyze on policy talks, formal and informal meetings among officials and president’s domestic announcements by reading minutes of meetings in order to figure out conflicting issues between two countries. Then with the comparison among agreements based on how each side’s opinions were reflected on them, Rhee regime’s ownership on aid can be assessed.

Data for the full text of agreements are taken from the database of Ministry of Government Legislation of Korea and letters between two countries, presidential speeches, and minutes of meetings are taken from the National Digital Library of Korea. Also due to the limitation of the access on certain letters or documents because of the confidentiality, some data are from the secondary sources such as existing literature.

| Research Design |

5. Findings

As a recipient of U.S. aid, Korean government had different idea from U.S. on foreign
exchanged control. While U.S. government prioritized the stabilization of economy, Rhee administration emphasized economic growth. Those different views were reflected on the agreements on aid between two countries (Lee, 2010).

The first agreement regarding the aid was "Agreement on Aid between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America" (signed in 1948). After the agreement, Korean government constantly requested 1) decreasing the official exchange rate (Lee, 2002), 2) increasing participation in decision making process of foreign exchange and 3) paying back of expenditure for the UN forces as soon as possible (Lee, 2010).

To discuss about the foreign exchange rate and control, 9 official meetings were held in Seoul from November 2nd to 13th in 1951. The dialogue between two countries was a bitter dispute especially on the foreign exchange rate and related issues (MacDonald, 2001). In the process of meetings, Korean representatives insisted that the foreign exchange rate must be remained lower and the Korean government’s right on foreign exchange control should be increased (Lee, 2009). Rhee’s regime made efforts to have ownership on aid in terms of foreign exchange control by delivering clear, firm, and coherent voice to U.S. representatives and finally both parties got reached an agreement, ‘Agreement on Economic Coordination between the Republic of Korea and the Unified Command’ (signed in May 24, 1952).

Compared with the agreement in 1948, the agreement in 1952 guarantees Korea’s more
independent decision on the currency issue than the former one, and it was done by the recipient’s efforts to have ownership on aid. For instance, according to the former agreement, Korean government can decide allocation of foreign aid in consolation with and with the concurrence of the U.S. (Lee, 2010), however, the latter agreement states that the decision can be done only in consultation with operating agencies of U.N. command. Different from the negotiation on foreign exchange control, unfortunately, Korean government failed to persuade U.S. representatives about the issue on official exchange rate (Lee, 2009).

[Process of getting ownership on U.S. aid - 1]

**Agreement on Aid between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America (1948.12.10)**

The Government of the Republic of Korea will ensure that the periodic allocation of foreign exchange by categories of use will be made in consultation with and with the concurrence of the United States Aid Representative, and that expenditures of foreign exchange will be made in accordance with such allocation.

* 1951.11.2 - 13
  - 9 time of meetings between Korea and U.S. officials on amendment of the Agreement on Aid between the Republic of Korea and the USA
  - Korean government succeeded in increase it role on foreign exchange control
  - Korean government failed to decrease or maintain the official exchange rate low,
  - U.S. disagreed with Korea’s opinion

**Agreement on Economic Coordination between the ROK and the Unified Command (1952.5.24)**

To provide operating agencies which will develop and execute, in consultation with, operating agencies of the United Nations Command, programs relating to requirements, allocations, distribution, sale, use and accounting for equipment, supplies and services furnished under this Agreement; to submit to the Board budget estimates if the expenses of such Republic of Korea agencies;

Regarding the paying back of expenditure for the UN forces, Korean government had uncomfortable relationship with U.N. commander because there was misunderstanding about Korean government’s expenditure for U.N forces between them (Lee, 2009). While the U.N. commander thought the Korean government’s expenditure was the advance which does
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The Korean government did not have to be paid back, Korean government regarded it as loan (Lee, 2009). In the ‘Agreement between the Government of the ROK and the Government of the USA regarding Expenditures by Forces under Command of the Commanding General of the Armed Forces of the Member States of the United Nations’ (signed in 1950), there was no statement about the date for repayment of the Korean government’s expenditure for U.N. forces. Although Rhee’s regime had several meetings with U.N. representatives, they did not reach at an agreement (MacDonald, 2001) thus U.S. government dispatched a mission to Korea to solve the issue. From April 13th to 24th, Korean officials and U.S. representatives had meetings and resulted in ‘Agreement on Economic Coordination between the ROK and the Unified Command’ (Lee, 2009). The agreements stated when and how the money should be paid back to South Korea by accepting Korean government’s request.

[Process of getting ownership on U.S. aid -II ]

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Agreement between the Government of the ROK and the Government of the USA regarding Expenditures by Forces under Command of the Commanding General of the Armed Forces of the Member States of the United Nations (1950.7.28)

- No statement about the time of repayment regarding Korea’s Expenditure for the UN forces.

- 1952.4.13-5.24
  : Meetings between Korea and U.S. officials on Korea’s Expenditure for the UN forces
  → Korea requested to pay back as soon as possible
  → Korea and U.S. agreed on the Agreement on Economic Coordination between the ROK and the Unified Command

Agreement on Economic Coordination between the ROK and the Unified Command (1952.5.24)

- To make prompt, full and final settlement with the Government of the Republic of Korea, at the conversion rate at which sold, for all Korean currency, advanced under the terms of the July 28, 1950, Financial Agreement, referred to above, which has been sold by the United Nations Command prior to May 1, 1952, to personnel of the forces of the United States of America, insofar as settlement has not yet been made;

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In the process of negotiations with U.S., Rhee regime raised different opinions on three
major topics such as foreign exchange rate, foreign exchange control, and Korean government’s expenditures for U.N. forces. Since Rhee’s regime had coherent economic policy and direction for development (Park, 2010), Korean government could obtain ownership on foreign aid by delivering strong voice and showing firm attitude to donor country.

6. Conclusion

Rhee administration had strong ownership on foreign aid especially about foreign exchange rate by expressing strong opinion during the negotiations with donor and some of the claim was accepted (Lee, 2010). Different from the U.S. government, the president Syngman Rhee believed that economic development is more important than the stabilization of economy (Park, 2007). Thus he wanted to increase his influence on spending foreign aid, maintain the foreign exchange rate low, and get the expenditure for the UN forces back as soon as possible (Lee, 2009). Although many studies have been criticized Rhee’s regime by the lack of capacity for planning economic policies (Park, 2010), this research showed Rhee’s strong willingness and coherent economic policy direction for development as in terms of ownership in U.S. aid.

However, it was the 1950s when the Korean economy strengthened its basis for development by establishing institutions (Park, 2010) and economic development policies. In addition,
Regarding aid effectiveness based on the ownership of Korean government, it is hard to argue that there was economic development in 1950s under Rhee’s regime, however it is also difficult to simply define economic situation in 1950s as period of economic depression because average economic growth rate (6.1%) of Korea from 1950 to 1964 was higher than that of India’s (4.3%), Italy’s (5.7%), and Argentina’s (3.0%) (Park, 2010). It is expected for future researchers to study about relation between Rhee’s ownership and aid effectiveness.

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(*) Korean publication
Purpose of Evaluation

The two primary purposes of evaluation are support for learning and recognition of competencies. They both have distinct characteristics; but should be considered complementary.

1. *Evaluation to Support Learning*: When a learning sequence begins (course or module), the professor should verify what the student has learned so far, or in the past, in order to determine where to begin. The teaching and learning activities should then be adjusted based on the student’s characteristics and potential. This is a Vygotskian approach to education that identifies the student’s current levels and then teaches to their zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978). The teacher should regularly inform the students about their strengths and weaknesses and suggests any needed enrichment or support measures. The student will use the continuous feedback to take charge of their learning (Kilvington, 2010; Platt, et al., 2008).

2. *Evaluation to Recognize Competencies*: Toward the end of the learning sequence (course or module), the goal of the evaluation should be to report the level at which the competency has been developed. This evaluation refers to the competencies outlined in the learning sequence (course or module) and provides the basis for decisions related to the overall learning’s within the learning sequence. Recognition of competencies can also be used for the purposes of recognizing prior learning (Maclean, Wilson, & Chinien, 2009).

These two primary purposes of evaluation coincide with the American Association for Higher Education’s 9 principles of good practice for assessment and student learning (1992). These principles are briefly summarized as encouraging a recognition of educational values, that evaluation is multifaceted, outcomes should be clear, evaluation should be experience based, ongoing, collaborative and interdisciplinary. Furthermore, evaluation should promote change, growth, and ultimately meet the needs of students and society. Thus, evaluation must be seen as a multidimensional process. This paper provides some guidelines for carrying out the process of evaluation more effectively.
Process of Evaluation

Some of the challenges in evaluation include the complexities of the process and subjectivity of the evaluator. This complex process is based on the professor’s judgment and ideally should implement clear and objective guidelines to maintain the credibility of evaluation activities. The process is a series of stages whose order can vary depending on the situation.

1. **Planning:** The object of the evaluation should be clearly established. The choice of evaluation means must correspond to the chosen objective. There should be flexible and rigorous planning in order to integrate the evaluation into the learning activities. The planning should be adapted to various situations and pedagogical methods (Fitzpatrick, Sanders, & Worthen, 2004).

2. **Information Gathering and Interpretation:** Information gathering and interpretation methods should be adapted to the purpose of the evaluation and its underlying objective. The instruments used must provide enough relevant information so that a judgment can be made as to the level at which the competencies have been developed and knowledge acquired.

This is referred to as criterion-referenced interpretation. It is when the gathered information is compared with the expected outcome.

3. **Judgment:** Even though it is a separate stage, judgment is a factor throughout the evaluation process. The professor judges the student’s progress and development of competencies. It comes into play when choosing evaluation methods and criteria. Judgment makes it possible to report on student learning and leads to decision-making. Since judgment relies on analysis and synthesis of the information gathered, it must be preceded by information gathering and interpretations. Judgment is generally possible only if quality information on student learning is available (Bazerman, Gino, Shu, and Tsay, 2011).

4. **Decision/Action:** Evaluation leads to decisions and actions. In a situation involving evaluation to support learning, judgment often consists of an informal assessment and the ensuing decision serves to regulate the teaching or learning process. In a situation involving evaluation to recognize competencies, decisions are more formal in nature and they can have serious consequences for student’s educational plans.

Because evaluating also means informing, the results and the decisions concerning a student must be communicated to the student.

Responsibilities related to the evaluation of learning of various stakeholders

**The Student:** The student has the responsibility to become actively involved in the learning process, including participating in the setting of learning objectives. To be able to monitor their competency development, students can learn to evaluate themselves and to participate in evaluation with their professor or their classmates. Student participation would be at the level of evaluation to support learning.

Gradually making students more autonomous and accountable will lead to successful learning.
The Professor: Professors have the responsibilities for evaluating their students. The professor selects the means of evaluating the progress of students and assesses continually and periodically the achievement of competencies and needs of the students.

The professor supports learning by providing students with ongoing feedback from a variety of sources to enable students to set new outcomes for learning with the aim of self-improvement. Feedback is provided both on a regular basis as well as more strategic moments such as at the end of a unit of study, or at the end of a learning period. By individualizing the assessment and learning, students likely develop more relevant skills.

Best practices in assessment and evaluation require varied assessment and evaluation opportunities that reflect different learning styles and multiple intelligences. Additionally, the professor should provide students with a clear description of the expectations and evaluation criteria at the beginning of a unit, module, project or course of study.

The professor should make an attempt to use professional judgment to objectively interpret the results of assessment in the evaluation process. The professor reports these results, as required, to the student and others if needed. These evaluation and assessment procedures require that the professor participate in professional development activities related to student assessment and evaluation procedures.

References:


AVOIDING THE RECESS EFFECT:  
THE DYNAMICS OF INCLUSION  
AND EXCLUSION IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION  
TRAINING IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

CLAIRE MICHELE RICE AND LARRY A. RICE

The concept of community involvement in peacemaking is essential to participatory action research (or action research), wherein both researchers and the community members, all of whom are stakeholders, collaborate on problem-solving to address community issues and to inform solutions. They often do this in groups or community tables. Faculty involved with such projects must address the demand of acadème by combining their work as practitioners with research and publications. These activities are the bedrock of The Scholarship of Engagement (Barker 2004; Driscoll and Sandman 2001). The process must engage an understanding of how to build sustainable relationships among stakeholders. The faculty in their role as facilitators must engage community members in a series of activities that address their own concerns as well. Barker (2004) proposes that the community partnerships would present better avenues for engaging such populations.

The work of building such community partnerships is in essence the work of community organizing (Gittell and Vidal 1998; Homans 2004). Of interest here is the manner in which we teach our students at the university to broach such concerns while we conduct research for academic dissemination. We have taught courses in which we have asked university students, whether at the undergraduate, masters, or doctoral levels, to go out into the community to teach and train others in high schools, at community centers, or at a host of other organizations about a number of subjects, including community development, social problems conflict
analysis, and conflict resolution practices. Along with our students, our task has been to assist people within organizations in our communities in finding possible solutions and even to assist them in garnering certain technical skills in the process (Howard, Taylor and Rice 2006; Rice 2001; L. Rice and C.M. Rice 2008). At times, we assist our community partners in understanding how concepts and techniques they learn in their community tables, through training and collaborative problem-solving, can be practiced in their daily lives, personally or while interacting with others. Invariably, we and our students engage community members in group exercises in which we ask them to work with one another in group settings or in teams in which they generally collaborate on the completion of relevant tasks. We and our students have engaged our community partners with our collective knowledge base—our research, our experiences, our theoretical and practice-based tools—to elicit the public’s assistance in finding common ground and enrich knowledge regarding the issues at hand, while simultaneously seeking to address the public’s own concerns (Homans 2004). We have been participant-observers who recorded insights from our community collaborators and whose observations and research were then recorded and later published.

In his exposition of the taxonomy for the Scholarship of Engagement, Derek Barker (2004) suggests that there are five components: “public scholarship, participatory research, community partnerships, public information networks, and civic literacy scholarship” (128). These practices need not be mutually exclusive, and at times scholars may not know that they are actively applying them. Public scholarship, however, may not be appropriate for underserved or marginalized populations, whose mere involvement in public discussions might further marginalize them or stigmatize them, as an example, when discussing racism, ethnocentrism, sexism, discrimination or other forms of oppression. Of particular interest in our discussion is the work of establishing community partnerships. Barker draws a distinction between community service-learning and the activities related to the Scholarship of Engagement. In community service learning, students have an opportunity to reflect on the work that they do as volunteers in their communities, while on the academic side, faculty engage them in discussions of how their practice relates to the theoretical considerations raised in the classroom (Berson 1994; Cohen and Kinsey 1994; Rhoads 1997; Blank and Harwell 1997; Brandell and Hinck 1997; Battistoni 1995). With community partnerships, as faculty practitioners and students try to address social issues and engage in collaborative problem-solving, reflection is accompanied by a healthy
dose of research. Additionally, Barker (2004) proposes that the work of community partnerships differs from the work of public scholarship; the latter can be achieved by having open forums wherein community members are queried about social issues and have opportunity to deliberate over actionable solutions. However, this is not always possible in particular instance where community members might feel further marginalized should they give voice to their own oppression. Thus, the work of community partnerships affords a more personal setting where such discussions might take place.

These notions parallel John Paul Lederach’s (1995) ideas about peacemaking within communities, wherein he contends that ideas generated by people within their communities are crucial to the sustainability of models for peace education and conflict resolution. It is the people in their own communities and cultural contexts who experience the conflict; therefore, an elicitive approach of necessity must explore the intersubjective realities (Burger and Luckman 1989) which inform their interactions and reactions to conflict. Similar parallels can be found within the context of organizational culture. Steven Ott (1989) describes organizational culture as “a social force that controls patterns of organizational behavior by shaping members’ cognitions and perceptions of meanings and realities, providing affective energy for mobilization, and identifying who belongs and who does not” (63). Some elements of organizational culture range from a company’s history and vision, to its ideologies, language/technical jargon, rituals, management practices and even the art it chooses to display within its halls (Ott 1989). All of these elements of organizational culture fall into broader categories: they are “artifacts,” “patterns of behavior,” “beliefs and values,” “assumptions” (62-63) or somewhere in between these major categories. It is obvious from this depiction of elements of organizational culture that it is not a very simple concept. In fact, Ott proposes that the concept itself is rather amorphous and notes that “there is no single true definition or concept of organizational culture” (69). Notwithstanding, it is helpful to note Ott’s typology above so that, as we think of ways to address community building and collaborative problem-solving for training purposes, we are more aware of what contributes to conflict among people and the organizations within which they function. Lederach proposes that “from the perspective of training, people are resources, not recipients…student and teacher discover and learn together through reflection and action, which are kept in direct relationship as the root of learning and transformation” (1995, 26). This is in essence an elicitive rather than a prescriptive approach to peacebuilding, which takes
into consideration approaches that involve cross-cultural considerations rather than a strictly Western model to conflict resolution (Ausburger 1992). Essentially, peacemaking and transformation emerge from training, activism and alternative dispute resolution practices. This is in keeping with the work of community partnerships and the Scholarship of Engagement.

Over the years, through our students’ and community members’ testimonies we have learned that these kinds of interaction often result in a reciprocal relationship that leaves us, the researchers and our students, with a greater depth of understanding of the human dimension of those ideas that were initially conceptualized through academic research. We also hear from community participants how enriching the experience was for them, for example, when they learned how to understand inter-personal conflict or when they grasped ways to manage conflict at a much deeper level and apply it to their lives. Notwithstanding, such interactions are not without their challenges. When we engaged people in those community tables (C.M. Rice 2001), there was a risk that they would not all share the same synergy and sense of purpose. Without proper guidance and training, some of people whose lives we seek to enhance may themselves feel marginalized if they are not given opportunity to serve their communities because of subtle practices of exclusion propagated by other group members.

It therefore is our contention that a Scholarship of Engagement that involves community partnerships must also consider how the dichotomies of inclusion/exclusion and in-group/out-group dynamics affect relationship building among the individuals in the community being served. Consequently, in an attempt to reach individuals within communities through the Scholarship of Engagement, an interesting case could be made in linking the teambuilding exercises that conflict resolution practitioners use in training situations to efforts at community building and organizing, some elements of which parallel what Barker (2004) calls community partnerships. We have broadened the term community to not only mean people living in their cities and neighborhoods, which is generally understood in common parlance; the community is also comprised of people within their circles of influence, including the organizations within which they work and settings within which they ‘live’ and ‘play’ (C.M. Rice 2001; Rice and Hunt 2005; C.M. Rice 2004). In our view the community is a space where people hold shared values, wherein their individual goals and aspirations coalesce around a common goal, whether
it is to promote a fundraiser for student scholarships, to assist in the completion of an organizational project, or to develop a program in schools or community centers that promotes inclusive community values (Rice 2001; Rice and Hunt 2004; Rice 2005). All organizations undertaking such tasks are themselves communities of people that form part of a subset of larger communities found within cities.

In this chapter, we will discuss a phenomenon that we have observed in various training situations wherein patterns of exclusion invariably lead to conflict; Larry Rice has dubbed this phenomenon *The Recess Effect* (C.M. Rice 2004; L.A. Rice and C.M. Rice 2008). Of issue here is how to assist our faculty and students, trainers, and trainees in discerning patterns of exclusion as they undertake community partnerships and engage in various activities that will often involve people working together, in groups or teams. This phenomenon, often demonstrated and experienced by children on school playgrounds or in their classrooms, provides great insights into how teams form or how team members are selected within organizations and by extension, within communities, in the world of “grown-ups.” Consequently, we seek to link critical elements in teambuilding and group dynamics based on our observations of *The Recess Effect* to conflict management training in institutions. An exposition of the phenomenon we have dubbed *The Recess Effect* introduces the issues inherent in teambuilding where patterns of exclusion are present. It is followed by a discussion of how conflict resolution practitioners have tried to deal with conflict within organizations through alternative dispute resolution (ADR) systems and the role that teambuilding within such institutions may play. From a broader perspective, our discussion will explore cases that examine important lessons we learned from observing *The Recess Effect* at work in our communities. The greatest of these lessons has been the need to stress inclusion in training future conflict resolution practitioners, students, teachers, civic and religious leaders, and businesspeople alike. These are but a few of a vast array of consumers of conflict resolution education, actively engaged in applying what they learn about patterns of inclusion and exclusion to the work of peacemaking within their own spheres of influence—where they live, play, or work. We propose that this is a crucial dimension to the Scholarship of Engagement as well.

For years, we have worked with teachers and their students in public schools; trained administrators, faculty, staff and students in colleges and universities; engaged civic and religious leaders and their constituents; and...
worked with business and non-profit organizations on developing capacity in an area we feel is key to conflict managements and resolution within organizations: relationship building. Implicit in the Scholarship of Engagement is the idea of relationship building, which encompasses a continuum of ideas, from understanding conflict and appreciating one’s role in the conflict, to considering how our perceptions of identity and diversity—the concept of otherness—impact our interactions with others (Avruch 1998; Ausburger 1992). As educators we have also had opportunity to observe how people work together, whether children or adults, and how their behaviors may either promote peacebuilding or conflict). Over time, we have sought to explain the phenomenon we call The Recess Effect to our students in an effort to engage them in problem solving and conflict resolution when working in groups. Whether in classrooms, in work groups, or in various workshops, we have used this concept to engage others in thinking more critically about their behaviors and those of others around them as they seek to build stronger working relationships. As previously noted, this inherently engages group dynamics and so we will entertain a conversation about the role of group dynamics and teamwork within our social institutions, the organizations within our communities. The following observations of teambuilding exercises through classroom and work group trainings have allowed us to formulate a model for understanding and addressing pattern of exclusion. We have then been able to arm our students and trainees with this information so that they can find ways to develop more improved working relationships.

A Classroom Exercise: The Case of ‘The Recess Effect’ in Classroom Work Groups

It began with a classroom experiment at a university in which Larry Rice asked his students to divide into groups so that they could complete a class assignment. Rice had previously noted that consistently, there were some students who were left out when teams were being chosen to perform certain assignments, and so he decided to demonstrate to his students how easily they could fall into that pattern (C.M. Rice 2004; L.A. Rice and C.M. Rice 2008).

At the start of the exercise, Larry illustrated for his students a scenario, which often takes place on children’s playgrounds during recess at schools. He had the students visualize the process for picking teams when children engage in play during recess. Normally, one or two children
might emerge as the leader(s), who somehow take the helm in choosing teams to play a game. Those children who select their teammates are called “The Pickers.” Next, there are children who willingly go along with these team leaders’ selection process and join their teams. These children who are ‘the selected’ are called “The Picked” in Larry Rice’s scenario. Third, there always seem to be one or two children who are the last to be picked or worse, are not picked at all. Those who fail to make the cut are called “The Unpicked” in this scenario. While relating this scenario to his students, Larry queried his students regarding how they saw themselves relative to the three categories of children on the playground. He asked them to consider, as children, whether they were most often The Pickers, The Picked or The Unpicked. This question engendered a lot of discussion from students who identified with various categories and related how they felt about themselves now that they had become adults. After an animated discussion, Rice unfolded the classroom exercise and had his students volunteer to serve as team leaders. He asked for 5 volunteers who would then be given a list of student names in the class, from which they would pick their teams.

Following brief deliberations with each other, each team leader chose several students for their teams from the class roster. To Rice’s surprise, there were still some students who had not been selected, even though the group leaders had a class roster to aid them in the process of selection. After the work groups had finished their class assignment and shared their work with the class, Rice took the opportunity to have a time of debriefing with the class about what happened during the group selection and to examine some of the conflicts that occurred. He wanted to demonstrate to the students how easily people can fall into a pattern of exclusion if they do not make a concerted effort to be inclusive in their team selection processes. The second lesson from this exercise centered on how to manage the conflict resulting from such exclusion (L.A. Rice 2004; L.A. Rice and C.M. Rice 2008).

Both authors have repeated variations of this exercise in self-awareness in a number of classes. Often, the team selection process would take place around a class exercise in which volunteers would be given free rein to discuss among themselves who they would select to be in their work groups to complete group projects. Invariably, one or two students would find themselves left out of the selection process. Some of The Unpicked would casually insert themselves into a group while others would come to the instructors for assistance in getting into a group. Once in groups,
students would be asked to complete an exercise pertinent to the topic they were covering in the classroom. This could take the form of a group project, a conflict analysis exercise, or an assignment. While the assignment is usually important in terms of the curriculum, the most important lesson for the day is not necessarily the completion of the assignment or project itself, but it is in how the students completed their task as a group. Therein are found the more profound lessons about inclusion, exclusion, and conflict management.

In the initial scenario, Larry Rice queried his class about what happened in the group selection process. He noted that despite the fact that the student leaders were given a roster, some students were still not selected. Then he encouraged the group to recognize the pattern of exclusion, to discuss why this happened, to devise ways to manage the ensuing conflict collectively, and to explore what could be done in future projects to avoid The Recess Effect. The critical task was for the students is to think creatively about how they could be more inclusive of all of their colleagues and manage conflict (L.A. Rice, 2004; L.A. Rice and C.M. Rice 2008). The process of debriefing is the moment at which a fuller realization of what took place can occur. Students can perhaps acknowledge how some of their colleagues—The Unpicked—might have felt disappointed at being overlooked; if they choose to, The Unpicked may share with the group their stories, reveal how they felt about the entire process, and provide their own ideas about ways that this can be remedied. Storytelling is cathartic in some instances, in that it allows those who share their stories to release deeply felt emotions, and it enlightens the listeners as to their shared experiences (Senehi 2002). Awareness of such intersubjective realities (Berger and Luckman 1989), the commonalities among participants, can lead to positive change. In essence, for both the trainer and participants the time of debriefing in this kind of exercise is one of introspection, reflection and problem solving. Through their facilitator’s guidance, the participants are encouraged to find ways to avoid The Recess Effect, not only at school or at work, but also at all levels of relationship-building in their communities.

Undoubtedly, for practitioners in the field of conflict resolution, while The Recess Effect exercise teaches participants many lessons about group dynamics and patterns of inclusion and exclusion, it can at times be a sources of distress for those who find themselves continually excluded and are perhaps forced to relive past childhood memories of earlier instances of exclusion, either on the playground or in the classroom. Interestingly,
we have repeated this group selection exercise several times after Larry Rice’s initial observations, and The Recess Effect scenario played out even in instances when the authors fully explained the phenomenon to their classes and encouraged their students to discuss the phenomenon at length.

Beyond the university classroom, we had unfolded this scenario to people working in organizations, many of whom have also testified of their own experiences relating to The Recess Effect. When conducting training for professionals working at various institutions, participants would be asked to share their experiences in childhood recess and to share whether they could relate to the three categories of children described in Rice’s scenario—The Pickers, The Picked or The Unpicked. Invariably, some audience members would share how they could relate to these same childhood recess categories even as adults. In one training session in a room full of workshop participants, we even experienced emotional testimonies from brave participants who would raise their hands and tell their stories; some would invariably start with the phrase, “I was one of the Unpicked.” Consequently, a clearer understanding of how patterns of inclusion and exclusion manifest themselves due to The Recess Effect phenomenon may also reveal how to manage related conflicts within community organizations, as researchers seek to facilitate change through engagement. We therefore next examine the exclusion and inclusion dichotomy associated with vectors of diversity and conflict.

Exclusion/Inclusion Dichotomy: Possible Roots of Conflict in The Recess Effect Scenario

Much of what we know as adults and routinely apply as manifested methods of engaging or interacting with others in the workplace, we learned during our early days on the playground during our childhood. The theory of Transactional Analysis (Berne 1961; Woollams and Brown 1978) supports this assertion and confirms that our past influences impact our current behavior. Napier and Gershenfeld (2004) explain that by the age of 6, children develop a sense of worth for both themselves and for others. Through their experiences, both positive and negative, they grow into adults that harbor those same childhood perceptions. The impact of The Recess Effect phenomenon on the “Unpicked” category on playground children has significant implications addressed through Transactional Analysis theory. If as children, individuals were teased or denigrated, they may decide that they are indeed stupid or weird; at times they may even model behaviors that make them appear eccentric or awkward to others
around them. They may live their lives thinking that they are not ‘cool’ but that others in their circles of influence are fine. These feelings or accepted scripts of social identity become self-fulfilling prophecies as these children become adults. These adults, having embraced the life scripts written for them by others, embed those script, labels and roles into their identities. They therefore may do the following: constantly look for approval and advice from others; try to mimic the behavior of those considered ‘cool’ and abstain from ‘being themselves’ to avoid ridicule; and/or stumble and make mistakes, fearing that those around them might once again reprimand and denigrate them by calling them names or shooting down their ideas; by all such behaviors thereby reinforcing social positions and roles imposed upon them as children (Napier and Gershenfeld 2004). Maynard (1985) suggested that it is as children, arguing over positions, interests, or status, that we learn how to form social organizations and political ties to achieve our desired goals and status.

The question becomes, how do children fall into The Recess Effect categories—The Pickers, The Picked, and The Unpicked? Is it by happenstance or are there specific behavioral characteristics that allow for inclusion of some while permitting for the exclusion of others, during recess on the school playground and later within work groups in community organizations. Does this pattern of inclusion and exclusion stop on the playground or does it continue in the children’s classrooms and later on in their adult lives? After explaining The Recess Effect concept to a group of students, author Claire Michèle Rice asked the students to recall their own childhoods and how teams or work groups were selected in their schools. She asked them to try and consider the characteristics of The Pickers, The Picked, and The Unpicked. According to Claire Michèle’s students, while The Pickers and The Picked may have exhibited leadership skills and were seen as part of the in-crowd, easy to work with, what was quite revealing were the characteristics they ascribed to The Unpicked. The Unpicked were sometimes characterized as not being part of the in-crowd, not skilled enough, as being nerdy, geeky, too short, too fat, awkward, too shy, or too eccentric in some way. Some students who participated in this classroom exercise admitted that they themselves were sometimes characterized in these ways. Whether these characterizations were warranted or not, they informed the decisions of group leaders in these school settings as they were choosing who would play on their teams or who would work with them on projects. We contend that these same patterns of decision-making influence adults as well. However, in adult situations, added to the ranks of The Unpicked within institutions might be
individuals who do not share the same religion, color, sex, or sexual orientation as the team leaders or decision-makers. The very traits that provide us with much of our rich diversity can also serve as a double-edged sword in that they can also become elements of conflict, which we call **vectors of conflict**. When these vectors intersect, they can engender much contention within groups and within organizations. In community partnerships, one aspect of engaging group members is assisting them in understanding how the perception of their own realities and the realities of others can either lead to conflict or to transformative change.

When addressing diversity, we are really speaking to the ways of life or culture that each vector of diversity lends itself to—ethnicity, race, nationality, gender, age, religion, occupation, social and economic status, or levels of education. These contribute to how each one of us think and behave. Essentially, these vectors form part of what constitutes our culture, and as some prefer, ‘worldviews.’ Because people make up community organizations, these worldviews inform how they operate within the organizations. In short, organizations are not only subject to cultural influences within the societies in which they operate, but they are also subject to the cultural worldviews of the people within them. Vectors
of conflict may arise from what makes each human different from another. Sociologists refer to these human characteristics as achieved status and ascribed status (Thompson and Hickey 2005). The ascribed status is an identity into which each person is born. People have no control over those characteristics, whether their age, sex, phenotypical traits or even physical attributes—that is, whether they are born with a physical disability or not. Achieved statuses are those that people grow into, such as their social and economic statuses, which are variables that one could well inherit. Other ascribed statuses are characterized by the individual’s educational level, religious orientation, and ethnicity, the latter comprising factors such as nationality, geography, language, customs, and other cultural elements. In any case, both ascribed status and achieved status can lead to identity-based conflicts, which engulf the behaviors of individuals within organizations, and more broadly, communities.

Those who are chosen to be part of The Picker’s teams, either because of their ascribed or achieved status, may exhibit a sense of confidence at being appreciated for who they are and for the skills they bring to the table. However, it is the third group of individuals that have the most difficult time adapting to this sometimes ritualistic selection process. The Unpicked may suffer from a sense of isolation and powerlessness as the ones constantly left out of the selection process. If left unchecked, such feelings of otherness may become embedded in the hearts and minds of these individuals, spiraling inward into feelings of anger and aggression or outwardly into acts of rebellion or withdrawal against society (Galtung and Jacobsen 2000; Galtung 2002). A range of emotions may sometimes overtly, more often subtly, manifest in the three categories of children and adults described in Larry Rice’s childhood recess scenario. Forty-eight professionals queried about this phenomenon were asked to write about their experiences in childhood recess and to discuss whether they felt that their experiences during childhood recess affected the way they work in groups or in teams within their organizations. Their stories reflect The Recess Effect categories and related characteristics that author Larry A. Rice has delineated in his model. For instance, Rice (2004) proposes that The Pickers tend to exhibit personality traits of self-confidence, extroversion, and risk-taking, and may often feel some degree of social awareness, assertiveness, and even a sense of entitlement in their ability to make selection. We propose that the phenomenon we call The Recess Effect may have far-reaching consequences, not only for children as they matriculate through primary and secondary schools, but later in their lives when they undertake post-secondary education and become professionals.
in the workplace. Those consequences include conflict in work groups and, if left unchecked, an inability of teams to get their projects done effectively in the workplace, or more broadly, as citizens of their communities. In the following sections, we will discuss team building and group dynamics as we continue to explore the links between The Scholarship of Engagement, training, and research, exploring group work facilitated through community partnerships.

**Teambuilding, Group Dynamics, Characteristics of Team Members**

We have thus far been speaking about The Scholarship of Engagement in terms of what Barker (2004) calls *community partnerships*. In various community organizing sessions wherein we were called to assist schools, non-profit organizations, or other community institutions in developing various programs, facilitations involving groups were commonly used. Thus, it is important to understand group dynamics and teambuilding strategies while exploring factors that might either contribute or detract from efforts at truly engaging community partners.

Studies in group dynamics reveal that group members fall into particular personalities and modes of operation. Within any given group, when approaching certain tasks some group members will take the lead in organizing the groups. Others are characterized as social butterflies, who attach more importance to building relationships before they get to the meat of the work that they are assigned to do. Still others are seen as loafers, preferring to watch idly as other members of the group take on the bulk of the work. Napier and Gershenfeld (2004) propose that given in any large group, there will be a tendency for some people to become loafers; it is advisable to have work groups that number no more than 6 members. Beyond the threshold of 6 people, a group will invariably lose its ability to complete a task effectively. This model is used in the jury pool for a courtroom, where there is a maximum of 12 members of the jury so that, should they have to discuss issues in groups, they can easily break up into groups of 6. Each person within the work group brings with him/her certain ‘baggage’ that influences how they interact with others, their level of comfort with working in teams, and how they handle conflict within their teams (Napier and Gershenfeld 2004). Part of this personal baggage is related to *The Recess Effect*. For example, if a person is used to being a Picker in most instances where she or he has had to work in groups, then it is likely that this person will fall into the personality type identified as the
group leader. At the other extreme, if a person is used to being marginalized in the group selection process (i.e. they are The Unpicked), it is likely that this person may demonstrate the characteristics of a loafer when it comes to individual work ethic. Alternatively, once groups are formed, a group trainer or team leader can diffuse acts of exclusion or discrimination by engaging group members in honest conversations about what has taken place. Often, public acknowledgment that some kind of discrimination has taken place provides affirmation for the individuals who feel victimized and can easily diffuse difficult group dynamics (Reichard, Siewers and Rodenhauser 1992).

Between those two extremes, among The Picked we may find a nuance of work habits, ranging from those who are worker bees to those who are social butterflies. These modes of operation sometimes cause friction between group members, as in cases where group leaders are so focused on completing a task that they neglect important aspects of relationship building, such as the inclusion of less-skilled group members who might need assistance and to be coached through certain tasks. On the other hand, the social butterfly might ruffle many feathers because of his/her insistence on socializing while others are more focused on completing given assignments. Napier and Gershenfeld (2004) suggest that after the socialization process has occurred and the socializers settle into a sense of ease with other group members, this allows them to start their work and complete assigned tasks. Of course, the work patterns of social loafers habitually anger the rest of the group members because they are perceived to not want to contribute much at all to the work group. Social loafers sometimes ignore communications among group members, fail to participate in meetings or to complete their assigned tasks in a timely fashion, and hence exacerbate tensions. Such conflicts are only compounded by the group selection process. Next we examine teambuilding.

How many times have we walked into a university, a hospital, a center, a bank, or some other commercial enterprise in which customer service is emphasized by management, and we hear one of their representatives say: “A member of our Team will be right with you”? Nowadays, the term “Team” has many implications for both the service provider and the customer. It signals to service provider members the idea they must work as a team to better serve customers, improve their effectiveness, or make a profit. On the other hand, it lets the customer know that the organization’s intent is to render ‘good’ customer service through their attentiveness to
Avoiding the Recess Effect
detail and customer care. Although such may be the intent, this is not always the case in practice, however. Notwithstanding, teambuilding is but one of the tools used by institutions to improve organizational effectiveness (Kotter 1978). Organizations range from being non-profit to private entities, with each designation resulting in unique institutional goals, visions, cultures, and challenges. In the ensuing discussion, for our purposes the terms ‘institution’ and ‘organization’ are used interchangeably (Scott and Davis 2007).

There are three stages to group development or teambuilding: inclusion, control and affection. Essentially, groups develop, consolidate, and mature (Reichard, Siewers, and Rodenhauser 1992, 19). Teambuilding is often seen as a “concerted response to keep team conflicts down and performance up. A team is created once a group of individuals begins to focus on a common vision, mission or goal and can direct their activities toward that purpose” (Jung 2005). They rally around an issue, a problem, or a task, which may require group members to engage in collaborative problem-solving to find solutions. Subsequently, the manner in which this is done may result in the growth of the group, its demise, or its restructuring (Bradford 1978). It is during the inclusion phase of group development that participants are preoccupied with joining the group and wonder whether they will be accepted by others within the group—thus the onset of The Recess Effect. Once the group is formed and members must work together, relationship building inevitably leads to positive and negative experiences; the latter sometimes result in serious conflicts. Jung asserts that “team conflict reduction and increasing performance are the focus of teambuilding” (Jung 2005). Given that nearly 20 percent of supervisors’ time spent in the workplace is used to address conflict and its impact (Thomas and Schmidt 1976), there is certainly a need for managers and team leaders to understand the dynamics of teambuilding. Conflict dynamics also suggest a need to leverage workplace performance by not avoiding but instead addressing the inevitable conflicts that occur when individuals are not strategically linked and rallied around common goals. Greenberg (2005) confirms the same and has made a distinction between the various types of conflicts which emerge in the workplace: substantive conflict, which is linked to employees having different viewpoints; affective conflict, involving personality and/or interpersonal struggles; and process conflict, which speaks directly to the intrinsic differences in tasks, workload, and capital management.

Comment [C16]: Please just check the original Jung quote for punctuation of this phrase; is the semicolon you have here a comma therein? Any other commas?

Comment [C17]: If it is Greenberg (2005) specifically who came up with these three distinctive types, you may want to fix this part of the sentence that refers to more than one person (“Recent organization behavioral theorists…have made a distinction…”) just because one starts this long sentence thinking that what it describes is going to be followed by more than one behavioral theorist’s name….just a suggestion.
Many organizations are faced with the challenges of how to effectively integrate teambuilding into their institutions and how to determine what kind of group work should be undertaken. Some teams consist of a subset of a department, while others consist of the entire department in an institution and still, as in the customer service example we cited earlier, the company itself sees itself as ‘the team.’ The organizational model, the adherence to certain beliefs and norms, and the design of evaluation and reward systems are three areas that contribute to unproductive teambuilding models (Roth 2002; Reichard, Siewers, and Rodenhauser 1992). Rideout and Richardson (1989) address the need to understand and appreciate differences among group members, and use the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator to understand personality types in their teambuilding model. Some theorists suggest that it is necessary to infuse networking, social activities, ice-breakers, company parties, picnics, ropes courses, games, and service-learning into teambuilding programs. There are potential public relations and cost benefits associated with institutions putting the fun back into teambuilding (Gecker 2009). As noted earlier, the dynamics of *The Recess Effect* invariably play out within the team selection processes of organizations in our communities. To understand the role of cultural elements in teambuilding within organizations, a discussion of organizational culture is relevant as it impacts the context within which inter-group relationships are nurtured.

**Understanding Organizational Structure, Conflict and Their Impact on Teambuilding**

There are a myriad of institutions in which team work is an invaluable resource. The example we used in *The Recess Effect* is that of a teambuilding exercise within a university classroom. However, the same scenario could have occurred in work teams within the university itself, in the selection of a taskforce within a government agency, in a business, or within the hallowed confines of a church or synagogue where groups of people are selected to get projects done. An organization’s goals are a motivating factor for the kind of business it wishes to do or the projects or programs it undertakes. The structure of the organization, including its leadership and decision-making processes, are based on its goals. According to Ott (1989), organizations are “complex systems of individuals and coalitions, each having its own interests, beliefs, values, preferences, perspectives, and perceptions” (165-166). He further proposes that conflict is unavoidable since coalitions fight with one another for limited organizational assets, such as funding, office space, access to those

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Comment [C18]: Dr. Claire: would you just check the punctuation in this heading? Comma after “conflict”? Or should that comma be a colon? “Their” instead of “Its”?
in power or to top clients, or for the time and training necessary to complete projects or programs. To some degree, teams or work groups can be seen as coalitions, and within coalitions, conflicts occur. Costantino and Merchant (1996) provide a simple definition of conflict within organizations: “[i]n the organizational context, conflict is an expression of dissatisfaction or disagreement with interaction, process, product or service” (4). They note further, “[t]his dissatisfaction can result from multiple factors: differing expectations, competing goals, conflicting interests, confusing communications, or unsatisfactory interpersonal relations” (4).

Organizational goals also set parameters for what employees can and cannot do, or the kinds of actions that the organization as a single entity can or cannot take. Therefore, it is important for the organization to specify its goals—what it wants to accomplish as an institution. Otherwise, the organization might develop along ambiguous lines, with no branding, and this could spell trouble for the administration of programs, for the completion of projects, or for the bottom line in the case of businesses (Ott 1989). There are cases in which people organize around ambiguous or vague goals through social movements, such as human rights, environmental conservation issues, or animal protection. However, in order to truly effectuate change, organizations must be formed that tackle specific aspects of those issues, such as the AFLCIO or Green Peace or various animal protection agencies (Scott and Davis 2007). They focus on specifics in order to get others to work with them. In the process of achieving their goals, just as with individuals, organizations face conflict arising from competing goals amongst their employees. Consequently, sources of conflicts at the organizational level mirror those of interpersonal conflicts.

It is therefore useful to elaborate upon our discussion about the levels of conflict within organizations. This is a broad discussion, of course, because conflicts differ from one institution to another. However, we propose that there are four broad levels of conflict, off the bat, that plague organizations and the operations of their teams: 1) conflict due to competition for scarce resources; 2) conflict due to power differentials; 3) conflict due to differences in ideology, philosophy, or values; and 4) conflict based upon issues of identity. Some may take a reductionist stance and declare that within organizational systems, everything is about economics (money). The former two levels of conflict over power and resources certainly relate to economics, while the latter two tend to lend
themselves to issues of culture and cultural differences. Because conflicts in organizations parallel those at the individual level, organizations do experience conflict also, due to their people’s unmet needs and goals and a lack of communication. We propose that institutional dynamics affect group dynamics; and thus, conflict management and resolution strategies. In Scott and Davis’s (2007) descriptions of the workings of such institutions there is a theme implicit, if not at times explicit, in their discussions; it is that of the manner in which people within these organizations communicate with and engage one another. The training and education utilized by conflict resolution practitioners to engage institutional stakeholders (e.g., employees, supervisors, clients, the community at large) should include a discussion about communication systems. For instance, an important part of the conversation about conflict management among employees in their work groups and in the company as a whole should include broaching the issues of communication, interaction and relationship building.

Scott and Davis (2007) frame the operation of institutions as on a continuum, from rational systems, to natural systems, to open systems, and to those that have overlapping systems. As an example, given the emphasis on ‘goal specificity’ and ‘formalization’ in rational systems, supervisors or managers tend to be less open to communication from employees that might challenge the way institutional goals are pursued (37). Such a disposition invariably impacts the organizational culture, which then impacts how employees form their teams and how they communicate within their teams to get their work done. With lines of communication only ‘ajar’ rather than open, conflict may occur due to simple misunderstandings. On the other hand, regarding natural systems, where organizational pursuits are driven by its employees, one is likely to see a ‘bottom-up’ style of communication within institutions. In such organizations, employee contributions are respected and there is a more democratic form of communication apparent in not only the management of tasks but also in employee communiqués. Scott and Davis (2007) propose that in natural systems, “[i]ndividuals are never merely ‘hired hands’ but bring along their heads and hearts: they enter the organization with individually shaped ideas, expectations, and agendas, and they bring with them distinctive values, interests, sentiments, and abilities” (63). In such systems, the lines of communication are not unidirectional but are rather multilayered. In open systems, “many heads are present to receive information, make decisions, direct action. Individuals and subgroups form and leave coalitions. Coordination and control become problematic”
Avoiding the Recess Effect

Since interdependency within organizations and with surrounding communities is key, the communication of goals and values takes place ‘within’ and ‘without’ the organization with members of the community, who are seen as stakeholders and integral parts of decision-making as well.

With such dynamics at play, supervisors, managers, employees, trainers, or conflict resolution practitioners can better assess how to respond to group conflict through techniques suited to the pertinent institutional context. Within an educational setting, for instance, this principle can be adapted to work groups involving faculty and students in the classroom or staff in the office. Within a community-based organization such as a community center or a service agency, these concepts can be applied to work groups involving supervisors, employees, volunteers and clients alike. This in turn assists in improving organizational effectiveness (Kotter 1978). As noted elsewhere, preventive strategies can certainly include engagement of stakeholders such as employees, managers, and community members through mentoring and coaching networks. Networks forming around mentoring relationships, inclusive community approaches, diversity training, and goals/value realignment can go a long way in curbing exclusionary practices within groups (Rice and Hunt 2004, Rice 2005). These networks are particularly important in developing community partnerships because they assist in building social capital (Gittell and Vidal 1998).

In addressing the dynamics of relationship building, communication, and conflict within work teams, it is indeed essential to stress traditional alternative dispute resolution methods (e.g. mediation, negotiation, problem solving) in managing group conflict and interaction. However, such techniques can at times be responsive; equally important are proactive measures that can be implemented within the organizational structure itself to assist in preventing group conflict owing to exclusionary practices. The issues arising due to undoubtedly different ways of communicating within institutions relate to organizational cultures, whether they function mostly as rational, natural, or open systems. Consequently, organizational culture impacts relationship building, and by extension, inclusion versus exclusion in team building processes. At this juncture, we can turn our attention to finding solutions to challenges in teambuilding given the aforementioned organizational culture concerns. In particular, we will examine the link between training approaches as we engage community organizations through The Scholarship of Engagement’s community partnerships and cultural considerations.
A Model for Addressing The Recess Effect in Community Organizations

It is our position that effective teambuilding in community partnerships involves strategically and deliberately engaging workgroups. There are core elements which must be embedded in a teambuilding model in order for it to be effective, and the model’s effectiveness in turn is measured based on equilibrium between increased performance and increased morale. Many teambuilding techniques are challenged, as often employees do not embrace traditional teambuilding exercises and find them to be mandated exercises which are at time boring but sometimes fun-driven; consequently, neither boredom nor fun can be forced. The core elements in an effective workplace-based teambuilding model would include a real and relevant institutional project. Goals of increasing inclusion, communication, transparency, and collaboration must also be embedded in the model. Joint facilitation using an external talent who specializes in developing individuals, creating safe environments, and building relationships to foster inclusion would be a prized asset. This external facilitator could facilitate the process in conjunction with a workplace liaison that partners with her/him. The facilitator should work in partnership with a manager or supervisor who is a content expert, whose role is to insert the competency of the task into the teambuilding model and to shift the work paradigm (if necessary) away from supervisors, managers, and leadership serving as participants in teambuilding practices. The facilitator’s involvement can lend instant credibility to the process (Constantino and Merchant 1996). An effective teambuilding model should also focus on a unitary process of engagement, wherein each individual goes through a process of self-awareness and self-assessment in order to develop alternative ways of contributing to a larger group while building on current skills. Individualized growth is essential and is often missed in teambuilding exercises. Napier and Gershenfeld (2004) state that feelings of anxiety can create self-doubt that ultimately mars the teambuilding process. Effective and responsive models for teambuilding should dismiss notions of group work as a burdensome exercise, but rather these models should focus on a process that begins with the individual, moves towards a shared vision/goal, and then to a stage where each group member participates. Lastly, there must be opportunity for reflection. As stated earlier, reflection is the most critical component to true teambuilding and by extension, to community partnerships. This provides an occasion for validation and true assessment of outcomes. That is, at the end of the day, where goals are accomplished (L.A. Rice and C.M. Rice 2008).
Consequently, within the context of community organizing and training, to manage group dynamics and conflict we propose a psycho-social model for addressing patterns of exclusion resulting from The Recess Effect (TRE). In terms of the rationale for the training approach, the group/team is seen as an interdependent system and essentially operates as a small community. Thus the solutions for conflict management from a Recess Effect perspective must be two-fold. As noted earlier, training approaches that address TRE must address two dimensions of human operation, the attitudinal and behavioral responses to TRE. The psychological dimensions of the training address the attitudinal or inward responses and social/behavioral levels address action-oriented or outward responses (Bradford 1978; Kotter 1978; Reichard, et al. 1992); thus the psycho-social model. To counter The Recess Effect, in our own training with community partners the following are some steps we have implemented in our teambuilding training approaches:

1. Build awareness of patterns of exclusion due to TRE by outlining TRE—introducing the concepts of inclusion and exclusion.
2. Empower facilitators, trainers and team leaders to strategize creative ways of forming groups that decrease instances of TRE.
3. Empower participants to become roving mediators to assist in conflict management within their groups/teams.
4. Discuss steps toward effective conflict management in groups to avoid TRE.
5. Set ground rules for behavior to promote respectful communication practices within the group.
6. Encourage group members to employ coaching/mentoring for less-skilled members.

Facilitators of research and group forums engaged in community partnerships must be willing to discuss instances of exclusion and set ground rules for avoiding them. Equally important are concerted efforts at fostering inclusion. It is always useful if participants are encouraged by facilitators to take ownership of the process of building their own inclusive communities, through their own strategies. They must also empower participants to serve as mediators when conflict arises among group members. The coaching and mentoring activities are behavioral activities that address structural holes discussed in social capital and network theories. Structural holes occur when people do not reap the benefits of interacting with others to gain valuable skills and resources (Gittell and Vidal 1998). Lederach (1995) and Ausburger’s (1992) ideas regarding the
link of conflict resolution processes to cultural considerations apply equally here in the discussion of the work of community partnerships, if we choose to view social institutions/organizations as communities of people. Constantino and Merchant (2007) point out repeatedly that the stakeholders within organizations must take part in the development of the dispute resolution process. Additionally, facilitators may choose to select members for teams as well. While this solution might seem obvious, the onus for the facilitator should still be on monitoring the group’s progress to ensure that they avoid patterns of exclusion. A simple example of this can be found once again on the school playground where teachers monitor children when they play. First, we are proposing that they actively monitor the children. Secondly, in an effort to prevent blatant patterns of exclusion among children, the teachers can ensure that children play fair, are inclusive of their classmates—even those that are perceived as shy or awkward. When there are instances of ‘meanness’ among the children, the teachers can address these through some form of mediation. Likewise, facilitators of community partnerships, following the training approaches based on TRE outlined above, can monitor work groups to ensure that patterns of exclusion do not persist.

The authors’ experiences in addressing exclusion in teams and workgroups during community training and organizing efforts present a compelling case for studying patterns of exclusion in teambuilding enroute to assisting community partners in working more collaboratively together. It is our premise that research devoted to understanding patterns of inclusion/exclusion is vital to addressing conflict within work groups, wherever they may be found in social institutions. Ultimately, in developing strategies for dealing with social problems, from a practical standpoint there seems to be agreement that people should be empowered to find ways to resolve conflicts within and without, locally or internationally, in such a way that the resolution of conflict is sustainable; hence the importance of community partnerships in the Scholarship of Engagement. This is where the fusion of research from academia together with community efforts and input plays a crucial role. The goal of various conflict resolution and peace building approaches is indeed to foster sustainability in any given resolution strategy. As such, in community partnerships, individuals (whether encouraged to do role-plays, to share their stories with one another, to engage in problem-solving workshops or community tables, or to engage in mediations or negotiations) must act understanding the dynamics of dealing with culturally different people and accepting the notion that cultural considerations play an indispensable role
Avoiding the Recess Effect

in the process of conflict management, resolution, and/or transformation. With added considerations of conflict and culture in teambuilding processes, deeper patterns of cultural inclusion and exclusion are unearthed and offer us a micro analysis of the kind of discrimination that has taken place for generations in our societies. While much of the literature focuses on various behavioral factors that lead to teambuilding, such as the work group members’ personality types, leadership styles, and conflict styles, few authors address elements of conflicts based on diversity and the inclusive versus exclusionary dichotomy characterized by The Recess Effect. Regarding the Scholarship of Engagement, understanding the underlying issues facing people at the psycho-social level as they undertake Barker’s (2004) notion of community partnerships would further enrich our discipline in terms of scholarship, research, and practice.

References

Chapter Six

Avoiding the Recess Effect


PROMISE AND PERIL

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Abstract

This essay is a rhetorical analysis of the modern-Western ecological debate. It attempts to elucidate the promise, peril, and potentialities that reside in a decidedly Western ideological topos of progress. In order to accomplish this task, current and not-so-current events are reviewed as talking points for the much larger debate that will follow. Then, leading authors and experts, of the past and present, are resituated in a manner that creates a running discourse. Beyond mere literary analysis, this is a critical response to and problematizing of Lynn White Jr.’s treatise, which is has helped shape the public debate on our current ecological crisis. My conclusion is that while trying to pin-point the historical-ideological reasons for the current ecological crisis, we are simultaneously offering fragmentary solutions. What is needed is a fresh nostalgia: a looking back as a way of seeing forward. This essay ends with a decidedly Christian ethic that promotes awareness of nature, self and other.
Western Man’s Ideological Roots: Promise, Peril, and Potentialities

*Yesterday, December 7th, 1941 -- a date which will live in infamy -- the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.* ~Franklin Delano Roosevelt

As the clock struck twelve a.m. this very morning, the radio pundits called for an armistice and put their usual calumniations aside, if only for a moment, in order to silently reflect upon the sixty-year anniversary of the infamous day: the infamous day that saw the pristine island of Oahu ransacked, polluting its untainted waters with the crimson tide of American blood. This act of war, brought about by the empire of Japan, stole the lives of thousands of Americans and prompted the United States (U.S.) to enter the theatre of war. Just four short years later, the U.S. would also shock the world, but to a much greater degree. President Truman gave those remarkable, unrecoverable orders to drop two atomic bombs on the Japanese people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, thus turning a page in human history.¹

*The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men Gang aft agley* ~ Robert Burns

**Part 1: Paradigms and Potentialities**

Einstein, ruminating on the reality of this new breed of warfare, stated that “The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophes.”² Prophetic soul that he was, he uttered those words before the dawning of large-scale nuclear armament and the age of nuclear proliferation. Einstein also suggested this drift towards catastrophe before the realization of a global economy and an instantaneous-interconnectedness fostered by the internet.

¹ To use the word cities in the place of people allows psychological distancing. Cities can be rebuilt. Lives are irreplaceable.
His words were true when he spoke them, but they are, for us, a strong admonishment—an elixir of sobering reality. In a similar vein, Ronald Wright makes the argument that since the inception of gunpowder, humans have been developing the use of weapons with ever-increasing ability. Wright states that we have arrived at a place in history where “a good bang can be useful; a better bang can end the world.” Certainly there have been “wars and rumors of wars” for millennia, but now, more than ever, combat needs to be weighed in light of the staggering costs of potentialities. There is true potential for a “shot heard round the world,” and a final shot at that. As Paul Virillio implores, if we are not careful, “One day the day will come when the day will not come.” This discussion of potentialities extends beyond the limits of weaponry and human combat, though.

Consider the fact that since 1950, cancer rates have sky-rocketed within the U.S, with certain types of cancer increasing by 200%. In 2010, Dr. Samuel Epstein connected the effects of nuclear fallout, from our own atomic bomb studies, with dramatic increases in cancer. Dr. Epstein shares a ghastly quote from Adalai Stevenson, stating:

"This radioactive fallout, as it is called, carries something that's called strontium-90, which is the most dreadful poison in the world. For only one tablespoon equally shared by all the members of the human race could produce a dangerous level of radioactivity in the bones of every individual."

To put it into perspective, Dr. Epstein explains that, due to the effects of fallout, 61,600,000 people worldwide contracted and died of cancer. He cautions that even though open-air testing ended in the early 1960’s, half of our nation’s current population

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3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
would have been exposed to the fallout, of which, 60,000,000 are projected to develop cancer.\(^8\) As if fallout were not enough, other industrial chemicals and environmental contaminants have been absorbed by the earth and are transmitted to us through our wind, water, and food supply—cancerogens embedded in the very essentials of life.

It is with resounding poignancy that Rachel Carson questions the logic (or lack thereof) behind the indiscriminate use of toxic pesticides, asking, “How could intelligent beings seek to control a few unwanted species by a method that contaminated the entire environment and brought the threat of disease and death even to their own kind?”\(^9\) Of course, Carson’s *Silent Spring* was a clarion call to rouse us from our sleep and awake to the impacts of our noxious decision-making model. Her book raised awareness, perhaps as never before, amongst the general public. But, multi-national corporations like Monsanto proceeded in production and in ways that were not anticipated by Carson. Monsanto genetically engineered its “Roundup ready seeds to be resistant to its ultrapowerful patented herbicide and pesiticide,” so that farmers in the developing world could spray their entire fields, killing all life, except for, especially that of their resistant seed.\(^10\) Harriet Washington writes that Monsanto’s seeds “are infused with extremely toxic pesticides such as Maxim XO and Thiram, a class of toxin so hazardous that the EPA requires a prominent warning label and special protective clothing,” which most poor farmers can neither access nor afford.\(^11\) Washington posits that these chemicals are

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\(^8\) Ibid.  
\(^11\) Ibid.
so potent that they corrupt the water supply, eradicate other crops, as well as causing "birth defects and cancers."\textsuperscript{12} As dangerous and terrible as this is, it says nothing of the potentialities; what about the fact that as the wind blows, it carries these seeds into other fields where they can, might and have taken root?\textsuperscript{13} What happens when they intermingle with the indigenous seed and form hybrids, essentially effacing nature’s selective seed bank? The truth is there is no way of knowing what the long-term impacts of these genetically modified organisms will be on (wo)mankind or the environment.

One final example bears mentioning before we adjourn the topic potentialities. The current conditions in Japan do not allow us to move on without saying something of the promise and peril of nuclear energy. Nuclear energy promised a cleaner, more effective means of mass-producing limitless energy. The feverish pitch surrounding nuclear energy trickled up to the highest-ranking military officials, eventually reaching President Eisenhower.\textsuperscript{14} In his rhetorical address, “Atoms for Peace,” President Eisenhower attempted to move the United Nations beyond an understanding of the atom as a “dark chamber of horrors” towards a more peaceable understanding of the atom as “the miraculous inventiveness of man.”\textsuperscript{15} When former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Lewis L. Strauss, proudly boasted “our children will enjoy in their homes electrical power too cheap to meter,” it was more rhetoric, less reality.\textsuperscript{16}

All too recently, nature struck post-modernity with a decisive blow; a magnitude 9 earthquake accompanied by an array of 40 meter tsunami waves overwhelmed the

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.  
nation of Japan and 6 of its nuclear reactors. Shinichi Saoshiro reports that the firm charged with maintaining Fukushima’s crippled Dai-ichi power plant is “considering dumping water it treated for radiation contamination into the ocean as early as March.”

This news comes after the plant was forced to release “10,000 tons of water tainted with low levels of radiation” in order to make room for more hazardous material. Mind you, all of this is happening in real-time without the benefits of longitudinal studies. In a very real sense, these are uncharted but definitely polluted waters. The New York Times wryly states:

No one knows how much exposure to low doses of radiation causes a significant risk of premature death. That means Japanese living in contaminated areas are likely to become the subjects of future studies — the second time in seven decades that Japanese have become a test case for the effects of radiation exposure, after the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Due to Dr. Epstein’s work, what remains clear is that even under normal circumstances, nuclear reactors emit “the same mixture of chemicals as atom bomb tests,” with the majority of the lethal waste being confined to specially designed storage facilities. If in the best-case scenarios, trace amounts escape and are released into the environment, what about worst-case scenarios like the one in Japan? The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) states that the series of events at the Fukushima Dai-ichi reactors are “catastrophic and unprecedented,” releasing radioactive contaminants into the

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19 Ibid.
environment. So, again, humanity is faced with another question of long-term impacts; meanwhile, the IAEA has deemed this a golden opportunity for the international community to learn more about nuclear safety. Logic would tell us that the time to learn about safety measures and contingencies is before an accident. This event has turned into a “wait-and-see” experiment, though, the likes of which will carry on for another three decades.

Einstein, Wright, Washington, Epstein, and Carson seem to be observing something of fundamental importance to the whole of humanity and for the prolongation of our species. But, in light of their commentary, what would allow for such human atrocities and wholesale ecological negligence, nay malfeasance? Is there anything, in particular, that can be said about man’s attitude towards self, others, and nature? What follows is an “essai,” as McGrath would have it, to take in the vast panorama of ideas and developments and view them in a kaleidoscopic manner. We will be speaking manifestly in terms of is (i.e., observations of phenomenon) and not oughts (i.e., the way things should or must be).

Let the Quest Begin

If anything meaningful is to be said about the “historical roots of our ecologic crisis,” the maltreatment of men and nature, it seems as though it will require a general appreciation for Lynn White’s dynamic role in the social construction of this phenomenon. White’s normative project is to demonstrate that Christianity has shaped

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the West, and, by it continues to shape the world. White asserts, “We continue today to live, as we have lived for about 17,000 years, very largely in a context of Christian axioms,” which contend “that it is God’s will that man exploit nature for his proper ends.”

For White, it seems clear that Christians prize technology, science and are “dominated by an implicit faith in perpetual progress.” In Western man’s process of wrestling control from nature, White argues that (a) there was an intensive 200 year period of translation and absorption of Islamic and Greek thought into Latin; (b) this translation and absorption of other scientific perspectives created a positive trajectory for Western technology and science; (c) there was a perceptual shift from man in nature to man as exploiter of nature; (d) technology and uni-linear progress became indeterminably linked to Judeo-Christian theology and cannot be otherwise explained; (e) Western man uses his technological advantages to conquer and colonize the world. As a result of our usurpation of science and through technological-colonialism, White explains, “Today, around the globe, all significant science is Western in style and method, whatever the pigmentation or language of the scientists.” If White is correct, that is if “all significant science” is based on Western assumptions and approaches, then it presumably follows that the outcomes of “significant science” are attributable to Western “style and methodology.” This assumption leads White to assert that the Western Christian dogma “bears a huge burden of guilt” for much of the ecological distress that is discernable in the world today. He suggests that due to negative

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24 Ibid.  
25 Ibid.  
26 Ibid.  
27 Ibid.  
28 Ibid.
evaluations of the “man-nature relationship” and a poor understanding of the
environment, which are based on a specific interpretation of Genesis 1:28 as a mandate to
dominate, Western man must adopt a more cooperative, eco-friendly version of
Christianity or abandon it altogether. But, what does that actually mean? What is it that
White is calling for exactly? It seems he is saying that conditions will continue to worsen
until the “post-Christian West” abandons a set of Christian ideas that “most people do not
think of…as Christian” in order to adopt a “new set of basic values” that do not yet exist.
Moreover, the question still remains: if Christianity is married to unbridled progress, and
the West is married to Christianity, and we divorce Christianity, it does not follow that
we will be divorced from the notion of progress. As White points out repeatedly, the
proverbial cat is out of the bag. Technology and science pervade the globe. While
science and technology may not be the answers to our fundamental questions, they go a
great distance in shaping how society perceives itself and how people will relate to
nature.

Again, White is to be commended for his contributions to this ongoing dialogue,
as it seems his argument is the current default-assumption. Overall, though, I find his
position limited. His main contribution, whether intended or not, was in the creation of a
reverse discourse dynamic, the likes of which would please even Michel Foucault.29
Drawing on Foucault’s reverse discourse model, White, by criticizing Western
Christianity, actually creates an atmosphere for alternative opinions to emerge, something
that Peter Harrison hopes will happen. When compared to Glacken’s Traces on the

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York: Routledge.
Rhodian Shore, a markedly meticulous historical account of “nature and culture in Western thought,” it becomes obvious that White, by using a deterministic point-of-view, is not merely observing phenomenon but is interpreting significant shifts in thought and action over a long period of time; this point-of-view proves problematic in that it, too, by his own definition, is a linear model of interpretation from a Christian perspective. It will not allow for the vast variations and subtle nuances that occur in perception and cognition, which are impacted by multi-linear points-of-views, technological shifts that create differing potentialities, and on-going developments in neuro-plasticity.\textsuperscript{30} Consequently, we do well to entertain modes of interpretation that might help us “see the world as it is” without tacitly and rather lazily attributing the ills of the world to a post-tradition.\textsuperscript{31} Before leaving off from White altogether, though, there are specific rebuttals that could be made in this present context.

\textbf{Let Me Digress}

\textit{The Western Tradition is Bereft of any Feeling About Nature}

What follows is admittedly a digression, which does not attempt to answer our main questions, but simply and briefly apologizes for White’s rather grim portrayal of Western Christianity; indeed, White’s Christianity lacks any of the warmth that certainly may be found in the tradition’s aesthetics of art, literature, and poetry. Although I do not wish to belabor this point, something can be said here about White’s egregious insistence that the Christian tradition holds nature in contempt, is unable to see anything beyond the material aspects of nature, and is, therefore, all-to-willing to “use it for our slightest

whim.”32 White expresses that “To a Christian a tree can be no more than a physical fact,” and because of this they go about “chopping down sacred groves.”33 While it is feasible to say that worshiping in sacred groves is beyond the Christian tradition, it is also feasible to say that when Christians cut down these groves, it was not because they were devoid of concern for nature; nor was it due to a perception that groves, in and of themselves, are idolatrous “because they assume spirit in nature.”34 White simply cannot have it both ways. He cannot say that for a Christian, a tree can mean nothing more than a physical fact and criticize him for cutting down a grove that is perceived to be symbolic of something else. What White might have said is that in order to maintain right relationship with nature, man may not worship her above God. The Western Christian tradition neither vilifies nor deifies nature in the ways that White suggests. In fact, the Apostle Paul includes nature as a fellow-participant in the narrative of redemption, as he writes, “Because the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groans and travails in pain together until now.”35 As this inconvenient reality flies in the face of White’s assessment, it is not included in his project.

One final point on this matter is related to the fact that Christian thinkers have often mused on the sublimity of nature. This may appear as unimportant truth to White, but art, literature and poetry powerfully communicate embedded cultural beliefs about the self, relation of self to others, and relation of man to nature. As White tells us that an ecological perspective is born out of an understanding of man’s relationship to nature, one can only wonder at his curious omission of these cultural artifacts. He is, in fact,

33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 King James Version of the Bible. Romans 8:21-22.
choosing to neglect a vast corpus. Paul Santimire demonstrates that even theologians such as Calvin and Luther take the time to articulate meaningful reflections upon nature. There is much more that could be said here in terms of poetry, music, and metaphor, but, alas, space will not allow for it. 

Peter Harrison’s View

Harrison’s argument for revision of the “standard accounts of the religious origins of Western attitudes toward nature” and those “ecologically sensitive theologies that too easily concede that the ecological crisis is to be attributed to the Christian doctrine of creation” is a most welcomed one. Again, it is White’s broad and thinly-defined treatise that has shaped the conversation or at least set the tenor for discourse. White’s rhetorical construction has proven so pervasive and “tenacious,” as Harrison admits, that nearly all roads start with his opinion. The Western tradition of Christianity is now in a perpetual position of defending itself from presumed guilt. Harrison takes up the charge of defending and goes quite a distance into that venture, demonstrating that “the supposed anthropocentrism of the Western tradition has little to do with environmental degradation.” In his critique of White, Harrison immediately points to the fact that exploitation of nature is not localized to a discussion of Western man.

Harrison wastes no time by stating that White’s assumed linkage of the ecological crisis to the Christian concept of creation is without firm historical grounding. Moreover, Harrison states that despite recent scholarship, which suggests evidence contrary to White’s thesis, the post hoc, ergo propter hoc argument continues to gain


\[37\] Ibid.

\[38\] Ibid.
ascendancy within ecological circles, as well as the Christian tradition. Harrison demonstrates that the weight of White’s words exists not in critical-biblical study, theological or hermeneutical interpretations but in a changing landscape of human perception and “reception of the [biblical] text.” Therefore, Harrison resituates White’s claims in a historical context, so that we might see the dimensionality of his point through contrast.

Harrison posits that “For the first fifteen hundred years of the Christian era there is little in the history of interpretation of Genesis to support White’s major contentions.” In the age of patristic and medieval allegorical interpretations of Genesis, “nature and scripture were both books” that were to be read, not in order to learn methods of dominating but to further their moral and spiritual understanding. When the works of Aristotle reached the monasteries in the 13th century, this compiling of “all extant knowledge” lead to an increased desire for intellectual—not physical—mastery, which they believed to be closely linked to the kind of complete knowledge that prelapsarian Adam possessed. Harrison notes that up to this point, there is no religious motivator to exploit nature, but there is a natural human inclination to take from nature those things that are needed for survival.

As Harrison speaks of the 17th century, it conjures many of the arguments that Merchant makes about the organismic view of life and how it was supplanted by a new,

39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
mechanistic view the cosmos. Along with the organismic displacement comes a movement from allegorical to literal interpretations of scripture; the notion of dominion is transformed from an intellectual-conceptual-endeavor into a physical injunction. The hermeneutical re-vision and alteration of perceptual was “incorporated into the rhetoric of scientific progress” and was championed by Francis Bacon. For Harrison, Bacon and Boyle’s belief that technological implementation aimed at improving man’s estate is not proof of a dangerous ecological stance, but an admission of a fallen state; Harrison writes, “Dominion, then, was not exercised so that humanity could leave its mark upon the earth. On the contrary, it was to erase those scars that embodied the physical legacy of a moral fall.” The supposed anthropocentrism that will, for White, lead to the downfall of the environment is not a threat for Harrison; Harrison believes that progress in science actually opened up new ways of understanding the cosmos, which led to a decline in anthropocentrism.

Another Way of Seeing

To begin this essay, we reviewed three major areas of development (i.e., weaponry, genetically modified organisms, and nuclear energy) and their potentialities. As they were arbitrary choices, any number of other examples would have sufficed, so long as they centered our thought on the growing ethical dilemmas that arise with the introduction of certain types of technologies. Next, I noted that the observations of Einstein, Wright, Washington, Epstein, and Carson seemed to be saying something of

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45 Bacon continues to be one of the most enigmatic characters in the Western matrix, as his name is so often invoked while his ideas are not entirely understood.
importance to humanity. Then, I asked if there was anything specific that we could say about the kind of attitude that would allow for such hard-heartedness towards one’s fellow man and environment. Up till now, we have been trying to answer that difficult question but have not been entirely successful. Before we conclude, I think there is a bit more we can say to try and get at the question.

In her work *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire*, Irving goes beyond Harrison’s elucidation of Bacon and attempts to give us a clearer picture of his varied intellect and grand programs. By channeling Charles Whitney, Irving writes, Bacon’s “programme ‘aims not just to complete the instauration of learning hailed by Du Bellay, Erasmus, and Rebalais, but also to launch a period of growth ending only with apocalypse.’”\(^{47}\) Irving notes, “The novelty of Bacon’s philosophy, therefore was not his vision of the restoration of Adam’s empire of knowledge. This was shared by men like Hakluyt, Thomas Harriot and John Dee, among others. Rather, Bacon’s novelty was his thorough vision for its achievement.”\(^{48}\) It is precisely this fact that proves of utter importance to our present study. Bacon’s understanding that natural philosophy could be utilized to improve man’s conditions and that knowledge could now be “defined in terms of his ability to reproduce what he studies” has been the driving force of technological innovation. McLuhan explains:

> Today man has developed extensions for practically everything he used to do with his body. The evolution of weapons begins with the teeth and the fist and ends with the atom bomb...Power tools, glasses, TV, telephones, and books which carry the voice across both time and place are examples of material extensions.\(^{49}\)

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48 Ibid.
As Bacon was a noted rhetorician, one might have wonder at his goal to “enlarge the bounds of humane empire to the effecting of all things possible,” but now we begin to see a new set of potentialities. Upon this foundation, Western man continues to build and, more importantly, believe that he can and will return to Eden. Bacon’s ambitious philosophy, to know the effects from the cause, sounds similar to the words in Isaiah 46:10, where God tells the Israelites, “I declare the end from the beginning [...].”

Interestingly, that is the method that we so widely use today. We declare the end from the beginning and work our way back. This way of seeing the world has allowed us to create technological devices that aid humanity’s attempts at living the good life, just as Bacon would have desired to see. Take ocular implants for example. Scientists started with the end in mind, which in this case is creating a way to overcome hearing impairment, and worked backwards, through a process of reverse engineering, in order to structure such a device.

Rather ironically, it is the emerging technologies of the past five decades that have allowed us to see the devastating impacts of the past three centuries. Technological advances and our neural adaptations to them have opened the channels that were needed in order for environmental awareness and activism to rise to its current level. Technological advancements, much like Lynn White’s famous article, created a kind of reverse discourse that will allow for more criticism to emerge instantaneously. Finally, through innovation, we are beginning to regain dominion in ways that Bacon thought true

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50 KJVB.
52 Here I am talking about our adaptation to electronic devices and media that alter the way we understand and perceive new ways of communicating. I am also referring to the necessary infrastructure that is needed in order to monitor climate change and share that information with a global community.
of Adam. With mobile devices in our hand, we now have omniscience at our disposal. We have encyclopedic knowledge of everything by extension. So, if we have omniscience at our fingertips, and can connect with people thousands of miles away, why is the world in the shape that it is in?

**Conclusion**

What we have noted thus far is that while technology can aid us in our lives, it can also be used, whether intentionally or unintentionally, to inflict suffering on the masses. But, in this post-modern age, we seem to be hinting at the reasons for the current ecological crisis and, therefore, offering fragmentary solutions. What all of our contributors have noted and appear to be expressing is that there is something inherently wrong with our current conditions, that things have gone awry. Bacon believed the world ought to be different for man. Einstein lost sleep over the atomic bomb because he realized humanity now possessed a technology that we should never use. Carson, Washington and White posit that we ought not treat the environment and one another is such callous ways. But, why not? Without any epistemological and ontological grounding in an objective morality, we stand on the outside of all of our questions no matter how desperately we want to enter into the center of them. Moreover, to say we want to become more ethical in our treatment of the environment begs the essential question: how is it that I come to know what is or is not ethical?

McGrath would argue that in order to answer the ethical questions, one must “rightly” see the world as it is. He states, “Morality depends upon an acquired capacity to see things as they really are.”53 This way of seeing things is not always convenient or easy, as

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McGrath reminds us that “divine judgment can be understood as our being forced to see
ourselves as we actually are, all illusions and pretences having finally been exposed and
removed.” In this age of relativism, the notion of bringing some transcendent or divine
being into the equation immediately creates a disconnect. Why can we not simply
modulate behavior through the use of law? By drawing on themes from Nazi Germany,
McGrath makes a valiant attempt to answer this very question.

McGrath demonstrates how “laws established for an essentially democratic purpose could
be subverted to other ends, given the necessary political will.” He notes, too, that
German rulers were “masters of legality” and used the confines of the law to mandate
unspeakable atrocities or what would later be called “crimes against humanity.”

History, it appears, is cycling back around, and in this new age of technological
potentality, new forms of crimes against humanity are at our very door. Our times call
for a renewal of what McGrath calls the Christian narrative:

The primary task of Christian ethics involves an attempt to help us see. For we can only
act within the world we can see, and we can only see the world rightly by being trained to
see. We do not come to see just by looking, but by disciplined skills developed through
initiation into a narrative.

The only way forward seems to be a look back at the Incarnational life of Christ, which is
that proper lens “through which nature can be seen.” Lewis provides us with a
conceptualization of Christianity that has been nearly lost on this present age. It is a

54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
57 Hauerwas as cited in McGrath, 2008.
58 Ibid.
Christianity that is based in the actual, practical realness of life and includes Nature as a fellow-participant in the economy of salvation. As it captures a dimension of reality that we have, heretofore, been missing, it is, perhaps, the best place to end our present discussion. Lewis reflects:

But Christian teaching by saying that God made the world and called it good teaches that Nature or environment cannot be simply irrelevant to spiritual beatitude in general...By teaching the resurrection of the body it teaches that Heaven is not merely a state of the spirit but a state of the body as well: and therefore a state of Nature as a whole. Christ, it is true, told His hearers that the Kingdom of Heaven was ‘within or ‘among’ them. But His hearers were not merely in ‘a state of mind’. The planet He had created was beneath their feet, His sun above their heads; blood and lugs and guts were working the bodies He had invented, photons and sound waves of His devising were blessing them with the sight of His human face and the sound of His voice. We are never merely in a state mind.
Title: Chronic Fatigue Syndrome: A Gendered Disease

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Abstract

For the past 25 years, Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (CFS), a debilitating neuro-immune disease of unknown etiology, has largely been constructed as an illness that affects affluent, white females (Jason et al., 1999; Lindal, Stefansson, & Bergman, 2002; Reyes et al., 2003). Until the October 2010 release of Science’s earth-shattering study, which implicated an infectious gamma retrovirus as a causal agent in CFS pathogenesis, little traction was gained by researchers and patient advocates in this community (Lombardi et al., 2010). However, with the discovery of xenotropic maurine leukemia virus-related virus (XMRV) in the circulating blood of 67% of CFS sufferers, the disease was quickly lionized as an “actual illness” and perhaps an epidemic.

Baring the newer XMRV research in mind, this paper is an attempt to explore, through a feminist perspective, the complex role that gender plays in the construction of CFS. Initially, this researcher describes factors that help to shape and situate the illness in a deprecatory context. Then, through a review of literature, the disease is defined, problematic issues discussed, economic implications explored, treatment and limitations explained.

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1 Reyes et al. study demonstrates that on average females are 4.49 times more likely to be diagnosed with CFS than males.
2 For the purpose of this paper XMRV, whether it is or is not finally established as a possible causal agent, simply demonstrates that with the possibility of a communicable pathogen, CFS has garnered more funding. For more on this, see the Hutchinson Family Foundation.
Chronic Fatigue Syndrome: A Gendered Disease

If anything meaningful is to be said about Chronic Fatigue Syndrome, it necessarily requires a general appreciation for the dynamic role that gender plays in the social construction of disease models. Since the 1970’s, feminist scholars have been engaged in research that addresses the differentiation between sex as a biological concept and gender as a sociological construct (Annadale & Riska, 2009; Richman & Jason, 2001). This distinction allowed for the argument that women’s subordinate social status, not inherent biological deficits, resulted in poorer health outcomes than men, who presumably benefited from their prized social situation (Annadale & Riska, 2009). Moreover, early feminist critiques focused on issues of power, domination, limitation within established medical structures, and how these factors negatively impacted the lives of women (Annadale & Riska, 2009; Richman & Jason, 2001). Central to feminist arguments, too, is the concept that hierarchical, male-dominated systems approach research in certain deterministic ways that create problematic and limited modes of treatment for women, thus leading to poor health outcomes (Annadale & Riska, 2009; Richman & Jason, 2001).³ Until 1993, at which point policymakers finally enacted legislation requiring more inclusive practices, “many clinical research studies excluded women, resulting in a lack of information about gender differences in disease prevalence, progression, and response to treatment” (Hoffman & Tarzian, 2001). It is, then, of no great amazement that Hoffman and Tarzian (2001) point out that there is a demonstrative difference in the way men and women are perceived and treated by the medical community, citing that women are more likely to be “undertreated or inappropriately diagnosed” (pp. 13). Mind you, this is not accidental, as

³ Addressing all of the complex nuances of gender and mediclization is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is important to state women are not simply seen as passive bodies. They are very much active agents who resist dominance wherever they can.
illnesses like CFS, affecting predominantly female populations,\(^4\) are “wrongly or disproportionately” linked to psychogenic etiologies, which may preclude the treatment of infectious pathogens (Richman & Jason, 2001: 16).

Annandale and Riska (2009) state that there is a paucity in current, innovative sociological research related to women’s health;\(^5\) as a consequence, many of Virginia Valian’s (1999) findings related to gender inequities, professional development and mobility could be interjected here. Valian’s (1999) understanding of “implicit, or nonconscious, hypotheses about sex differences” provides a cautionary and useful framework for understanding the dilemma of females living with CFS. As Valian (1999) argues, “It is unfair to neglect even minor instances of group-based bias, because they add up to major inequalities.” Based on Valian’s assertions, it is not hyperbolic to conceive of an inexhaustible treadmill of disadvantage: a treadmill where this running tabulation of inequalities begin with a woman’s diagnosis of CFS, accumulate throughout treatment and culminate in a woman’s lack of access to the kind and quality of care she desires and deserves.

Anyone researching contested illnesses or diseases with “unknown etiologies” will quickly encounter the terms “psychosomatic and psychogenic.” If one proceeds in research and begins to focus on women and illness, it does not take long for the word hysteria to appear (Asbring & Narvanen, 2002; Barrow, 2006; Hoffman & Tarzian, 2001; Johnson, 1996; Sater, 1997; Swoboda, 2005; Tucker, 2004; Wartik, 2002; ). Sater (1997) states “For most of us, to be hysterical is to be out of control, ‘overemotional, irresponsible, and feminine.’” Hysteria also

\(^4\) Tseng and Natelson (2004) report that CFS rates for women living in Chicago were .52% versus .29% for males. And, in Wichita, the rates were .37% for females versus .08% in males. 

\(^5\) This is in part due to a counter-movement in gender-health studies which focuses on men and health outcomes. It is also suggested that while the early feminist approach brought much needed attention to women’s health issues, it simultaneously reinforced a gender binary and further confirmed the heterosexual matrix.
seems to be the island for misfit diagnoses, as almost any illness that is self-reported, not anchored by a blood test, MRI, or electrocardiogram ends up being relegated to this nebulous category (Sater, 1997). Hysterical females “have often been accused of deceit, of being of weak character or corrupt” (Sater, 1997). The notion of hysteria is particularly relevant to the study of CFS, as epidemiologists from the CDC deemed the illness as “media-driven mass hysteria” (Johnson, 1996). Meanwhile, researchers at the National Institutes of Health characterized their female CFS patients as “psychoneurotic” (Johnson, 1996). Jackson (1990) writes, “Regrettably, both the media and the medical profession have been very skeptical about this disease, frequently treating it as a non-disease or a psychosomatic condition” (as cited in Richman & Jason, 2001: p. 20). Again, the agencies of power that shape and construct the illness (i.e., what the disease is, what it means to be a CFS patient, and how CFS patients are to be treated) repeatedly demonstrate harmful biases against women (Richman & Jason, 2001). Johnson (1996) explains, “an internist at the University of California at San Francisco referred her female patients to male physician colleagues, several of them suggested that she had been performing ‘million dollar workups on neurotic women’” (p. 3). Stephen Strauss, scientist at the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, stated that women “with the somatic complaints of fatigue that we see in CFS may have…underlying psychiatric problems” (as cited in Johnson, 1996: p. 298). Elaine Showalter (1997), author of Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Media, purports that society is in the midst of a hysterical epidemic, which includes “current hysteria” such as “Gulf War syndrome, CFS…satanic ritual abuse and alien abduction” (as cited in Sater, 1997). As long as CFS can be read in the same sentence as satanic ritual abuse and alien abduction, little will be done to treat the underlying pathogens that strike women down in their prime.
On November 6, 2006, The Sacramento Observer carried a story entitled: A Disease Few People Really Understand, which chronicles the experience of two women living with CFS (Barrow, 2006). Wilhelmina Jenkins’ story resounds with gravity as she shares:

Worst of all for me were the cognitive problems. I could not think. This was something that I never considered possible; the thing that supposedly no one could take away from you. At the time I was working as a physicist…and all of a sudden, I could no longer read my own work or understand my own equations. In daily life, I forgot the names of common objects and sometimes the names of my own children” (as cited in Barrow, 2006).

Sadly, Ms. Jenkins’ experience is emblematic of what is happening to millions of women and men in America and around the globe (Jason et al., 1999; Solomon & Reeves, 2004; Harman, 2009; Hickie et al., 2009). However, as Valian (1999) pointed out in her work, society attributes gendered meanings to real life events, giving deference to men at each step. As Nancy Wartik (2002) of the New York Times explains, “[when] confronted with the same symptoms in a man and a woman, doctors lean toward attributing a man’s problem to physical illness or pain, a woman’s to psychological issues.” Dr. Judith Paice states, “I’ve observed so many times that a woman will feel stressed and start to cry. I can just see and feel the physician’s response. They’ll articulate it afterward, ‘Oh, this is a patient with emotional issues…” (as cited in Wartik, 2002).

Sater (1997) resigns to the fact that at the heart of women’s health is the indelibly linked notion of hysteria—with its devastating ties to gender, power and negative patient outcomes.

As was noted in early 1990’s, women with CFS and other neuro-immune diseases were seen as adopting a “sick role” as a way of eluding the growing responsibilities imposed on them by society (Abbey & Garfinkel, 1991; Richman & Jason, 2001). Ware and Kleinman (1992) state: “liberated by feminism to enter previously all-male occupations, women in 1970’s found themselves exhorted to have it all by combining a demanding career with a rich and fulfilling family life” (as cited in Richman & Jason, 2001: p. 19). Although Valian (1999) reports similar
findings related to increased role expectations in women, both professionally and personally, there is nothing in her work that suggests this is negatively correlated with overall health and wellbeing. Critics of those diagnosed with CFS, though, have argued that the disease creates a viable excuse for women to reorganize their lives, decrease the amount of “social commitments, thus leading to ‘feelings of contentment and relief’” (Richman & Jason, 2001: p. 19). Despite the research that has transpired over the past 25 years, the false conviction that CFS is indeterminably linked to psychogenesis and gender weakness still remains (Asbring & Narvanen, 2002).

What’s in a Name?

Richman and Jason (2001) state that knowledge is a culturally mediated byproduct “rather than a function of objective observations of an objective world. Moreover, the nature of the knower contributes to the nature of what is known…” and necessarily influences that which is being studied (Richman & Jason, 2001, pp. 20). What, then, if anything does the name Chronic Fatigue Syndrome reveal about the attitude of those strictly observing the disease and those devastated by its physiological impacts? Gallagher, Thomas, Hamilton, and White (2004) state that the naming of a particular disease is reflective of the competing views held by patients and physicians. This evolving process greatly shapes the public’s view of the condition and is also representative of the treatment options, protocols and overall success of medical interventions (Gallagher et al., 2004). If Gallagher et al. (2004) are correct in their assertion that the disease’s name is reflective of a competition that alters public perception and represents patient options, then it is apparent that CFS patients lost the first of many important battles. As has been discussed in the broader body of feminist critiques of the medical community, here, too, in CFS, exists a striking disparity of power between the “predominantly male profession,” which
diagnoses and treats, and the “predominantly female patient” population who suffers at the hands of ignorance or negligence (Richman & Jason, 2001). In Osler’s Web, Hillary Johnson (1996) meticulously chronicles the sordid history of CFS patient abuse and government mismanagement of this disease, noting that incredulous attitudes about the illness developed as a response to (1) its predominantly female demographic and (2) its rather benign-sounding name. Johnson (1996) writes no one at the CDC “understood the disease to be a crippling, life-destroying condition; it was simply ‘chronic fatigue,’ and as one agency scientist said with a shrug, ‘Hell, I’m tired!’” (p. 238). As previously healthy, successful female patients were interviewed and asked to describe their experience of living with this disease, certain responses were publicized, memorably that of a teacher who stated that she felt like “a Raggedy Ann without the stuffing,” in order to further construct an illness that was simply about being tired, feeling rundown, or having lost a step (Johnson, 1996: p. 34). In other words, CFS was construed as a feminine disease—an illness for the weak and for those who had “lost their nerve” (Dr. J. Deckoff-Jones, personal communication, November 1, 2011). Clearly, the notion of losing one’s nerve does not carry with it the harrowing reality of the disease process, or as Dr. Mary Schweitzer (2010) so poignantly writes:

From the beginning, “chronic fatigue syndrome” was a disastrous name chosen to replace “Chronic Epstein-Barr Virus” back in 1988. It could not have been more dismissive if it had been chosen by a focus group. “Chronic” as in “chronic complainer” and “chronic whiner;” “fatigue” as in “yeah, I’ve been tired lately myself;” and “syndrome” as in “syndrome of the month.” In the first decade of the name, comedians had a field day with it. As recently as this year, a popular comedy show in England mocked the name and the disease.

6 This phrase quickly became a catch-all, leading researchers and reporters to refer to CFS as “Raggedy Ann Syndrome.”

7 This information was offered by Dr. Jamie Deckoff-Jones, CFS researcher and former manager of The Whittemore Petterson Institute for Neuro-Immune Disease.

8 Before contracting XMRV and developing CFS, Dr. Mary Schweitzer was a tenured professor at Villanova University. She now writes from a patient and advocate’s perspective.
Echoing Schweitzer’s observation, Dr. Jacob Teitlbaum reported that CFS, one of this nation’s most complex and problematic diseases, is still disparagingly called “Yuppie Flu” (Teitlbaum, 2011). This is important to note because cognitive appraisal, “the process of attributing meaning to an event” or set of circumstances, greatly influences the manner by which one interprets data and assigns significance to a particular piece of information (Hoffman & Tarzian, 2001). By using misguided nomenclature such as “Yuppie Flu” and “Shirker Syndrome,” the medical community and media outlets—whether intended or not—devaluate the millions of Americans, mostly women, now impacted by this debilitating syndrome; this ongoing process of denudation results in diversion of federal funding and costly delays in pivotal research campaigns (Afari & Buchwald, 2003; Tuller, 2007; Teitlbaum, 2011). Dr. William Reeves, CFS expert and researcher at The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), attempted to bring gravity to the discussion, explaining that persons with CFS suffer from similar types of impairment as those diagnosed with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), breast cancer and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, though the name would not ever suggest such facts (Tuller, 2007). Unfortunately, the CDC’s rare and candid public announcement has done little to remedy the faulty assumptions that it was responsible for disseminating; namely, that CFS is merely an affluent, female disease, which strikes those who wish to neglect their social responsibilities (Richman & Jason, 2001).

Inherently, CFS as a diagnostic entity carries with it this pejorative notion of someone who is simply tired, not cellularly taxed, and might be aided by periods of increased rest (i.e., frequent naps). While it is not the purpose of this researcher to suggest that rest and

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9 Dr. Jacob Teitlbaum is noted as the world’s leading expert on CFS treatment and directs the Fibro and Fatigue Centers of America.
environmental stress reduction have no positive correlations with symptom improvements in CFS sufferers, it is his intention to suggest that the very name of the disease limits a richer, more complex understanding of the illness, and possibly better treatment options for millions of women and men. For example, Myalgic Encephalomyelitis or Human Immunodeficiency Virus—Negative AIDS, two of the many possible alternative names, suggest the complexity of the illness from the outset, lessen patient-perceived stigma, and move closer to a multi-dimensional understanding of the illness (Asbring & Narvanen, 2002; Johnson 1996; Horton et al., 2010). In essence, the CFS patient community is in search of realization (i.e., that this disease is real, organic in nature, and physiological) and legitimization (i.e., that this disease is infectious not psychogenic and can be detected empirically). In the long run, a re-branding of the disease, for lack of a better term, would allow room for (1) redefining problematic concepts; and (2) a methodological relocation or resituating of the disease (Horton et al., 2010).

As it currently stands, many physicians continue to doubt the reality of this illness, carrying with them “lack of empathy, disbelief or negative attitudes towards people with CFS” (Horton et al., 2010: 2). For those doctors who believe the illness to be an actuality, there is an understandable fear that labeling their patients with CFS would be counterintuitive, as it “could actually cause harm and impair recovery” (Horton et al., 2010: 2).

**The Disease**

CFS is a neuro-immuno disease that causes multiple system dysfunction and deregulation throughout the body (Bombardier, & Buchwald, 1996). Although demographic studies vary in exact numbers, Solomon and Reeves (2004) report that those living with CFS are: mostly

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10 The idea that I am trying to put forward here is that by revisiting the subjective or social label (CFS as an entity under the social microscope), it can open up or make room for more effective treatment of the objective problem (CFS as an entity under the electron microscope).
females (in their study as high as 86%), 40 years old or older (70%), white (92%), with only 18%
having obtained a four-year degree, 44% earning more than $40,000 per year, while 14% were
below poverty level. As the name suggests, the hallmark symptom of CFS is pervasive and
persistent fatigue (Cairns & Hotopf, 2005). However, among CFS patients, the clinical
connotation of fatigue takes on special meaning in that it is unrelated to physical activity, does
not improve with rest, lasts for at least six months, and limits cognitive and social functioning
(CDC, 2010). As Johnson (1996) points out, this fatigue is at a cellular level and prevents
previously healthy individuals from participating in the normal acts of daily living. Patients go
from running marathons to being bed-ridden; they go from writing books to not being able to
write their names; they go from being called “boss,” CEO and partner to being called “invalid”
(Asbring & Narvanen, 2002; Johnson, 1996; Swoboda, 2005; Tucker, 2004). It is important to
note here the rather cruel twist of irony: in a disease that is almost exclusively defined by
characteristics of fatigue, “physicians view fatigue as one of the least important symptoms”
(Richman & Jason, 2001). Is it any wonder, then, that patients are finding some solace in the
arms of alternative medicine (Lewis & Wessely, 1992, as cited in Richman & Jason, 2001)?

In CFS patients, fatigue is also accompanied by severe muscle and joint pain without
swelling, unrefreshing sleep, headaches, frequent or reoccurring sore throat, tender lymph nodes,
prolonged postexertional malaise that weakens the immune system, and new or heightened
allergies (CDC, 2010). Onset of illness is generally sudden, with as many as 72% of patients
experiencing post-infection fatigue related to viral or non-viral pathogens (Hickie et al., 2006).
Cairns and Hotopf (2005) argue there is no single causative factor, relying on a spectrum-related
disease model to explain the multi-variant disorder. However, promising research conducted by

\[11\text{ Again, this can be understood as a point of resistance whereby women exert their power through choosing alternatives to the established medical model.}\]
Lombardi et al. (2010) implicated a retro-virus as the precursor to CFS in 67% of patients studied, but caution that further research is needed to determine prevalence, virulence and transmutability. If Lombardi et al. (2010) is able to replicate their findings, this may finally vindicate CFS patients who have largely been untreated, undertreated, or incorrectly treated.

The Problematic

Due to the range of symptoms and overlap with other diseases predominated by women, diagnosing CFS is a process of elimination (Gallagher, Thomas, Hamilton & White, 2004). In fact, one of the major challenges for women living with this neuro-immune disease has been that of receiving an accurate appraisal of their symptoms and corresponding treatment (Gallagher et al., 2004). Multiple Sclerosis (MS), for instance, shares the symptoms of “fatigue, depression and cognitive dysfunction” (Richman & Jason, 2001). Unlike CFS though, MS now has an empirically verifiable etiology, which allows for its ruling-out in the CFS diagnosis (Richman & Jason, 2001). Notwithstanding the problematic process of ruling out known etiologies in order to diagnose an illness of unknown etiology and the varied symptomatology, the diagnostic framework remains consistent among the 17 million CFS patients spanning 21 countries (Harman, 2009; Hickie et al., 2009). Each CFS patient uniquely experiences the disease on a genetic, cellular, and metabolic level but expresses the disease within specific parameters (Jason et al., 2010). Levels of impairment are contingent upon individual factors such as gender, age, race and pre-illness functionality (Gallagher et al., 2004). Despite the recognized CFS heterogeneity, Komaroff et al. (1996) compared patients’ functionality to those of the general public, as well as those who suffer from hypertension, congestive heart failure, type II diabetes,

12 MS also shares a similar historical trajectory. It was originally constructed as a hysterical disorder. It seems to be the case that hysteria is the default until science is able to empirically account for those aspects beyond currently understood pathogenesis.
acute heat attack, multiple sclerosis and depression. Patients with CFS scored lower than the general public on all measured scales and presented markedly lower scores than the disease comparison groups, except for depression, which ranked higher in two scales correlated with mental health (Komaroff et al., 1996). According to a 2009 study conducted in the Netherlands, CFS patients had a lower body mass index, smoked and drank less alcohol than the general public (Goedendorp, Knoop, Schippers, & Bleijenberg, 2009). Furthermore, Goedendorp et al. (2009) demonstrated that while CFS patients “lead a healthier lifestyle compared to the general Dutch population,” their level of impairment and fatigue was far greater.

**Implications**

If left untreated, patients with CFS rarely improve (Cairns & Hotopf, 2005). Even with treatment, less than 5% of patients meet the criteria for full recovery (Cairns & Hotopf, 2005; Ross et al., 2004). Cairns and Hotopf (2005) explain that CFS has the same rate of disability as heart attack survivors. Ross et al. (2004) notes that up to 67% of CFS patients experience cognitive disturbances at levels that prevent gainful employment. Ross et al. (2004) report a 19% employment rate among CFS patients versus a 75% rate of employment in control groups. More than half of CFS patients studied “were on disability or temporary sick leave,” as compared to 1% of the healthy population in the study (Ross et al., 2004). For those CFS patients who were able to work, 64% experienced limitations, whereas the control group reported no work-related limitations (Ross et al., 2004). Valian’s (1999) work on gender schemas demonstrates, without the added complexity of a disability, the disadvantages and limitations that women face in the professional world. In that light, it is not difficult to see how women with CFS could be overlooked for potential positions that carry greater financial rewards, as well as impressions of increased weight of responsibility and perceived impacts of stress (Valian, 1999).
What is also evident is that loss of employment and wages, totaling $20,000 per person as an annual average, drastically affects the lives of those suffering from CFS (Jason et al., 2008). Add to those net losses an increase in medical costs and the picture begins to look grim, particularly for women.

In order to understand the economic influence of CFS, it is important to observe both the direct and indirect costs to the individual and society (Jason, Benton, Valentine, Johnson, & Torres-Harding, 2008). Direct costs include hospitalizations, ambulance fees, prescription drugs, over-the-counter medications, supplements, and specific laboratory tests (Jason et al., 2008). To put one aspect of direct cost into scope, a female patient stated that she needed to take 35 pills per day for health maintenance, without which she argues, “I’d be out flat” (Barrow, 2006). Indirect costs vary in scope but include transportation, “disability reimbursements, loss of leisure or duties at home, or services provided by family members, friends, or other informal care providers (Jason et al., 2008). Jason et al. (2008) extrapolate total costs per year for a sample size of less than 1 million CFS patients and arrive at an estimated $24 billion dollars. Jason et al. (1999) estimates that with each CFS diagnosis, it costs “the community…$9,436.” These preliminary numbers have not yet been adjusted to reflect the passage of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act.

**Treatment**

In their meta-analysis of 37 studies, Ross et al. (2004) indicate that there is not one particular treatment that meets the needs of the entire CFS population. However, Teitlbaum et al. (2001) developed a holistic treatment model that has achieved moderate success in treating a broad cross-section of patients. This model is aimed at treating the person, individually, and relies on eradication of underlying infections that may give rise to CFS, while simultaneously
supporting the patient with medications and supplements aimed at improving sub-clinical deficiencies (Teitlbaum et al., 2001). This paradigmatic shift back to person-centered care, not simply a rigid set of laboratory findings has resulted in improved functionality, with the majority of female patients citing that they were “better” or “much better” (Teitlbaum et al., 2001). Additionally, Van Konynenburg’s (2007) findings shed more light on the physiological processes of CFS and move current treatment forward by providing a simplified modality for the correction of methylation abnormalities. Promising but costly work in the area of CFS and stem cell research is on the horizon (Cheney, 2010). Cheney (2010) states that stem cells might act as a kind of genetic rebooting for the CFS patient, but success is highly contingent upon pre-treatment guidelines and positively correlates with those who are under 35.

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT), one of the major non-pharmocological treatments has proven efficacious in some studies (Akagi, Klimes, & Bass, 2001; Ronen & Freeman, 2007). Beck (1995) defines CBT as the therapeutic reframing of altered, dysfunctional thoughts which directly impact overall mood and behavior. As cognitive distortions are addressed, restructuring of internalized beliefs occur and behavioral outcomes improve (Beck, 1995). Here, it is important to say that dysfunctional thoughts and cognitive distortions may not be suffixed to the health-related beliefs about the disease itself but rather internalized beliefs about the self in light of the disease (Akagi, Klimes, & Bass, 2001; Ronen & Freeman, 2007). When working with an individual who has CFS, the cognitive restructuring may be directed at harmful thoughts that arise from negative self-appraisal brought about by physical and mental limitations (Ronen & Freeman, 2007). That is to say, a therapist working with a CFS patient might address “all-or-none” thoughts, such as, “If I am not able to go back to my old job then I am a complete failure.” In the therapeutic alliance, “catastrophising” thoughts might also be explored, such as, “If I don’t
fully recover from this disease, no one will ever love me…so I will spend the rest of my life alone.” There is a rightful and understandable hesitation on the part of the CFS community to look at any treatment modality that focuses on cognition, behavior, and emotions without also treating hypo-pituitary-adrenal deficiencies and infectious pathogens (Teitlbaum, 2011). Again, the insidious nature of social construct of CFS raises its head here. By virtue of CFS being construed as a hysterical, woman’s disease, services that might actually help patients are seen as potentially detrimental to the CFS community’s greater cause of recognition of the infectious nature of the disease. Think of the damnable double jeopardy: if women participate in CBT and experience improvement in their health, it may be used to further the rhetoric of CFS as a psychogenic illness. Dr. Deckoff-Jones asserts, “CBT helps IF you’re trying to give people tools to deal with their illness, NOT talking them out of their illness” (personal communication, November 1, 2011).

With that important truth in mind, Akagi, Klimes, and Bass (2001) findings should be carefully considered. Though Akagi, Klimes and Bass (2001) report after completing CBT, 18% of CFS patients had a return to normal function that was still intact one year later, they are not able to account for any other adjunct therapies that may have influenced the patients’ health. As a result of CBT, Akagi, Klimes, and Bass (2001) also observed a considerable decrease in the amount of times CFS patients needed medical attention from primary care physicians. This finding does not account for other forms of medical attention though (e.g., emergency room visits or attending other specialists), nor does it account for possible changes in prescription dosages and amount of refills given per script.14

14 To get needed medications or refills, patients frequent their doctor’s office. However, if the scripts are extended over a longer period of time, patients frequent their doctor’s office less often.
Finally, CBT was strongly correlated with decreases in direct and indirect costs, which ultimately benefit the individual and society (Akagi, Klimes, & Bass, 2001; Jason et al., 2008). For a disease that is otherwise very costly to the patient and the community at large, it might be tempting to jump aboard the CBT train to better health. That some studies suggest positive treatment outcomes for a CFS patient subset, it is undeniable. However, further research is needed to substantiate findings and articulate the subtle nuances (Akagi, Klimes, & Bass, 2001). Akagi, Klimes, and Bass (2001) do explain that a percentage of CFS patients do not benefit from CBT treatment and “remain significantly disabled by the condition.” It is at least an option for some.

**Limitations**

In the first two decades of research, CFS has proven to be an elusive illness. It is a disease that has been constructed by hegemonic, male-dominated ideologies that have greatly limited research and treatment outcomes for the predominantly female sufferers. Experts do not agree on the etiology of the disease, and subsequently disagree on the types of treatment (Cairns & Hotopf, 2005; Lombardi et al. 2010). To date, there is no single drug, type of drug or therapy that reaches the entire CFS population, making recovery a painful trial and error scenario (Gallagher et al., 2004). In order to become more successful in the campaign against this disease, greater research collaboration is needed. The same experts that disagree about the disease agree that there needs to be more research (Cairns & Hotopf, 2005; Lombardi et al., 2010). However, Jason et al. (2010) express the collective frustration of CFS researchers worldwide by describing how studies are limited by patients’ inability to continue or even participate in programs being analyzed. Consequently, greater effort on behalf of the research community is needed to engage this population.
In closing, one of the great tragedies that extends beyond the diagnosis of CFS is the barrier to effective treatment. Though the treatment options listed above are limited, they are at least moderately effective at treating the disease. However, few patients have the resources to cover the expenses of prescription drugs, intravenous therapies, and nutraceuticals. Often patients are forced to choose between the bare necessities of life and that of treatment. Greater response on behalf of our governmental, medical, and non-profit organizations is needed in order to support this growing segment of our population.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{15} The Ryan White services for HIV/AIDS is a useful model that could be replicated for the CFS community.
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A GENDER DISEASE

p. 4.


Title: Resounding Sounds of Cultural Resonance: Social Work Practice in the Hawaiian Context

Topic: Social Work

Presentation Type: Paper Session

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Abstract

It is not uncommon to hear social work practitioners and educators speak of the concept of containment and creating space for client interactions in a culturally competent manner. For the purpose of this paper, it is not our intention to do away with this existing framework but to suggest an additional layer of descriptive dimensionality to current scholarship. What we put forward is cultural resonance, in the direct practice setting, which is necessarily built upon the utility of cultural competence and even the notion of container contained. Though cultural resonance may be more difficult to quantify, what can be said is that there exists, at least in some direct practice experiences and to varying degrees, moments where both clients and social workers become aware that they are participating in or co-creating a meaningful exchange. We would like to posit that during these moments of meaningful exchange resonance is at work. We would also like to position this proposition amidst the complexity that exists while interacting with indigenous people groups, especially that of Native Hawaiian and Native Americans.

Historically, Native Hawaiians and Native Americans share similar experiences of cruelty and cultural genocide. Attempts at cross-cultural connections in the social work context have often been unsuccessful due to a lack of sensitivity to the underlying cultural wounds that are embedded in the schemas of Native Hawaiians and Native Americans alike. It is important for social work professionals to be acutely aware of this history of oppression in practice with these vulnerable populations. Cultural resonance is a term that, although closely related to cultural competence, is not fully explored in social science literature. The concept of cultural resonance can be useful in social work practice with vulnerable populations, such as Native Hawaiians and Native Americans, and can bridge the cultural divide that often hinders the therapeutic relationship. In this paper, the historical and contemporary similarities between Native Hawaiians and Native Americans will be explored through literature review and qualitative interactions in the Hawaiian context. Further, the concept of cultural resonance will be defined and its usefulness considered in social work practice with the Native Hawaiian and Native American populations.

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1 A simple way of visually conceptualizing this notion would simply be to think of a glass full of water, the container-contained scenario, and the resonant sound that emanates from the dynamic interactions of water, glass and contact.

2 The term “vulnerable population” is the widely accepted and utilized term in the social work profession. It is not our intention to devalue any one population group through the use of the term “vulnerable”, as it can be understood in a negative connotation. We both recognize the strength and honor the resilience of the indigenous populations discussed in this paper.
Resounding Sounds of Cultural Resonance: Social Work Practice in the Hawaiian Context

Although the concept of cultural resonance, as it applies to cross-cultural communication in social work, has not been thoroughly explored in literature, it builds upon the concept of cultural competence. The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) defines cultural competence as a “heightened consciousness of how clients experience their uniqueness and deal with their differences and similarities within a larger social context” (NASW, 2007). Cultural resonance, like cultural competence, is an emerging and continuously unfolding awareness of the distinct power and unique frequency inherent within a culture. Utilizing cultural competence, social work practitioners and researchers may then choose from a continuum of modalities and methods that resonate with those elements that are prized and prioritized by and within a specific cultural context, thus creating a greater level of synergy between the professional and the population served. Whereas the basic framework for cultural competence, according to Weaver (1999), consists of knowledge, skills, and values, cultural resonance consists of recognition, reflexive adaptation, and reciprocity. Cultural resonance emphasizes the role of real-time recognition of how the indices of race, religion, self-identity and cultural identity, as well as extra-therapeutic factors will contribute to or limit the therapeutic alliance. As social work professionals recognize and maintain a sense of ‘self and other’ awareness, it allows for moment-to-moment reflexive adaptability to the client’s presentation. Reciprocity, then, flows out of a response to recognition and adaptation and is understood to be an ongoing, transactional, and beneficial process. As levels of recognition, adaptation, and reciprocity increase, it allows for greater levels of professional-client openness and the co-creation of relationally resonant space.
CULTURAL RESONANCE

Professional social workers encounter clients from a wide array of cultures, ethnicities, races, and other minority populations in daily practice. Culture, while a nuanced and somewhat elusive term, has been defined as everything that is generationally transmitted, such as patterns of behavior, cultural norms/values, wisdom and symbols that transmit/communicate meaning and construct a way of life for a group of people (Weaver, 2004). Knowledge of cultural implications in working with diverse populations is an integral part of the social work profession. Though it is impossible to fully master cultural competence and resonance, social workers must develop an ever-appreciating knowledge of the diversity, history, culture, and contemporary realities of racial/ethnic populations served.

In the concourse of modern-Western history, the lives and cultural identities of Native Hawaiians and American Indians\(^3\) alike have been shaped by the eroding forces of cultural Imperialism, prejudice, discrimination, and oppression. Cultural resilience, or the preservation of cultural values, norms, and identity, is important and essential for the prolongation of community, development of identity and the realization of a healthy sense of self for individuals within both populations. The purpose of this paper is to examine the similarities between Native Hawaiians and American Indians in the contexts of history, culture, and current realities. The paper will further explore the concept of cultural resonance and its application to working with these two populations in the State of Hawaii.

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Native Hawaiians and American Indians: Cultural Comparisons

\(^3\) The researchers would like to acknowledge that, although the terms “American Indian” and “Native American” will be used synonymously throughout this paper, the American Indians are members of distinct and diverse groups and tribes. The federal government recognizes 564 tribal entities as of October of 2010 according to the Federal Register, Vol. 75, Number 190. This number does not include the hundreds of state recognized tribes. Individual cultural identity may be derived from individual tribal nations with unique cultures, values, norms, and beliefs.
The Historical Context

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2010), the total population of Hawaii is approximately 1.3 million people. Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders make up 10 percent of the total population of the State of Hawaii (U.S. Census, 2010). The diversity on the Hawaiian Islands includes many different races and ethnicities primarily from Asia and the Pacific Rim. The preferred term for the Native Hawaiian population is Kanaka Maoli, which means the “true” or “real” people (Blaisdell, 1989). Other races and ethnicities that make up the population of Hawaii include, but are not limited to, Samoans, Chamorros, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Micronesian, and Tongan.

As Weaver (1999) describes, one of the great challenges for service providers, as well as researchers, is the lack of empirical findings, as they relate to indigenous persons. The literature that exists is often sparse and rife with biases (Weaver, 1999). However, McCubin and Marsella (2009) discuss the rediscovery of elaborate written histories, the emergence of Polynesian Studies and a revival of Native Hawaiian cultural practices as a wealth of information. As Native Hawaiians have begun the process of excavating and unraveling their buried traditions, an incredible tapestry of synergy has emerged. This synergy is related to the interconnectedness of self, community and nature (McCubin & Marsella, 2009).

The Kanaka Maoli have endured a history of cultural oppression and discrimination by proselytizing missionaries, explorers, merchants, and politicians, including those from the United States. From the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778, which was the beginning of Western

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4 “Native Hawaiian” is defined as persons with 50% or more Hawaiian blood (§ 201(7) of the Hawaiian Home Commission Act, 1920, 42 Stat. 108, 1921), or all descendants of persons living in the Hawaiian Islands when Captain James Cook arrived in 1778, as described in other federal statutes. For the purpose of this paper, Native Hawaiian is used to describe those persons who identify themselves as Kanaka Maoli.
world influence on the Native Hawaiian people, to the present-day society and social policies, the Kanaka Maoli have been struggling to cling to their cultural traditions and beliefs. The core beliefs of family (‘ohana), harmony and love (aloha), and respect and appreciation for the environment (‘aina) were threatened by the Western influence. The overall health and well-being of the Native Hawaiian people as well as the population size greatly decreased after the arrival of the Westerners. These Western foreigners brought with them endogenous diseases such as tuberculosis, influenza, syphilis, gonorrhea, and small pox, which accounted for the drastic decline in and near eradication of the Native born population. Diamond (1999) reports that by the year 1893, the formerly robust Native population of approximately half a million souls was reduced to a mere 84,000 survivors. The Western explorers and missionaries also brought with them negative stereotypes that shaped the way Native Hawaiians viewed themselves in the world. The Kanaka Maoli were considered to be savages and thieves, likened to beasts, and were viewed as incompetent, needing constant supervision (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009).

The historical events and resulting problems parallel those of the American Indian population on the mainland of the United States. Currently, the American Indian population in the State of Hawaii is approximately 4,000 people or less than 1 percent of the total population (U.S. Census, 2010). Out of the approximately 310 million people living in the United States, about 2.8 million are American Indian (U.S. Census, 2010). Welch and Stekler (1994) state in the book *The Battle of the Little Bighorn and the Fate of the Plains Indians*, “[I]t has been estimated that there were 75 million Indians in the Americas, perhaps six million in the contiguous United States area, when Columbus arrived. By 1900, only 237,000 Indians in the United States remained” (as cited in Christopher, 2005, p. 47).
CULTURAL RESONANCE

Native Americans, like Native Hawaiians, have a legacy of a devastating history of colonialism and cultural loss (Weaver, 1999). BraveHeart and DeBruyn suggest that this legacy causes American Indians to suffer from “Historical Unresolved Grief Syndrome” which arises from “historical trauma”\(^5\) (as cited in Poupart, 2003, p. 89). After the initial contact made by explorers to North America, slavery, disease, warfare, and forced removal from the land severely decimated the Native American population – wiping out nearly 99 percent of the total indigenous population between 1500 and 1900 (Weaver, 1998). Governmental forced relocation of entire tribes, such as the infamous “Trail of Tears” in 1838, was a major form of physical genocide\(^6\) faced by the Native Americans (Weaver, 1998). The genocide continued to gravely affect the American Indian population and human psyche with the introduction of governmental and religious boarding schools which eliminated the traditional cultural practices, values, and beliefs by targeting the children (Weaver, 1998). Duran and Duran (1995) describe the persistent agony from this cultural genocide as a “soul wound” to the Native American Indians (as cited in Poupart, 2003, p. 88). From hundreds of years of cultural and physical decimation, broken promises, and unrelenting discrimination, American Indians have a deep and bleeding wounded psyche that continues to cause pain in their everyday lives.

The Cultural Context

The Kanaka Maoli culture is based on the concept of harmony with others and the environment (‘aina). Family and extended family (‘ohana) as well as community play a large

\(^5\) Historical trauma is described as the “collective and compounding emotional and psychic wounding over time,” that is “multi-generational and is not limited to [one’s individual] life span”. See *The return to the sacred path: Healing from historical unresolved grief among the Lakota and Dakota*, dissertation by Maria YellowHorse BraveHeart, 1995, Smith College.

\(^6\) According to *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees’ Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880* (McLoughlin, 1993), approximately 4,000 of the 18,000 Cherokee died on the Trail of Tears.
CULTURAL RESONANCE

role in the lives of each individual. The culture emphasizes respect for elders and ancestors (kupuna), and each member of the family plays a specific role in the hierarchical family structure. The Kanaka Maoli derive a sense of self from social relationships and the holistic view that family, land, the spiritual world are inseparable from one another (Handy & Pukui, 1972; McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). This relational concept is called Lokahi which means a sense of harmony or balance between the elements of mind, body, spirit, and land (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). In the Kanaka Maoli worldview, the land (‘aina) cannot be owned and consists of three dimensions (physical, psychological, and spiritual) that work together to create harmony and well-being (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). The cultural belief of mana, the energy of life, is what connects or binds each individual to family, land, and spirit (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). The importance of family, relationships, nature, and spiritual beliefs are the cornerstones for the Native Hawaiian culture.

The American Indian population has cultural values and norms similar to those of the Native Hawaiians. American Indians value family and consider it to be foundational for tribal life (Limb, Hodge, & Panos, 2008). Native American communities are fundamental extensions of the family where the concepts of interconnectedness and harmony are highly valued and promoted. Most aspects of daily living, decision-making, and spiritual practices are greatly influenced by input from all members of the community (Limb et al., 2008). BraveHeart (1995) explains that in the traditions of the Lakota an individual is highly respected if he/she acts in a way that benefits the extended family (tiospaye) and the Nation (Oyate), and any individual acts for self-gain are discouraged (as cited in Poupart, 2003, p. 94). As with many indigenous cultures, the American Indian worldview is relational in nature. Importance is placed on relationships and connections with family and community (Limb et al, 2008). The Lakota term,
mitakuye owasin, means “all my relations” (Kavanagh, Absalom, Beil, Schleissmann, 1999); this term emphasizes the inseparable connection between the individual, family, community, and the environment (Limb et al., 2008).

**Contemporary Realities**

According to demographic data, the Kanaka Maoli have the highest rates of child abuse, infant deaths, mortality due to heart disease, cirrhosis of the liver, diabetes, infectious/parasitic diseases, teen suicides, women and men in Hawaii State Correctional Facilities, and low status occupations (Department of Health Office of Health Status Monitoring, 2003). In terms of population size, Native Hawaiians are severely overrepresented in the criminal justice system (Brown, 2006). Dr. Marilyn Brown, a professor of Sociology at the University of Hawaii at Hilo, reported that Native Hawaiians account for 40% of the prison population in Hawaii, despite the fact that they represent a mere 22% of the state’s population. Dr. Brown also stated that Native Hawaiians actually constitute the “poorest health profile of any ethnic group” (personal communication, May 28, 2010). According to Elizabeth Leherer, a Licensed Clinical Social Worker (LCSW) in adult mental health, the most prevalent diagnosis seen in mental health clinics in Hawaii is substance abuse (personal communication, May 27, 2010). Homelessness is also a very serious issue facing the Kanaka Maoli today, as they make up approximately 40% of the homeless population in Hawaii (Housing and Community Development Corporation of

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7 Dr. Marilyn Brown presented this information during a lecture made to the LSU School of Social Work Cross-Cultural Communications in Social Work class at the University of Hawaii at Hilo on May 28, 2010.

8 Elizabeth Leherer is a Licensed Clinical Social Worker in Pahoa, Hawaii.
Hawaii, 2004). The truancy rate and the drop-out rate, although steadily declining, has been one of the highest in the nation for decades.

The American Indian population faces many of the same current health, social, and economic realities as the Kanaka Maoli. For the Native American population, the overall rates of tuberculosis, diabetes, fetal alcohol syndrome, alcohol-related deaths, and suicide are significantly greater than most other racial/ethnic minority groups (Kavanagh et al., 1999). In the child welfare system, American Indians are severely overrepresented (Weaver, 1999). A majority of the American Indians living on reservations are riddled with poverty, unemployment, and lack of social care services (Kavanagh et al., 1999). Substance abuse issues are prevalent among this population, especially with adolescents. Alcoholism and suicide are two of the largest problems within the American Indian population (Kavanagh et al., 1999). Native American Indians have one of the highest status dropout rates in the nation at 15%, second only to the Hispanic population (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2008).

Defining Cultural Competence and Resonance

In a study examining cultural competence definitions and practice in social care professions, Cowan (2009) found several common concepts in each definition or practice model investigated, including awareness of self and other cultures, knowledge and sensitivity of various cultural values and norms, desire to learn and understand different cultures, and cultural skills developed through interactions. In the field of social work, cultural competence refers to “the process by which individuals and systems respond respectfully and effectively to people of all

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9 A status dropout is defined as any and all dropouts, regardless of the date they last attended school, including individuals who never attended any school in the United States, formal or informal.
cultures” in a way that “recognizes, affirms, and values the worth” of these various cultures and “protects and preserves the dignity” of people from all cultures (NASW, 2001).

Currently, there is a limited amount of literature on the concept of cultural resonance in the context of social work. In order to explore this concept more in-depth, it will be helpful to break down the term and define culture and resonance individually. Culture has been defined in various ways but for the purpose of this paper, the NASW formal definition will be the most useful. NASW (2007) describes culture as being the totality of ways passed from generation to generation that affects the way in which people experience the world around them. Culture creates a way for people to connect with one another and identify with the world around them. The word resonance is used in numerous contexts including, but not limited to, music, science, medicine, advertising, and marketing. Resonance can be abstractly defined as the level or frequency by which something reverberates within the human psyche that generates a connection or association. The concept of cultural resonance, therefore, can be defined as the frequency or level at which patterns of behavior, values, norms, or spiritual beliefs reverberate to create a deep-rooted connection between individuals or within groups. Cultural Resonance in social work practice, like cultural competence, is an ongoing process of making connections with others through awareness, sensitivity, knowledge, and skills in the context of individual and group culture.

Cultural Resonance in Practice

Working with Native American Indians

The Native American population has faced a long and grueling history of racism, discrimination, and oppression. In social work practice, it is imperative to be knowledgeable of
the history, culture, and present-day realities of Native American clients (Weaver, 2004). Because of the historical nature of oppression faced by Native Americans, clients often have trust issues when seeking social work services. Social workers should be cognizant of this issue and build rapport using casual conversation at first rather than focusing on problem solving immediately (Limb et al., 2008). Knowledge and general understanding of unique health practices and religious traditions is essential to providing services to the Native American population (Weaver, 2004). Social workers should use a systems-based approach which can incorporate the use of Shamans (medicine men/women) in interventions (Limb et al., 2008). Communication styles can create a barrier to working with Native American clients. Native Americans tend to view direct and confrontational communication as intrusive (Limb et al., 2008). Social workers should be able to demonstrate containment skills, have patience, and the ability to tolerate silence when working with Native American clients (Weaver, 1999).

The social worker should take into account the past atrocities committed by those in the majority and realize that their relationship with clients may be one filled with fear, distrust and anger (Weaver 1999). Pinderhughes (1997) explains that social workers, interacting with clients who have been subjugated in the past and still experience various forms of oppression, need to be conscientious of the power dynamic. Furuto, San Nicolas, Kim, and Fiaui (2001) state that Westerners have dominated and nearly destroyed the fabric of indigenous history, culture and communication. Eurocentric ideology has always and still continues to impress itself upon social work practice. Therefore, practitioners must compensate for this reality by not situating themselves in positions that impose certain values on Native Americans and Native Hawaiians as an extension of inherent power (Weaver, 1999).
Upon meeting, it is important to allow Native Americans, as well as Native Hawaiians, to physically seat themselves in a manner that seems best to them (Pinderhuges, 1997). Kimberly Dark\textsuperscript{10} alluded to this not-so-subtle dynamic by referencing the legendary meeting of Tecumseh and Harrison and how Tecumseh chose to sit on the floor because he considered the Earth to be the “bosom of his mother” (personal communication, May 30, 2010). This is such a critical facet in the process of beginning cross-cultural communication because initial meetings are foundational; these initial interactions set the tone for how one will be perceived and judged by the individual and community (Furuto et al., 2001). Consequently, it is important to remain silent and let the clients structure the interaction and share through talk story. When addressing individuals from both indigenous communities, show respect by using appropriate titles. Finally, any artwork, logos or sports memorabilia that reflect Native Americans and Native Hawaiians in a negative light should be removed from the clinical setting (Pinderhuges, 1997).

\textbf{Working with the Kanaka Maoli}

In social work practice with the Kanaka Maoli, it is important to recognize and understand the destructive domination process and the historical oppression in order to provide effective services (Furuto et al., 2001). Humility and respect are critical to gaining trust in a client-worker relationship with a Kanaka Maoli client. Furuto et al. (2001) explain that emphasis on the Western clock time rather than task completion and keeping a professional distance when interacting are culturally undervalued by the Kanaka Maoli. The cultural values of the importance of ‘ohana (family) and making connections with others, the land, and the spiritual world are elements that need to be recognized when working with Native Hawaiians.

\textsuperscript{10} Kimberly Dark is a writer, performer and professor of sociology at Cal State San Marcos.
Community interventions and programs can only be successful if the worker understands the importance of involving the entire community in decision making and program development. Communication differences can hinder social workers from effective service delivery and need to be considered when working with Native Hawaiian clients. One such example, the use of aggressive debate, may be seen as intrusive or arrogant to a Kanaka Maoli client (Furuto et al., 2001). It is important to realize that this population uses indirect communication, such as metaphors and dream interpretation, to make significant comments and statements. Valuable skills in working with clients from this population include storytelling, self-disclosure through metaphors or allegory, talking less and listening more, and beginning and ending each contact with food (Furuto et al., 2001). Similar to working with American Indian clients, the use of containment skills and comfort with silence is essential to successful and effective service delivery with Kanaka Maoli clients. The physical element of seating and cultural rituals in a therapeutic setting is as important with Native Hawaiians as it is with Native Americans. At the Neighborhood Place of Puna, the staff reinforced this notion, informing the researchers of the customary removal of shoes and even sitting “Indian style” on the floor (personal communication, May 28, 2010).

Elizabeth Leherer, LCSW noted that potential practitioners need to realize that there is a cultural interface that occurs when communicating with indigenous persons (personal communication, May 2010). This interface must be understood through the proper historical lens, otherwise stereotypes might inhibit the work of the clinician (personal communication, May 28, 2010).

11 Neighborhood Place of Puna is a non-profit organization aimed at preventing child abuse and neglect in Pahoa, Hawaii.
Resonance: The Meeting of Two Worlds

With both Native Hawaiians and Native Americans, it is essential to develop cultural resonance and establish a connection though life experiences and beliefs. Resonance requires the use of both feelings and thought in a genuine meeting of two individuals (Wikan, 1992). The concepts of shared human experiences and appreciation are critical to achieving cultural resonance. One barrier that Westerners face in attaining cultural resonance is the inability to merge one’s feelings with thoughts (Wikan, 1992). This “feeling-thought,” as Wikan (1992) suggests, is the “willingness to engage with another world, life, or idea,” the capability to draw on one’s lived experiences in an attempt to comprehend meanings that are beyond the words and are found only in the meeting of two experiencing individuals. In Beyond the Words: The Power of Resonance, Wikan (1992) goes on to quote a Balinese professor-poet who describes resonance as being “what fosters empathy or compassion. Without resonance there can be no understanding, no appreciation.” As she recounted her experience in Bali, and her experience with resonance, she expressed that she was at a disadvantage because she was “stuck on the words and their precise conceptual entailments” which made it difficult for the stories of the Balinese to resonate with her. Wikan (1992) emphasizes the notion that we, as practitioners of any field that involves cross-cultural relationships, should go beyond the words and strive for resonance. Too often, social work practitioners struggle to truly attend to clients from indigenous populations. Comas-Díaz (2006) purports that intuition is a vital variable in cultural resonance and the therapeutic relationship. Intuition, in the context of the multicultural encounter is a dynamic nonverbal communication that utilizes “internal cues, hunches, and vibes” in order to problem solve (Butler, 1985, as cited in Comas-Díaz, 2006). Intuition is similar but somewhat
different from the concept of reflexive adaption, which is not limited to nonverbal communication.

**Extending the Learning Laboratory: Personal Accounts of Resonance**

The component of field placements, especially cross-cultural field placements, is an important part of Social Work education, and opens the door for the development of culturally resonant experiences and relationships that cannot be replicated in a classroom. The theoretical framework of cultural competence is essential to social work education and practice, and with that, cultural resonance takes the concepts of cultural competence learned in the classroom to a deeper, more meaningful level. As a part of our social work education, we participated in a cross-cultural communication course in Hawaii. Through this cross-cultural course, we experienced first-hand many of the ideas and concepts we explored in this paper. No longer were we solely reliant on the pedagogical outcomes of the classroom; now we also incorporated our own life experiences in order to relate to and gain a deeper understanding of another culture. We found that the concept of ‘aina resonated with us as well as others we encountered while in Hawaii.

**‘Aina: An Encounter with Resonance**

‘Aina is a foreign concept to the Western mind. It means land, earth or nature but connotes much more (McCubin & Marsella, 2009). ‘Aina is not merely a plot of land that can be traded, owned or sold for gain. As we learned through speaking with people from Hawaii and from the readings required in our cross-cultural communication course, ‘aina is the emanation from which all living things flow. ‘Aina extends past the essence of land and reaches into the psychological, spiritual and physical realms (McCubin & Marsella, 2009). Psychological ‘aina
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directly affects the thought processes of the individual and contributes to health and healing of
the mind (McCubin & Marsella, 2009). Spiritual ‘aina orients the individual to the spiritual
world and is a buoyant source of strength for the Native Hawaiian (McCubin & Marsella, 2009).
The spiritual ‘aina also helps guide the individual as he or she strives to become a Kanaka
Makua (McCubin & Marsella, 2009). Physical ‘aina represents the place of belonging and also
the sustenance that gives life (McCubin & Marsella, 2009).

In an interview with the third largest orchid farmer in Hawaii, Robert Clement Tanner,
originally from south Louisiana, it is evident that cultural resonance can be achieved on a
personal level. Mr. Tanner remarked that “southerners have a similar understanding and respect
for the land. It’s more or less something we are born and raised with” (personal communication,
May 30, 2010). Although Mr. Tanner is not native to Hawaii, he has found resonance, through
recognition, with the culture and shares a high level of respect for the land and ‘aina.

After listening to Dr. King at Lanakila,12 we realized that there is so much more to ‘aina
and the importance it holds for the Native Hawaiian. Dr. King recounted stories of failed
interventions directed at Native Hawaiian youth. The many failed interventions were largely
based on standardized models for effective treatment of at-risk youth on the mainland. After the
succession of failed stories ended, a new narrative emerged. Dr. King shared how awareness,
reflexive adaptation and reciprocity were currently being implemented, and in ways that might,
at first, sound foreign to many of us. Dr. King demonstrated how looking back (into the cultural
narrative) is sometimes the best way of seeing forward. Now, certain programs aim at taking
young persons out of their environment, placing them on boats and throwing them into the deep

12 Dr. King is a gerontologist and researcher at Lanakila Senior Center in Honolulu, Hawaii.
blue.\textsuperscript{13} As Dr. King spoke, she admitted to having “chicken skin”\textsuperscript{14} because this experience is representative of so much more than can be superficially understood (personal communication, May 2010). It is the struggle for a people to reconnect and reassert themselves. It is a reawakening to the reality that Kanaka Maoli belong in and to \textit{ka pae’aina}. As young Natives are tossed back into the deep blue, there is a transcendent moment of realization: “I am part of ‘aina and ‘aina is part of me.” The fathomless depths of the ocean echo back and reorient the youth with nature, self and others. This particular intervention is successful and creates reciprocity for Native youths who share an embedded cultural legacy. Lucinda Fleeson (2009) echoes this sentiment with a quote from Henry Beston, which reads:

\begin{quote}
Nature is part of our humanity, and without some awareness and experience of that divine mystery man ceases to be man. When the Pleiades and the wind in the grass are no longer a part of the human spirit, a part of the very flesh and bone, man becomes, as it were, a kind of cosmic outlaw, having neither the completeness and integrity of the animal nor the birthright of a true humanity. (p.14)
\end{quote}

As the \textit{Hokule’a} began to sail once again,\textsuperscript{15} it seems as if the dark clouds of greed, pride and lust that have loomed over the islands and contaminated the people were parted. Hawaii is not without its struggles and problems, as \textit{The Neighborhood Place of Puna} staff described such great need and so much lack. But, Hawaii does have an \textit{aloha} spirit and a fertile culture, inescapably similar to the essence of the land. As we walked beside the stark ebony

\textsuperscript{13} Hawaiian term for the Pacific Ocean.

\textsuperscript{14} Hawaiian term for “the chills.”

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Hokule’a} is the famed Polynesian voyaging canoe responsible for reawakening national pride.
remains of Pele’s flow, Mauve\textsuperscript{16} told us that the soil is so rich in Hawaii that she took a broken limb and stuck it in the ground to see what the earth might do for this lifeless branch (personal communication, May 2010). After the passing of a year, she returned to that spot and found a flourishing tree; ‘\textit{aina} had nourished the broken bough and bestowed newness. ‘\textit{Aina}’s reach goes beyond our understanding, but does serve as a near perfect metaphor for the mending and growing of a severed people. Fleeson (2009) writes, “Dr. Klein had introduced me to the notion of the garden as an intellectual journey, a physical record of the history of civilization.” Hawaii bares the marks of an enslaved indigenous people. Hawaii also continuously remakes itself into a new garden, a new Eden with each passing day. The people here are on an intellectual journey and an unknown odyssey.

\textbf{Conclusion}

As indigenous populations, the Kanaka Maoli and the American Indians have numerous similarities in terms of history, culture, and current issues plaguing individuals and the population as a whole. The frequency or level of resonance with cultural issues affects the human psyche and generates deep connections between individuals. Culturally resonant practice, which consists of awareness, reflexive adaptation, and reciprocity opens doors to successful cross-cultural communication and creates a pathway for change. This simple yet powerful element adds to the efforts already in place to restore a long lost language and connection to a forgotten world. As we are living in a post-modern era with increasing value placed upon individual narratives, it is our contention that cultural resonance, though not entirely understood at this

\footnote{Mauve is a Native American tribal leader and nature guide originally from Canada who now resides in Hawaii. We met Mauve during the second half of our cross-cultural communication course which was on the Big Island of Hawaii.}
time, will gain theoretic ascendency over the next decade; again, this in no way diminishes the importance of cultural competence as an accepted social work practice, but adds to it a layer of dimensionality.
References


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CULTURAL RESONANCE


**Abstract:**

Intercultural sensitivity as a teacher disposition and desirable criteria is particularly relevant to our training of preservice teachers for whom it is necessary to teach students equally well across diverse backgrounds. A preservice teacher cohort and five instructors participated in a study on five sections of a course on culturally relevant pedagogy at a southern predominantly White institution. The goal of the course was “to assist preservice teachers to develop proficiency using culturally relevant pedagogy for culturally and linguistically diverse students.” Unanticipated findings of this study revealed that of the five instructors/professors of this culturally relevant pedagogy course, two that self-identify as White and social justice ally experienced what we are calling an “epistemological quandary.” That is to say, upon review of their pre- and post-course quantitative measures of intercultural sensitivity and subsequent separate debriefing, these instructor/professor participants revealed the same dilemma: a conflict between development as a social justice ally and developing the disposition of intercultural sensitivity.

In this instance, a social justice ally is operationalized as one who trains preservice teachers to “transform schools into socially equitable centers of learning where students become architects of a better future” (Teaching for Change website). Intercultural sensitivity is operationally defined as a disposition characterized by the capacity to take the perspective of another person’s worldview, and to think and act according to that worldview while maintaining and respecting differences between that worldview and one’s own. Hammer and Bennett’s Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (2001), an empirically valid measure of intercultural sensitivity, theorizes intercultural sensitivity on a developmental scale. Meaning, one can gain or lose intercultural sensitivity several times throughout the life span depending on the cultural heterogeneity or homogeneity of one’s environment and the degree to which one engages that environment. This developmental scale is composed of several subscales and, for the purposes of this research, the Reversal scale is of interest.

In brief, Hammer and Bennett (2001) describe reversal as an "us" and "them" polarization, where the culture of the other has become preferred and "them" is viewed consciously or unconsciously as better, superior, or more advanced. The post-course IDI score
for each of the two instructor/professor participants of interest showed a marked decrease in the Reversal scale from “Resolved” to “In transition,” enough of a decrease to affect her overall post-course IDI, intercultural sensitivity score. Thus, this study seeks to explain the complexities of the participants’ “epistemological quandary” as it impacts development of intercultural sensitivity. In so doing, an in-depth exploration of their processes of social justice ally identity development and the complexities of their White identity development may be realized.

The proposed methodology for this study is longitudinal mixed methods case study using IDI scores as a source of quantitative data and phenomenological interviews with each participant as a source of qualitative data. In addition, because some salient aspects of our identity are performative in nature, classroom observations of instructor/professor participants’ teaching with the focus being the participant may be included as points of engagement between participant and researcher.

It is anticipated that as each of the instructor/professor participants “work through” her dual identities as “social justice ally” and “White,” her scores on the Reversal scale of the IDI will normalize. Meaning, as she begins to clarify for herself “us” and “them” in all of its historical complexities (e.g., White guilt), she will then further develop the disposition of intercultural sensitivity and measure “Resolved” in the Reversal scale. Lastly, it is anticipated that as an effect of resolving her “epistemological quandary” she will be a more effective teacher for social justice with preservice teachers.
**Title:**
Culturally relevant pedagogy as an approach to developing intercultural sensitivity in early childhood preservice teachers: A mixed methods study

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**Abstract:**
Intercultural sensitivity as a teacher disposition and desirable criteria is particularly relevant to our training of preservice teachers for whom it is necessary to teach students equally well across diverse backgrounds. Seventy-eight students (76 females and 2 males) in an early childhood preservice teacher cohort participated in this study on five sections of a course on culturally relevant pedagogy at a southern predominantly White institution. The goal of the course was “to assist preservice teachers to develop proficiency using culturally relevant pedagogy for culturally and linguistically diverse students.” Empirical data and qualitative findings from this study strongly suggest that a culturally relevant pedagogy course is viable as an intervention for developing intercultural sensitivity in early childhood preservice teachers.

This mixed methods study used scores on Hammer and Bennett’s Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (2001), an empirically valid measure of intercultural sensitivity, as the source of quantitative data. The Cultural Autobiography/Memoir (CAM) assignment served as the source of qualitative data in this study. The results of the one-way ANOVA validated anecdotal evidence that preservice teachers at this college of education, at this level of study, lack intercultural sensitivity. A paired samples t-test showed the statistical significance of the difference in pre- and posttest IDI mean scores for the student cohort as a whole. Further examination revealed statistically significant differences between pre- and posttest IDI means scores for two particular sections.

The qualitative data captured in writing students’ knowledge of historical and social subject matter and empathy (or lack thereof) towards cultural difference. The self-assessment nature of the CAM assignment also revealed the extent to which students constructed tentative explanations of past intercultural interactions, both positive and negative, as related to the course content. Lastly, the narratives also served as a space in which students predicted future behavior regarding intercultural interactions with students they will teach.

The results suggest that a culturally relevant pedagogy course, under particular circumstances, had an effect on the students’ intercultural sensitivity. Because the study demonstrates that early childhood preservice teachers may develop this disposition relevant to teaching students equally well across diverse backgrounds, there is support for maintaining such a course as a necessary component at all levels of preservice teacher education as implemented in the United States.
Living Conditions Index (LCI): A Context-based Measure to Understand Children’s Developmental Outcomes*

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Living Conditions Index (LCI): A Context-based Measure to Understand Children’s Developmental Outcomes

Summary

The scope of this study ranges from the identification of key drivers of living conditions from a wide spectrum of context-based and/or ecological indicators to the development of a concrete composite measure of living conditions within the framework of a multivariate analysis. The LCI is a standardized aggregate score that summarizes five components and 18 indicators in a single number. Three different approaches, Principal Component Analysis (PCA), Range Equalization (RE), and Division by Mean (DM) are used to assess the impact of different methods of weighting and standardization procedures on the composite. Between the RE and DM methods, the RE method is preferred because it accounts for wider variations and strong correlations to the PCA composite. In general, the PCA method appears promising, particularly for cross-community comparisons as it is based on a weighting scheme. Extreme variability between quintiles that comprise the LCI indicates that the score represents a summary of economic, housing, and cultural diversities. The paper advocates for a future plan of research in the light of identified gaps in data, and more emphasis on disparities in economic conditions. A major implication of the study is that the composite provides a new tool in child development research for characterizing community-based living conditions and detecting disparities in the distribution of child developmental outcomes.
Introduction

As an integrative tool for monitoring developmental milestones, researchers and policy makers resort to deficiencies in resources and opportunities in people’s lives. The Human Development Index (HDI), Sustainable Society Index (SSI), and Health System Achievement Index (HSAI) are typical examples of monitoring tools that assume very important roles in international public policy debates and analysis in the international scene. The rationale behind all of these composite indicator initiatives is that a community, region, or nation needs to know how it is performing in measures or factors of economic, social, environment, health/longevity, and human rights and freedoms. In this context, assembling empirical evidence on the impact of an index of living conditions on observable outcomes in health and well-being of children is of key importance.

The primary purpose of any child development research is to improve the quality of life of children, by providing them an opportunity to realize their life chances and rights. The improvement of living conditions of children and their families could be one of the most explicit ways of attaining or improving children’s wellbeing. The present study aims at developing a Living Conditions Index (LCI) in order to address inter-community disparities in young children’s developmental outcomes with LCI as one of the contributing factors.1 The broad objectives are as follows:

- Identifying indicators reflecting living standards across small areas beyond that conveyed by conventional socio-economic measures;
- Consolidating the indicators into components;
- Examining the interdependency between the multi-dimensional components; and
- Constructing a composite index for capturing objective measures of overall well-being.

At the outset, the present paper provides a comprehensive discussion about the choices involved in the construction of the LCI. In particular, we discuss different approaches to standardization and weighting of variables. We conclude the paper by discussing the applications of the index in understanding the early child development outcomes.

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1 The concept of a community is loosely defined for the present purpose, using a number of factors and/or geopolitical units, such as census dissemination areas (census-defined boundaries), archival neighborhood/community maps, and postal codes.
Children’s Developmental Outcomes and Societal Well-being: Possibilities of a Link

While many correlates of children’s development have been identified, the importance of community living conditions in shaping children’s development has been recognized, but has not been given due consideration in Canada. Evidence suggests that neighborhoods have an independent impact over and above individual demographic characteristics on children’s health and wellbeing, especially in their physical activity (e.g., Saelens, Sallis, & Frank, 2003). In Australia, Hume, Salmon, & Ball (2005) examined children’s perceptions of their environment in developing an objective measure of physical activity, using mapping and photographic techniques and accelerometers among 10-year old children. Churchman’s (2003) research suggests that the road system, zoning practices, and the extent of safety are all influential in children’s developmental experiences. High-walkability (with grid-street networks) and lollipop neighborhoods (with many cul-de-sacs) are factors that have been implicated in the physical wellbeing of children and adults. Frank, Schmid, Sallis, Chapman, & Saelens (2005), for example, reported that adults who live in high walkability neighborhoods (as measured by such indicators as residential density and intersection density) in Atlanta were 2.4 times more likely than those who live in low walkability neighborhoods to be involved in 30 minutes or more physical activity per day. In comparison to the research involving adults, however, very little is known about the role of neighborhood environments on children’s development.

One of the popular approaches in understanding the influence of environment on children has been the ecological models and, in particular, Bronfenbrenner’s bioecological theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). As a systems theory of child development, the basic premise of Bronfenbrenner’s theory is that developmental transitions are products of a child’s biological predisposition and the environment which the child is exposed to. Although some transitions are experienced by all children and youth, especially the ones that are due to hormonal changes, children, in general, experience most transitions in a unique way with unique outcomes; the contextual factors, whether they are subjectively or objectively measured, become forces that shape children’s experiences. It thus becomes essential to examine the contextual factors to enhance our understanding of what promotes or hinders children’s healthy development.

The objective of the proposed research is to identify a provincial set of indicators of community living conditions to form the basis for developing a composite measure. The inventory will be broadly reflective of the multiplicity of indicators and their
definitions, domains, and categories because of the very fundamental nature of the concept as one that operates in a variety of disciplines, economics, philosophy, ethics, and so on. That is, the concept of quality (living condition) is multidimensional, leading us to the question – what constitute living conditions?

The Scope of Macro-Level Indicators of Well-being: A Literature Review

Macro-indicators provide a wealth of knowledge for analyzing social and economic trends. They include concepts such as quality of life, well-being, economic competitiveness, and social cohesion measurements. They all play an important role in socioeconomic policy. However, the methodologies and indicators of many of these concepts differ greatly depending on their scope and focus. An overview of the various applications of macro-level frameworks, along with an examination of their respective methodologies, is the purpose of this section. Generally speaking, macro-indicators can be applied in a multitude of settings and can be modified to meet the needs of researchers in a flexible manner.

A variety of tools have been developed to measure quality of life. The Good Society Framework (GSF) developed by Jordan (2010) provided a comprehensive means of determining quality of life using a range of indexes. The model of well-being in the GSF uses various indexes to compile nine dimensions: relationships; economy; environment and infrastructure; health; peace and security; culture and leisure; spirituality, religion and philosophy; education; and governance. These dimensions are not weighted, and, as such, the GSF can be used as a starting point for analyzing each dimension in terms of societal well-being. The 26-item WHOQOL-BREF instrument has fewer domains than the GSF, and includes physical health, psychological health, social relationships and environment (World Health Organization, 2004). Both can be used for cross-cultural comparisons of quality of life.

Other tools have focused on quality of life measurement in specific regions. Cvrlje and Ćorić (2010) defined both quality of life and standard of living using subjective and objective, like the Human Development Index (HDI), with an emphasis on Croatia after the recent economic crisis. The authors argued that a standard of living measurement is dependent on a macro perspective, while quality of life measurement necessitates a micro perspective (Cvrlje & Ćorić, 2010). In addition, the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) of the Dutch government used the Living Conditions Index (LCI) to measure facets of individual living conditions. Boelhouwer’s (2002) paper discussed the
LCI and its relevance to policy makers. The LCI was composed of indicators from eight clusters: housing, health, purchasing power, leisure activities, mobility, social participation, sport activity, and holiday. To describe the backgrounds of living conditions, education, income and paid employment are used. Living conditions are measured on an individual level, allowing analysis on a national level as well as analysis of different societal groups. By linking a variety of indexes, the author noted that greater insight into both structural and individual-level concentrations can be gained (Boelhouwer, 2002). Furthermore, Kolenikov (1998) proposed a regression model which quantifies quality of life in terms of a training sample in a national context in Russia. This methodology demonstrated adequate statistical significance and, therefore, was found to be effective as a practical measurement of quality of life. Lisov and Shaposhnikov (1989) measured the well-being of families through material indicators in order to create a typology of family groups in rural settings. The methods used and findings reached can guide the formulation of social policy aimed at improving the socioeconomic position of impoverished families according to their social status and demographic composition.

Quality of life measurements, however, are not without limits. Michalos (2011) identified the shortcomings of the French Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress, including the inability of the Commission to use the GDP to factor in non-commoditized goods and services as well as its failure to quantify the level of services such as healthcare and their impact on society. Also noted was the Commission’s lack of consideration of the negative results of certain economic activities, such as pollution. The author argued that, contrary to the Commission’s position, linking sustainability with quality of life measures is necessary due to the desire for a quality of life that is sustainable (Michalos, 2011). Suggestions were made for improving a composite index to represent the multiple dimensions of such a quality of life.

Two studies examined poverty in particular. One study by Reinstadler & Ray (2010) confirmed previous findings that the analysis of the at-risk-of-poverty determinants can be enhanced by examining factors at a macro level. This study employed longitudinal data to obtain more accurate estimated parameters than previous studies, and assessed if the regional GDP and regional unemployment rate had an effect on the at-risk-of-poverty status in Europe. The other study focusing on poverty examined the
Multidimensional Poverty Assessment Tool (MPAT), an instrument that, according to Cohen (2009), can be utilized as a structure to guide rural poverty reduction in the developing world. Subcomponent weightings and item valuation can be customized to best reflect major foci in a specific region, thus creating a context-specific MPAT, though the standardized form of the tool should be used when comparing projects. Each of these studies can be used to aid in policy discussion, while Cohen’s (2009) can provide guidance for secondary data analysis utilizing survey data.

Health is also measured using macro-level frameworks. Fallowfield (2009) defined quality of life in relation to the health of an individual and discussed the importance of using patient-reported outcome assessments when appraising the benefits and dangers of treatments tested in clinical trials. Generic instruments, such as the Short Form 36 (SF-36) and Functional Assessment of Chronic Illness Therapy (FACIT), were discussed, and their use in non-clinical trial settings was proposed. A brief guide to selecting an instrument was also featured. The Philips Center for Health and Well-being (2010a) also provided an illuminating quantitative study regarding how people in different countries perceive health and well-being. This study can be useful when making cross-cultural comparisons.

Environmental indexes were also used to measure environmental conditions and sustainability. Patterson & Jollands (2004) had analyzed headline indicators for tracking progress towards sustainable development goals in New Zealand. Their research indicated that headline indicators, sustainability and selection criteria must be defined to successfully select suitable headline indicators (Patterson & Jollands, 2004). Two potentially useful headline indicators, the Ecological Footprint and the Genuine Progress Indicator, were identified, though others, such as the Environmental Sustainability Index (ESI), were also reviewed. The study recommended continued exploration into creating a composite index for sustainable growth in New Zealand that measures the economic, social and environmental aspects of development.

Leschke, Watt & Finn (2008) aimed to comprehensively evaluate the nature of job quality in Europe with the European Job Quality Index (EJQI). The EJQI used 17 indicators with six sub-indices: wages; non-standard forms of payment; working time and work-life balance; working conditions and job security; skills and career development; and collective interest representation. The authors noted that an annual
quantitative index of European job quality would allow for the tracking of shifts and a comparison between countries over time (Leschke et al., 2008).

A wide range of literature is available regarding economic competitiveness indexes, especially through the International Institute for Management Development (IMD). The IMD competitiveness report analyzed and ranked regional and national economic competitiveness based on economic performance, government efficiency, business efficiency and infrastructure (IMD World Competitiveness Center, 2010). Rosselet-McCauley (2011) offered an overview of the World Competitiveness Yearbook along with its possible applications. The methodology was discussed in detail, along with the calculations used to determine the standard deviation, rankings, trends, growth rates, and deflated values. In addition, Garelli (2011) reviewed the development of the concept of competitiveness over time and stressed the interdependent relationship between enterprises and nations necessary for competitiveness to exist.

Still, other economic competitiveness indicators have been formed independent of the IMD. The Australian government has assembled indexes that measure the economic competitiveness of cities in an international context (Major Cities Unit, 2010). The featured indexes vary from wide-ranging ones that measure general competitiveness to indexes that focus on key areas such as global connectivity and quality of life. This comprehensive assemblage of measurement tools provides an ample overview of economic and social measurement.

Indicators of social cohesion have recently been analyzed by Dickes, Valentova & Borsenberger (2009), who built on previous research regarding social cohesion indicators. The indicators were based on micro-data collected from one country, Luxembourg, from the 1999 European Values Study. The European Values Study consisted of both subjective and objective items that measure attitudes of and behavior concerning social relations, participation, and trust on many social levels as well as social domains. Multidimensional scaling and confirmatory factor analysis were used to achieve an empirical analysis and construction of social cohesion indicators.

Macro-level indexes are also used to analyze child development, child welfare and diversity in education. In terms of child development, a study by Fernald, Kariger, Engle & Raikes (2009) focused on low-income countries. Issues affecting early child development and its methods of measurement were reviewed, and an analysis of
different tests used with children less than five years of age, such as the Early Development Inventory (EDI) was included. The domains suggested for measurement consisted of cognitive skills, executive function, language skills, motor skills and socio-emotional development. Additionally, recommendations were included to aid in the planning of effective assessment with attention given to specific stages of early childhood. Another article relating to child development by Guhn & Goelman (2011) created a theoretical framework for guiding validation research within a population-level approach to child development research and for the EDI. Bronfenbrenner’s bioecological theory served as the basis for this framework, although validity theory as well as social and health sciences were also major components. Guhn & Goelman’s (2011) focus was on construct validity and test validation. The paper attempted to merge conceptual, theoretical, methodological and psychometric considerations while offering specific design, methodology and validation recommendations for a population-level approach to studying children’s development and well-being.

One particular study provided a framework to track outcomes for children who were receiving child welfare services. The National Child Welfare Outcomes Indicator Matrix (NOM), developed by Trocmé, MacLaurin, Fallon, Shlonsky, Mulcahy & Esposito (2009), was composed of ten key indicators and four nested domains: child safety, child well-being, permanence, and family and community support. The Matrix employed standardized observational and self-report instruments that can track trends and assess the effectiveness of programs and policies.

The level of diversity in education was also measured using macro-indicators in terms of classroom activities, materials and displays in preschool classrooms. A study by Perlman, Kankesan & Zhang (2008) examined the impact of structural quality characteristics, such as staff training and education, on the diversity-positive classroom. Higher scores on a diversity instruction and materials index were predicted by the use of a variety of teaching formats, higher salaries, greater supervision, and having greater proportions of children who received a child care subsidy, as indicated by hierarchical linear model analyses (Perlman et al., 2008).

One study offered a framework to measure a field of study quite dissimilar than the ones previously discussed. However, considering its discussion of macro-level variables, it can be especially useful to researchers. De Bosscher, De Knop, van Bottenburg, & Shibli (2006) discussed the factors that can lead to international sporting
success for nations in an international context. Their findings indicated that more than half of these factors were macro-level variables beyond the influence of government, while the meso-level was comprised of determinants that can be influenced by government sports policy (De Bosscher et al., 2006). A conceptual framework was presented that can be used for comparing professional sports policies on an international level.

Another important consideration for researchers is the theoretical assessment tools that have been utilized to measure macro-level data. According to Sirgy (2010), these concepts, when used in quality of life indicator projects, consisted of socio-economic development, personal utility, just society, human development, sustainability and functioning. One theoretical framework of note is the Sense of Community Index (SCI) (Chavis, Lee & Acosta, 2008). The SCI, a widely-used quantitative measure of sense of community, has been found to be a strong predictor of behaviors. The formulation of the Sense of Community version 2 (SCI-2) addressed all of the attributes of a sense of community using a 24 item scale (some of which were not addressed in the original index). Ultimately, this instrument served as an improved version of its predecessor, and can be an effective means to analyze social cohesion (Chavis et al., 2008). Another assessment tool of note is the Pareto Analysis. Haughey’s (2010) guide to the analysis provided a review of the seven steps of the analysis and of the statistical technique, which needed a small amount of tasks to produce a considerable effect overall. These components allowed for the identification of a limited number of important causes.

Methodologically, despite the importance of investigating the unidimensionality of item response data for construct validity, Slocum-Gori & Zumbo (2010) noted that there is no universal method to determine the number of factors to retain when assessing the dimensionality of the data. This study examined how various factor analysis procedures performed, both individually and in combination, during the assessment of the unidimensionality of item response data using computer simulated design. Varied conditions, including sample size, magnitude of communality, distribution of item responses, proportion of communality on second factor, and the number of items with non-zero loading on the second factor were used. The findings revealed that no single decision-making method identified unidimensionality under all conditions (Slocum-Gori & Zumbo, 2010). The paper also provided researchers with a set of guidelines and a new statistical methodology.
It is important to review the analyses of various assessment tools when considering macro-indicator frameworks. Various studies provided critical evaluations of such frameworks and offered suggestions for improvement. These considerations can be beneficial for researchers when deciding upon and constructing indicators. In one such analysis, the Philips Center for Health and Well-being (2010b) summarized the findings of the first think tank meeting on Livable Cities, and clustered the main discussions around three themes: resilience, inclusion and authenticity. Resilience was examined in terms of environmental, socio-cultural, and economic dimensions. The theme of inclusion was comprised of diversity, social integration and public safety, and equal access to urban qualities. Authenticity was assessed in terms of contextualized innovation as well as a sense of place and sense of belonging. The meeting discussed the need to measure the livability of a city as well as the need for the identification of new appropriate indicators. It was also noted that none of the emerging indexes are currently successful at a global level due to lack of acceptability, endorsements, or contextual applicability (Philips Center for Health and Well-being, 2010b). The paper stressed the scanning and filtering of emerging indicators for their relevance to themes of resilience, inclusion and authenticity.

Another analysis by the Center for Communication and Civic Engagement (2007) provided a brief review of the HDI by deconstructing its three equally weighted components: health, education and wealth. The correlation between HDI and GDP rankings was called into question, citing the disparity of both rankings for the United States. Validity, reliability and parsimony were also concisely reviewed.

Finally, Sharpe (2004) analyzed the conceptual and practical frameworks for the construction of macro-indicators that provided an evaluation of economic, social and labor market conditions of well-being. Frameworks for macro-indicators were discussed, along with the issues commonly associated with them. Six frameworks, including European Union social indicators, the HDI, the Index of Economic Well-being (IEWB) and economic gender equality indicators were also described with their strengths and weaknesses noted. Additionally, 31 sets of indicators and composite indexes were examined in terms of social, socioeconomic and labor market areas. The author stressed that the effectiveness of frameworks for macro-indicators were dependent on the domains of interest, the purpose, the population and other factors (Sharpe, 2004).
It is important to note, however, that macro-level measurements are not without limitations. For instance, the original SCI used a 12-item scale, the reliability of which, as Chavis et al. (2008) pointed out, is sufficient, but notably low. Variability was limited by the true-false response set of the SCI, and its use as a cross-cultural measure has been questioned (Chavis et al., 2008). In addition, Boelhouwer (2002) noted that while the LCI can identify trends in living conditions and can recognize disadvantaged groups, it is largely a superficial breakdown of living conditions and cannot identify the reasons that certain groups are deprived. In addition, not all indicators of the LCI can be uniformly addressed by government policy (Boelhouwer, 2002). Furthermore, De Bosscher et al. (2006) pointed out that the use of certain variables is sometimes intended for specific regions and political organizations, such as Western capitalist democracies, and may need adjustment for meaningful use in developing countries. Almost all authors included suggestions for modifications and variables that are important to be considered in future studies.

Macro-indicators can be applied in various settings and can be customized to meet the needs of researchers. Ample data can be provided by macro-indicators for examining socioeconomic patterns to which social and economic policy can respond. Various areas of study, including quality of life, environmental well-being, job quality, economic competitiveness, social cohesion, and child-related data can be measured. Depending on their scope and focus, the methodologies and indicators used in many of these instruments differ greatly. An overview is provided in this literature review of the various applications of macro-level frameworks along with the different methodologies involved. Though the research discussed develops both the understanding and the practice of these measurements, further exploration into macro-level indicators will enhance the manner with which they are used.

**Identification of Indicators for the Construction of the LCI**

In view of the difficulties in reaching a general consensus on indicators for well-being or a composite such as LCI, we are constrained to use straight-forward indicators reflecting their relevance to the concept that is being measured. For example, if standard of living is to be considered, the disparities in incomes become a relevant indicator. Second, the choice of indicators is guided by the correlations between indicators. The inter-correlations can point to the redundancy of indicators to a greater extent, although an acceptable level of strength or lack of it is difficult to establish. Finally, the choice
was made on the availability of official data sources to extract the indicators of interest. The indicators we thought important to be included are classified into seven categories: (1) demography/family structure; (2) economy/economic diversity; (3) gender equality; (4) housing; (5) education; (6) ethnicity/cultural diversity; and (7) density/infrastructure (Appendix Table 1).

**Rationale for the Selection of Indicators**

The extent to which the selected indicators can map the living conditions of areas in either a non- or a linear form, needs to be examined.\(^2\) Areas of different population distributions have different abilities to pool resources and those with low proportions of children and/or elderly do not need the same income or other resources to assure the same level of well-being for their members. For instance, an area consisting of less than five percent of its population below 5 years of age does not need as many kindergarten schools or day care centers as an area with 10 percent of its children under the same age. In general, demographic factors, either directly or indirectly, contribute to the living conditions of areas.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita has long been used as the main indicator for measuring and comparing standard of living across regions and countries. The underlying assumption is that marketplaces are the avenues to exercise individuals’ needs and wants and the consumption of goods and services is directly related to one’s capacity to purchase them. In recent decades, especially since the 1980s, social and health indicators have gained more importance as indicators of well-being than conventional economic measures, although economic, and in particular, income measures continue to be used as proxies for well-being. Economic factors, in general, reflect the extent of participation in the economy and society and how well members are able to get through their life, by attaining education, employment, etc. At a macro-level, higher levels of income may also contribute to lower inequality and gender differences in education, employment, and income. OECD countries with lower GDP per capita are reported to have higher relative poverty and child poverty, although not necessarily lower earning differentials between men and women (Giovannini & Hall, 2007).

\(^2\) The value of certain variables, but not all, can have equal importance at various levels of the variable; the relative impact of variables, such as deprivation, can increase as the level of deprivation becomes sharper (Anand & Sen, 1997). Based on this argument, some measures of living conditions can have a diminishing return, while others can have increasing returns (Salzman, 2003).
Economic factors exclude a range of non-market activities that influence the well-being of people, mainly because they are not always observable, and even when they are observable, they cannot be attached with monetary value. These include unpaid housework and self-employment without any help. Such activities limit the amount of time that can be devoted to leisure, and consequently limit well-being. Differences in paid work and self-employment with no help can lead to differences in the amount of leisure time that people can enjoy.3

Housing not only reflects economic situations, but other social factors that can affect population health. The indicators of housing used are household size, age of dwellings, type of housing, and payments on housing. These indicators can be closely related to an area’s income levels, meaning that, on average, higher income areas are more likely to have single-family dwellings, larger houses, and good housing. However, increases in incomes cannot always translate into new housing, because multiple-dwellings, apartments, and condominiums can be the result of population influx. Conventional measures of economic conditions do not always take account of assets, such as ownership of homes, although these clearly influence not only what an individual can consume in good and bad times, but also a feeling of security. Overall, housing provides information about a number of aspects of living conditions, beyond that which is conveyed by social and economic factors.

A feeling of belongingness to a community and society, if enjoyed by all members of a society, regardless of their racial and/or ethnic background, contribute to better participation in the society, and to overall well-being. However, racial and ethnic tensions, either due to differences in socio-economic situations or due to a lack of understanding of the culture and language, can adversely affect the standard of living of members of a society. The purchasing power of individuals goes hand-in-hand with their ability to fully integrate or participate in market economies.

The three indicators, distance to nearest city, percent who walk or (motor)bike to work, and intersection/ cul-de-sac density, may reflect different underlying concepts, and may influence leisure and travel time, travel expenditures, social interactions or even cause some of the dysfunctions (e.g., safety concerns) arising from urbanization, city life, and

3 While it is possible that such differences can vary according to cultural and/or personal preferences, they can serve as proxies for leisure and well-being. For an assessment of the impact of leisure time and income inequality on well-being, see Beckerman (1978).
environmental degradation (e.g., pollution). For example, for those who walk or bike to work, the quantity of leisure time can be increased, and they may have more time for personal and/or family care. Those who live in and around major cities may have better resources available to secure well-being (e.g., walk-in clinics and health clubs) that may translate into good living conditions, although there can be exceptions.

The indicator intersection density refers to the number of intersections in an area and it corresponds closely to block size; the greater the intersection density, the smaller the blocks. Neighborhoods with small block size typically have better walkability (Schlossberg, 2002). Higher intersection density also contributes to better connectivity as neighborhoods with higher intersection density tend to be grid-style neighborhoods and can have shorter block lengths. The grid-style street patterns could give more route choice for pedestrians and, therefore shorter walking distances, compared to curvilinear street patterns. However, there can be exceptions. For example, some intersections can lead to dead ends, bottlenecks, or inaccessible gated areas (e.g., industrial areas), making it not so easy to walk. It is not necessarily an accurate measure of walkability, but, because it is easy to compute and has a broad geographic coverage, researchers often use it as a ballpark estimate for understanding the effects of built environment on walking, driving, and transit use.

It may be pointed out that the selection of indicators is almost always guided by availability of data, especially in a secondary analysis of this kind. It is difficult to provide hard empirical evidence to justify the selection of indicators or determine the nature of their relationships to the concept being measured. In light of these, anecdotal evidence would prove to be useful in developing a framework in the construction of a composite index. The economic indicators have always been drivers of well-being in cross-country analyses. However, they may lose their significance as societies move beyond their capacity to meet the basic necessities of food, shelter, and clothing (Giovannini & Hall, 2007).

Of the 50 indicators considered, Theil’s T statistic is a mathematically elegant, but underutilized tool measuring inequality, compared to range, inter-quartile range, the Gini coefficient, and many others. Brief descriptions of Theil’s T statistic and ethnic diversity index are in order (see also, footnotes for Appendix Table 1).
Theil’s T statistic

Theil’s T statistic is a measure used to quantify inequality between groups in a population. In economics, the Theil’s T Statistic is often used to provide a measure of income inequality between state and national earning averages. Numerically, Theil’s T can be interpreted as negative or positive in magnitude, where positive values suggest the sample mean is greater than the population mean weighted by the appropriate sample size, and negative values suggest the sample mean is smaller than the population. This statistic can be used to compare different sub-groups (e.g., sex), as the inequalities of each respective category are rescaled onto a common metric. The statistic is calculated by the product of three ratios: the proportion of sample size within the population, the proportion of sample mean with population mean and the natural logarithm of the aforementioned proportion (Hale, 2004). T can be written as follows:

\[ T = \left( \frac{p_i}{p} \right) \times \left( \frac{y_i}{\mu} \right) \times \ln\left( \frac{y_i}{\mu} \right) \]

Where \( p_i \) is the population of group \( I \), \( p \) is the total population, \( y_i \) is the average income in group \( i \), and \( \mu \) is the average income across the entire population.

The Index of Ethnic Diversity

The index of ethnic diversity is used to quantify the diversity of ethnic origins within the population (Balakrishnan & Jarvis, 1976). The index can be computed as:

\[ 1 - \sum p_i^2 \]

Where \( p \) is the proportion of each ethnic background compared to the population, and all ethnic background proportions are squared then summed.

The index has a minimum of 0 and a maximum of 1, where high values suggest higher diversity within the given area. In addition, the index also takes account of the number of ethnic backgrounds, where more equally diverse backgrounds would result in a higher index value compared to disproportionate sets of ethnic backgrounds. The index is commonly used to describe and compare diversity of categories in different areas, and provide a summary index that can be easily compared in contrast to direct proportions.
Data and Methods

The selection of indicators does not fully depend on their theoretical importance. We aimed at maximizing our spatial units while maintaining adequate proxies that could adequately reflect various dimensions for the composite. The spatial unit used in the study is the Dissemination Area (DA). This is one type of standard spatial unit outlined in the 2006 Canadian Census geographic classification and is considered to portray stable boundaries. The Census data covered 5,222 DAs in Alberta. One of the main reasons why the DA is used as the spatial unit of analysis is that it is the smallest standard geographic area for which all Census data are disseminated. They are relatively stable geographic unit composed of one or more adjacent dissemination blocks. DA’s cover contiguous areas of the whole province with no substantial issues when identifying community boundaries based on postal codes.

All the indicators, with the exception of distance to nearest city and intersection, cul-de-sac and population density, were derived from the DA-level profile of 2006 Census data published by Statistics Canada. The intersection density variable was calculated using Geographic Information System (GIS) techniques by aggregating intersections within each neighborhood and dividing by the total area of each neighborhood. Also included was cul-de-sac density, based on the concentration of cul-de-sac areas. Conceptually, the two variables can be highly correlated, and the inclusion of both would be redundant, but warrant correlation analysis and further evaluation.

Component Indices and the Aggregate Index

The calculation of the composite index in this paper adopted the approach by Nardo, Saisana, Saltelli, Tarantola, Hoffman, & Giovanni (2005a), and follows these steps in the order in which they are outlined: consistency analysis; normalization and standardization; weighting; and aggregation. Three different techniques were used to calculate the index: Principal Components Analysis (PCA), Range Equalization (RE), and Division by Mean (DM).

Consistency analysis

The Cronbach’s Alpha and other measures, such as Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA) and Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity, are important prior to conducting factor analyses (Principal Component Analyses) to determine
whether the results of the factor analyses are plausible. The Cronbach’s Alpha was used to examine the extent to which the indicators are dependent of one another; a high value is an indication that the indicators pertaining to a concept capture the desired concept well. The Cronbach’s Alpha for the data was set at Nunally’s (1978) cut-off value of 0.7.

Both the KMO measure of sampling adequacy, based on the partial correlations among the indicators, and the Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity, a warning sign of the identity of the correlation matrix, relate to factor analyses. According to Kaiser and Rice (1974), the MSA value should be greater than or equal to 0.5 to proceed with the factor analysis (see, Groh & Wich, 2009). The Bartlett’s Test value should be below the 0.05 significance level.

**Normalization and Standardization**

Most indicator values do not fall in a normally distributed curve; some will be positively skewed where most of the areas record low values on an indicator (e.g., percent with science and/or engineering degrees) and some will have a negatively skewed distribution, where most values are at the high end (e.g., employment rate). Given that the relationship between indicators is assumed to be linear in factor analyses, non-normal indicators are transformed using various formulas based on the shape of the distribution. As part of the initial data cleaning process, and because factor analysis can be sensitive to outliers, these were either removed or substituted with lesser extreme values.

Standardization of variables is motivated by the fact that whereas some indicators (e.g., employment rate) correspond to increases in living conditions, others (e.g., divorce rate) correspond to decreases in living conditions. The Z-score transformation of indicators gives all indicators a normally distributed scale with mean equal to 0 and standard deviation equal to 1, and is a commonly used method before the aggregation of indicators. Another commonly used approach is rescaling, whereby the indicators are normalized to a common range. In computing HDI, UNDP has adopted the method of Range Equalization (RE) and also the Division by Mean (DM) method (UNDP, 2004).
this paper, both these approaches were used before the aggregation of the constituent parts of the LCI. The two methods are further discussed below.4

**Principal Components Analysis (PCA):** In the absence of individual level variables, constructing area-based indices built from weights derived from PCA has the potential to explain inequality between areas using comprehensive, readily available data. Further, PCA is computationally easy and also avoids many of the problems associated with the traditional methods, such as aggregation, standardization, and nonlinear relationships of variables affecting socioeconomic inequalities (refer Vyas & Kumaranayake, 2006, for an assessment of advantages and disadvantages of PCA and Saltelli, Nardo, Saisana, & Tarantola, 2004, for the pros and cons of composite indicator, in general).

**Range Equalization (RE) method:** The component index for a category, such as the economic factor, is obtained by first making all the economy-linked indicators scale-free. This is done by subtracting an indicator’s minimum value from each observation and then dividing it by its range.5

\[
\frac{\text{Score} - \text{Minimum}}{\text{Maximum} - \text{Minimum}}
\]

Without scaling, a composite index can be biased toward an indicator with the highest range. For example, if *youth literacy rate* has its range double the size of *percent with post secondary education*, and if they are used as un-scaled variables in the composite, then youth literacy rate will cause the aggregate to have undue weight.

**Division by Mean (DM) method:** The scale-free value of each indicator in a component index is obtained by dividing the indicator by its own mean. The method permits the coefficients of variation of different indicators within the component to remain different even after they are made scale-free.6

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4 A peculiarity of our data is that some indicators have very little variation across areas. Considering this, the rescaling approach seems more suited for our purpose so that the interpretations can be more meaningful and easier.

5 Instead of a division by an indicator range, fixed range, computed on the basis of pre-determined ‘goalposts’ with set upper- and lower limits has also been in use in the computation of composites (e.g., HDI). Fixing the goalposts for indicators can be tricky because not all indicators can be assumed to reach the upper value in the same fashion across time and space.

6 The Coefficient of Variation (CV) is obtained by dividing the standard deviation of a variable by its mean. Graphically, it describes the peakedness of a unimodal distribution; the peak will be high and the
Weighting

For this paper, we used both equal weighting and weighting (determined by factor analyses) approaches before aggregation. Of the two approaches, equal weighting appears to be more common and also straightforward. In the weighting approach based on Principal Component Analysis (PCA), each component is given a weight according to its contribution to the total variance in the data (see, Nardo, Saisana, Saltelli, & Tarantola, 2005b). The calculation of the weights for each of the components is done by squaring the component loadings (the proportion of the variance of the indicator explained by the factors) and dividing it by the variance explained by the model.

Aggregation

Linear aggregation was used in this paper. Whereas linear aggregation is preferred when all the indicators have a uniform measurement scale, geometric aggregation is preferred when non-comparable and strictly positive indicators are measured in different scales (Ebert & Welsch, 2004). However, geometric aggregation, according to Nardo et al. (2005a), rewards areas and indicators with higher scores.

In light of the limited scope of this paper and also of the difficulties involved in putting together hard empirical evidence on the relative importance of one method over another, we have done a comparison of the techniques of standardization and weighting in arriving at a composite index. Composites, based on different approaches and methods, were then analyzed for their relationships to one another.

Results

PCA Method

The results of PCA using varimax rotation are presented in Table 1. Of 50 indicators, only 18 had loadings above 0.3 in absolute value and had no-cross loadings. None of the density variables loaded to any of the factors. Five components accounted for 64.20% of the variance in the data. This must be considered as an indication of the importance of chosen indicators in measuring the underlying concept and also the validation of PCA to extract components. For the first component, female after-tax income disparity, male

CV will be small when the data points are bunched around the mean, and *vice versa*. A more equitable distribution has a smaller CV.
after-tax income disparity, female employment income disparity, and male employment income disparity showed strong loadings, all above 0.8. What if the provincial picture did not reflect the exact employment income or after-tax income of males and females in every area? The difference in average after-tax and employment incomes for both males and females causes the inequality to widen. The first component accounted for 22.25% of the total variation. This component is a reasonable representation of economic diversity.

For the second component, one-family households, average household size, divorce rate, families with five or more members, and percent walk/bike/motor bike to work showed strong positive loadings. Although intersection density and cul-de-sac density turned out to be unimportant, the component highlights the importance of some of the positive features of grids and/or residential neighborhood designs that encourage active modes of transportation (walking, riding a bike, or riding a motor bike). The component accounted for 15.26% of the variance. We may interpret this component as representing housing/family structure. The third component accounted for 10.77% of the variance and explained the variations in illiteracy rate, post-secondary education, and Aboriginal population. The component represents the education dimension. The fourth component accounted for 8.04% of the variance and explained the variations in minority group membership. The fifth component is representative of the dependent population, children and seniors. The component accounted for 7.89% of the total variance.

**Analysis of index consistency**

In Table 2 are presented the Cronbach’s Alphas for the five components and the two measures related to PCA. For the dependent population, the Cronbach’s Alpha was below the cut-off value of 0.7, suggesting indicators with low indicator-total correlations. However, the mean-inter-indicator correlation was found to be 0.28, with values ranging from 0.148 to 0.414. This suggests somewhat moderate relationships among the three indicators making up the component.

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7 Cronbach’s Alphas are dependent on the number of indicators in a dimension. When the indicators are fewer than 10, which is, of course, the case with all our components, it is recommended to calculate the mean inter-indicator correlation for the indicators. Optimal mean inter-indicator correlation values range from 0.2 to 0.4 (Briggs & Check, 1986).
Table 1: Results of Principal Components Analysis (PCA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Loadings</th>
<th>Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Component 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female after-tax Theil’s T⁺</td>
<td>0.882</td>
<td>4.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female employment Theil’s T⁺</td>
<td>0.876</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male after tax Theil’s T⁺</td>
<td>0.880</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male employment Theil’s T⁺</td>
<td>0.871</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Component 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household size⁺</td>
<td>0.859</td>
<td>2.746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent one family households⁺</td>
<td>0.880</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent divorced/separated out of married ++</td>
<td>0.804</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent family five plus persons +++</td>
<td>0.626</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent walk/bike/motorbike to work ++</td>
<td>0.523</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Component 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent 15-64 illiteracy⁺</td>
<td>0.818</td>
<td>1.939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent 25-64 post-secondary education +++</td>
<td>0.714</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent aboriginal population -</td>
<td>0.651</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Component 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent visible minority ++</td>
<td>0.840</td>
<td>1.447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent third generation⁺</td>
<td>0.769</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent immigrated before age 14 -</td>
<td>0.677</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Component 5</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children under 5 out of 15 plus without income -</td>
<td>0.771</td>
<td>1.420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent children under 14 home of all children ⌐</td>
<td>0.656</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent seniors cared by 15 plus ++</td>
<td>0.577</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ No transformation; ++ Reversed and log transformed (Log 10): +++ Transformed (sqrt); ++++ Reversed; - Transformed (Log 10); ⌐Reversed, reflected, and transformed (sqrt)

Table 2: Consistency analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Cronbach’s Alpha</th>
<th>MSA Value</th>
<th>Barlett’s Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic diversity</td>
<td>0.913</td>
<td>0.682</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>0.836</td>
<td>0.768</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0.771</td>
<td>0.556</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority population</td>
<td>0.733</td>
<td>0.630</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent population</td>
<td>0.539</td>
<td>0.568</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO), a Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA) was used to detect multicollinearity in the data so that the appropriateness of carrying out a factor
analysis can be detected. More specifically, MSA predicts if data are likely to factor well, based on correlations and partial correlations. For the overall model, the MSA was found to be 0.742, signaling that a factor analysis of the variables is appropriate (not shown on the Table). Another test of the strength of the relationship among variables was done using the Barlett’s Test of Sphericity. The results showed a significance level of 0.00, a value small enough to reject the null hypothesis that the indicators in the population correlation matrix are uncorrelated ($\chi^2 = 14356.32; df=190, \text{sig}=.000$).

**Index by PCA Method**

Component-specific indices were computed, applying weights for the indicators and averaging them across the indicators (within the component) for each DA. The weights were computed by squaring the loadings and dividing the product by the variance explained by the component. An aggregate index was computed using the same methodologies.

The index scores presented in Table 3 measure the relative position of the DAs pertaining to living conditions. For index values, the higher the value, the poorer the living conditions. The scores exhibited wide inter-DA variation, as evident from the p-value of Levene’s test; the p value should be less than 0.05 to reject the null that population variances are equal. The five groups ranged in mean scores from 34.74 to 67.89. DAs in the second quintile were more varied from those in the first quintile, compared to other quintiles.

Table 3: Mean standardized LCI scores by quintile, PCA method

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quintile</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>34.738</td>
<td>6.801</td>
<td>(34.325, 35.141)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>46.516</td>
<td>2.186</td>
<td>(46.384, 46.649)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>52.181</td>
<td>1.141</td>
<td>(52.112, 52.251)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>57.575</td>
<td>1.761</td>
<td>(57.468, 57.251)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>67.887</td>
<td>6.723</td>
<td>(67.479, 68.296)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51.780</td>
<td>11.932</td>
<td>(51.456, 52.103)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levene’s statistic: 529.765; df1=4, df2=5217; sig=0.000

**Index by RE Method**

In the RE method, the indicators in each component were divided by their respective range by first making each indicator scale-free by subtracting its minimum value from
each observation. The indicators within each component were then aggregated and divided by the total number of indicators to obtain the score for the component index. The results are non-comparable to those obtained by PCA because an equal weighting scheme applies here. Interestingly, however, the gap between the fourth and fifth quintiles was found to be wider than any other adjoining quintiles (Table 4), suggesting that areas depicting higher scores on overall living conditions (i.e., poor living conditions) are more varied in absolute terms. Here too, inter-DA disparity appears significant, as evidenced by the p-value of the Levene’s test.

Table 4: Mean standardized LCI scores by quintile, RE Method

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quintile</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>20.309</td>
<td>3.987</td>
<td>(20.067, 20.551)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>27.468</td>
<td>1.295</td>
<td>(27.390, 27.547)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>31.425</td>
<td>1.070</td>
<td>(31.360, 31.490)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>35.921</td>
<td>1.650</td>
<td>(35.821, 36.021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>48.910</td>
<td>10.759</td>
<td>(48.256, 49.563)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32.806</td>
<td>10.887</td>
<td>(32.511, 33.101)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levene’s statistic: 669.047; df1=4, df2=5217; sig=0.000

Index by DM Method

In applying the DM method, the indicators in each component were divided by their respective means. Component-specific indices were obtained by aggregating the indicators and averaging them. The method yielded the same overall mean as in RE method (Table 5). Despite the overall mean being similar, the gaps in the values of the indices between quintiles were quite different; the gap between the third and fourth quintiles was as low as two units, whereas the gap between the fourth and fifth quintiles was eight units. It is important to note that the DM method also had significant inter-DA disparity.
Table 5: Mean standardized LCI scores by quintile, DM Method

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quintile</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.118</td>
<td>6.755</td>
<td>(24.708, 25.528)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>29.603</td>
<td>6.466</td>
<td>(29.210, 29.995)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>32.398</td>
<td>7.223</td>
<td>(31.960, 32.837)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>34.870</td>
<td>8.435</td>
<td>(34.358, 35.382)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>42.043</td>
<td>14.938</td>
<td>(41.136, 42.950)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32.806</td>
<td>10.887</td>
<td>(32.511, 33.101)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levene’s statistic: 219.399; df1=4, df2=5217; sig=0.000

The PCA method, wherein each component is assigned a weight according to its contribution to the total variance in the data, gives the aggregate index a higher value. A major difference between the RE and MD approaches is that although we were able to eliminate scale-bias, disparity was more pronounced in RE, compared to DM. This disparity was evident in absolute as well as relative terms, when quintiles were considered.

It is not the purpose of this exercise to make a statement that a particular method is superior to another: the suitability of methods, in general, depends very much upon the objectives, the size of the geo-spatial unit, and also on the socioeconomic and cultural realities of the geo-spatial unit under consideration. However, what is clear from this exercise is that the choice of a method alters the values of component-specific indices, and thereby the aggregate index. According to the correlation analyses (not reported here), the PCA index was more strongly correlated to the RE index (r=0.692, p=0.01) than the DM index (r=0.047, p=0.01). Not surprisingly, the RE and DM indices were also strongly correlated (r=0.499, p=0.01).

**Discussion and Conclusion**

Much like the concept of satisfaction or quality of life, the concept of living conditions is complex and multifaceted and requires good data and thoughtful theoretical and methodological strategies. No single dimension stands as a reliable proxy for living conditions. Acknowledging this limitation, this study provides an assessment of the state of living conditions in an economically advanced province in Canada by bringing together the best of currently available macro-level indicators. Specifically, an attempt is made to measure and compare living conditions under five different components or
dimensions by combining the components on the basis of PCA, RE, and DM methods of indexing. In all, this study looked at 50 indicators reflecting eight dimensions, and, through a process of elimination, arrived at five dimensions of 18 indicators. Grouping 18 indicators into five sub-indices and then a composite index enabled us to compare between small areas. The same procedures can provide insights into disparities in living conditions between larger geo-spatial units, such as Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs), Census Agglomerations (CAs), or regions within the province, in an objective way. More than just an equitable distribution of income for both sexes, but also social benefits (to groups with low levels of education, poor housing, etc.) may contribute to gains in overall living conditions.

A number of methods exist for operationalizing income inequality, and they offer researchers the means to quantitatively assess inequalities in different areas of the income spectrum. One of the central points of contention in this paper was how one such measure, the Theil’s entropy measure contributes to a difference in meaning to a composite measure of living conditions. Acknowledging that income distributions cannot be adequately summarized in a single number in an absolute sense, four Theil’s entropy measures measuring after-tax income and employment income for males and females were introduced. In other words, economic inequality was measured in a relative sense, i.e., how far an area falls behind or above the provincial average. Thus, the choice of the income inequality component represents a significant advancement over previous works of this kind.

LCI scores calculated from three different methods point to a high level of differentiation along the continuum tapped by five components, even in a comparatively rich province with supposedly similar levels of governmental spending and policies in such areas as health and education. There is a pronounced pattern toward wider gaps within the lowest and also within the highest, in an absolute sense, compared to others in the middle quintiles. Overall, though it may be argued that in most areas of the province, economic inequalities are a reasonable proxy for disparities

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8 Some may argue that many of those who fall below or above the average may have had incomes above or below the average at some point in the past and, therefore, relative measure of income does not reflect reality. However, in capitalist economies, the cutting edge of poverty is the perceived gap that exists between the poor and the rich. As Richard Wilkinson & Kate Pikett (2009) argued, inequality “gets under the skin” and makes everyone worse off, not just the poor (see also, The Economist, 2011).
in living conditions, as evidenced by the contribution by this component towards overall explained variance.

Drawing upon the sociological, psychological, and health literature on child development, this research aims to provide researchers with additional tools with which to understand how macro-level factors influence some important dimensions of children’s lives. What is to be gained by measuring or comparing living conditions in communities? An obvious answer lies in the maxim that to monitor or to improve any aspect of health or well-being, it first needs to be measured. Growing up in an environment with adequate standard of living and equitable access to services and opportunities is important for children’s wellbeing. Given the potential value of children’s well-being as an investment in the future of a society (UNICEF, 2007), it is quite obvious that measuring living standards helps set directions for policies and efforts. Measurement encourages, among other things, attention to gaps in data availability, consensuses or debates on what actually constitute living conditions; sound and reliable methodologies; and public understanding of living conditions.

When significant variations exist in terms of community living conditions, the implications of such variations may be tested for differences in child developmental outcomes. While a comprehensive multivariate analysis of the determinants of various child developmental domains is beyond the scope of this paper, future work will concentrate on an examination of the determinants of developmental domains by examining their relationships to socioeconomic status and living conditions at a community-level. A more comprehensive model seems desirable if we were to compare our living conditions index to other social issues already being considered, such as socioeconomic status and developmental trajectories of children. Measures of early child development as the core aspects of a model, surrounded by LCI, socioeconomic status and other related aspects (e.g., resources and programs) will make the interrelationships between the concepts more visible, while marking the beginning of a new conceptual model of child development.
Acknowledgments

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Boelhouwer, J. (2002). Quality of life and living conditions in the Netherlands. Social Indicators Research, 58, 115-140.


### Appendix Table 1: Description of 50 selected indicators from DAs in Alberta, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demography/Family Structure</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Percent population 65 plus years</td>
<td>Population age 65 plus in the total population [((V17…V21 + V36…V40)/V2) *100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Percent children under 14 home of all children</td>
<td>Children under 14 years at home of all children home [ ((V79+V80)/V78)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sex ratio, 0-4 years old</td>
<td>Male children 0 to 4 to female children 0 to 4 [(V4/V43)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sex ratio, 5-9 years old</td>
<td>Male children 5 to 9 to female children 5 to 9 [(V5/V24)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Percent family five plus persons</td>
<td>Census families with 5 or more persons [(V54/V50)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Divorce/Separated out of married</td>
<td>Divorced/separated 15 plus out of legally married [(V44+V45)/V43]*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Divorce/Separated out of population 15 plus</td>
<td>Divorced/separated 15 plus out of all 15 plus population[(V44+V45)/V41]*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Percent seniors cared by 15 plus</td>
<td>Population 15 plus providing unpaid care to seniors [(population 65 plus/V1190)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economy/Economic Diversity</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Percent employed population</td>
<td>Population 15 plus employed of population 15 plus [(V577/V1)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Percent employed labour force</td>
<td>Population 15 plus employed of labour force 15 plus [(V577/V575)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Economic dependency ratio</td>
<td>Population under 15 or over 65 plus of all 15 to 64 [(V4…V6+V17…V21+V23…V25+V36…V40)/(V7…V16+V26…V35)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Income dispersion ratio</td>
<td>Population 15 plus with income above $50,000 to below $20,000 [(V1581+V1582)/(V1567…V1575)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Children under 6 out of 15 plus without income</td>
<td>Children under age 6 out of population 15 plus with no income [(V79/V1565*100)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Percent in health occupations</td>
<td>Population 15 plus in health out of all occupations [(V845/V829)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Male employment Theil’s T</td>
<td>Male employment income -General Entropy (GE(1))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Female employment Theil’s T**</td>
<td>Female employment income -General Entropy (GE(1))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Male after tax Theil’s T^</td>
<td>Male after-tax income -General Entropy (GE(1))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Female after-tax Theil’s T^</td>
<td>Female after-tax -General Entropy (GE(1))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender Equality</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Unemployment rate sex ratio</td>
<td>Male 15 plus unemployment rate to female 15 plus unemployment rate [(V606/V630)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Self-employment rate sex ratio</td>
<td>Male 15 plus self-employed to female 15 plus self-employed [(V808/V820)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Self-employment no help rate sex ratio</td>
<td>Male 15 plus self-employed no paid help to female self-employed no paid help [(V809/V821)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Unpaid family work</td>
<td>Male unpaid family work to female unpaid family work [(V814/V826)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Managerial occupation sex ratio</td>
<td>Male 15 plus managerial to female 15 plus managerial [(V890/V950)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Work at home sex ratio</td>
<td>Male 15 plus work at home to female 15 plus work at home [(V1089/V1097)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Child care sex ratio</td>
<td>Male 15 plus look after children to female 15 plus look after children [(V1176/V1183)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Prevalence low income before tax sex ratio</td>
<td>Male 15 plus with low income before tax to female 15 plus with low income before tax [V1974/V1977]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Prevalence low income after tax sex ratio</td>
<td>Male 15 plus with low income after tax to female 15 plus with low income after tax [V1975/V1978]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Science/engineering, education sex ratio</td>
<td>Male 25 to 64 with science or engineering to female 25 to 64 with science or engineering [(V1214+V1215+V1216)/(V1227+V1228+V1229)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Government transfer payment sex ratio</td>
<td>Male 15 plus govt transfer payment to female 15 plus govt transfer payment [V1895/V1899]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Household size</td>
<td>Average number of persons in private households [V135]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. House age ratio</td>
<td>Ratio of houses constructed before 1960 to houses constructed after 1960 [((V110+V111)/(V112…V118)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Percent one family households</td>
<td>Percent one family households out of total private households [(V137/V136)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Bedroom to room ratio</td>
<td>Ratio of bedrooms to rooms per dwelling [V100/V99]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Households spending 30% plus</td>
<td>Owner households spending 30% plus on major payments [(V2056/V2053)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Percent 15-24 illiteracy</td>
<td>Population 15 -24 with no certification or degree [(V1235/V1234)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Percent 15-64 illiteracy</td>
<td>Population 15 -64 with no certification or degree [(V1235+V1249)/(V1234+V1248)*100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Percent 25-64 science/engineering education</td>
<td>Population 25-64 with science or engineering degree out of 25-64 with post-secondary [(V1214...V1229)/(V1208+V1221)]*100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Percent 25 to 64 post-secondary education</td>
<td>Population 25-64 with post-secondary to population 25 to 64 [(V1208+V1221)/(V9...+V16+V28+...+V35)]*100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ethnicity/Cultural diversity**

| 39. Percent immigrated before age 14 | Population who immigrated before age 14 out of total immigrants [((V555+V556)/V478)*100] |
| 40. Percent aboriginal population | Population aboriginal out of total population [((V565/V564)*100] |
| 41. Non-official language Theil’s T* | Non-official language-General Entropy(GE(1)) (GE(1))(V3945/V3946)*(V1691/V1649)*LN((V1691/V1649)) |
| 42. Percent visible minority | Population visible minority [(V1303/V1)*100] |
| 43. Percent third generation | Population 15 plus third generation or more [(V563/V1)*100] |
| 44. Ethnic diversity | Ethnic diversity index [1-Sq; pi=V1318/V1...V1554/V1] |

**Density/Infrastructure**

| 45. Population density | The population density of each DA |
| 46. Distance from city | Area’s distance (meters) to the nearest city |
| 47. Percent walk or (motor)bike to work | Population walk, bike or motor bike to work out of labour force 15 plus [(V1104+V1105+V1106)/V1100]*100 |
| 48. Intersection density | Intersection density (grid-style neighbourhood) |
| 49. Cul-de-sac density | Cul-de-sac density |
| 50. Intersection cul-de-sac difference | Intersection minus cul-de-sac density |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

* Square root transformation formula: New variable=SQR(T-K-Old variable) where k=largest possible value+1
q Reflect square root transformation: New variable=SQR(T(100+1-old variable)
$ Log 10 transformation: New variable=Log10(old variable)

➢ Natural log transformation: New variable=Ln (1+old variable)
& No transformation

* Male employment income – General Entropy (GE(1))= Male 15 plus for DA/Male 15 plus for Alberta) *(Male 15 plus employment income for DA/Male 15 plus income for Alberta) *(LN(Male 15 plus employment income for DA/Male 15 plus income for Alberta)

** Female employment income – General Entropy (GE(1))= Female 15 plus for DA/Female 15 plus for Alberta) *(Female 15 plus employment income for DA/Female 15 plus income for Alberta) *(LN(Female 15 plus employment income for DA/Female 15 plus income for Alberta)

^ Male after-tax income – General Entropy (GE(1))= Male 15 plus after-tax income for DA/Male 15 plus for Alberta) *(Male 15 plus after-tax income for DA/Male 15 plus after-tax income for Alberta) *(LN(Male 15 plus after-tax income for DA/Male 15 plus after-tax income for Alberta)

^^ Female after-tax income – General Entropy (GE(1))= Female 15 plus after-tax income for DA/Female 15 plus for Alberta) *(Female 15 plus after-tax income for DA/Female 15 plus after-tax income for Alberta) *(LN(Male 15 plus after-tax income for DA/Male 15 plus after-tax income for Alberta)

# Non-official language Theil’s T=(DA’s population/AB’s population) *(DA’s non-official mother tongue population/ AB’s non-official mother tongue population) *(LN((DA’s non-official mother tongue population/ AB’s non-official mother tongue population))
Joanna Chi-Hsin Kang’s Paper Topic:
“The Emergence of Singlehood in the 20th and early 21st century: Hong Kong, Japan, and Taiwan”

Introduction

In East Asia, Confucian philosophy is the dominant value system, especially its prominent doctrine of filial piety. Filial piety is a requirement of life, and being filial is an essential approach to acquire public recognition as an individual with integrity. The most unfilial and unforgivable behavior is being unmarried or sonless. However, there are more and more Asian women who are immersed in this social milieu yet are choosing to embrace their singlehood. The liberation of Asian women is one of the momentous outcomes of Western modernization. This is also a trans-cultural trend that spans nations, societies, and ideologies. What reasons impel Asian women to choose a generally acknowledged difficult lifestyle? Why would they rather be stigmatized as a social outsider than have a reputation of virtue as a member of a collectivist society? This article will analyze the factors that impact these Asian women’s decision-making processes and the forces which lead them into an unconventional lifestyle in East Asian society: singlehood. These arguments will be embodied and compared through specific case analyses from women in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan.

Single Women in East Asia: Regional Comparisons

Hong Kong

I. Background information

The group of single women in Hong Kong has demonstrated that numbers do talk. According to the 2003 Population Census Report from the Census and Statistics Department of the Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Hong Kong has a population of 6.8 million; the number of never-married women between the ages of 18 to 60 is over 653,400. Moreover, both widows, who are dependent on their adult children and single women between the ages of 18 to 60, number at approximately 49,800. In short, these unmarried women occupy 10.2% of the total population in Hong Kong which is about 700,000 and impressively, most of them have received at least a secondary education. In addition, the average age of a single woman in Hong Kong is 41 years, which is older than her counterpart in Mainland

1 Mencius, The Works of Mencius, Book IV, Part I, Li-Lau, Mencius said, “There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them.”, 372-289 B.C.
China of 36 years and the global average age of 39 years.²

II. Factors of remaining single

The Young Women Christian Association (Y.W.C.A) in Hong Kong, the Centre on Behavioral Health of The University of Hong Kong, and one influential periodical, Ming Pao Monthly, all have deeply researched on the enigmatic issue of why many modern Hong Kong women are prone to remain single when they are more empowered than ever. After integrating these analytical contents, we can distinctly attribute several reasons to this prevailing social phenomenon. They are the disproportion of both sexes, the marital concerns of men in Hong Kong, the highly economical independence of Hong Kong women, and the impact of Western Modernization.³

First of all, the group of marriageable women in Hong Kong is quite larger than marriageable men. According to the data from the Census and Statistics Department of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region has shown that, in 2002, women between the ages of 22 to 44 outnumbered their male counterparts by 210,000.⁴ Furthermore, it leads to the disproportion of both sexes in current Hong Kong society and lack of available bachelors is one of the major difficulties when Hong Kong women consider their marriages. Furthermore, one of the main causes is that there are more and more male Hong Kong citizens marrying Mainland brides, and also helping these brides to move to Hong Kong. According to a recent demographic survey, since 1996, this growing tendency gradually leads to the disproportion of both sexes in Hong Kong. For instance, in 2006, the number of registered newlywed couples is 50,300 pairs, and 18,000 pairs out of that number are interregional marriages. It reflects that at least 36% of the brides are mainlanders.⁵

Secondly, Hong Kong women’s current pairing predicament has gotten worse because Hong Kong males are more favorable towards brides from Mainland China.⁶ Owing to the deep influence of Han’s patrilineal ideology, usually a Chinese man is expected to play the dominant role in a family, and he prefers to have a wife with less

² Population Census 2003, the Statistics Department of the Government of Hong Kong
³ ZhaoHui Ye & ShuYing Xie, “The Special topic: The influence of disproportion of both sexes in Hong Kong society”, Ming-Pao Monthly, April 2007
⁴ Population Census 2002, the Statistics Department of the Government of Hong Kong
⁵ “The Trend of Marrying Mainlander Brides in Hong Kong”, www.news.cn, April 24 2006
⁶ “35% Hong Kong Men Married Mainlander Brides”, Oriental Daily, February 23rd 2007
education than himself. Marrying a more feminine, submissive, and docile figure will fulfill the image of a recognizable couple in his family and the society. Hence, those Hong Kong men are less likely to choose these empowered and modernized Hong Kong women for marriage.

Moreover, greater communication and interaction between Hong Kong and Mainland China have made these comparatively more conservative Mainland Chinese brides become available and appealing in the marriage pool. This is one of the primary reasons for the increase of single women in Hong Kong. Thirdly, thanks to the British government’s policy of compulsory popularized education which started in the 1970s, it has widely upgraded the educational standard of the citizens of Hong Kong, women in particular. The percentage of college educated females had increased from 30.3% in 1986 to 66.8% in 2000. In that same year, all medical schools in Hong Kong had more than 59.5% female students majoring in medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and nursing. Also, 62.4% of students who were studying business and management in college were female. Furthermore, female students occupied 67.8% in the social sciences field; the field of liberal arts had 78% female students; and in education, female students dominated 72.7%. In 2001, 15.1% of women were college educated, compared with 17.8% of men. Women also made up more than half, 51.6%, of the students studying in college-level institutions in 2001.

Subsequently, the percentage of educated women has been increasing rapidly since the 1970s, and it has assisted women in developing professional skills for participation in the labor market. During the 70s and 80s, Hong Kong’s booming trading market provided the needs and openings for competent workers, and women were largely hired by industries.

After more than 15 years’ devotion, today’s Hong Kong women have achieved a remarkable scenario in their workplace of equal salary and benefits, especially for those who live alone. “The median income of working women and men also exhibited a different pattern, while the median income of working women living alone at

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8 “The Battle of Love between Men and Women in Hong Kong”, *Yazhou Zhoukan* (YZZK), Volume 25, Issues 47, November 25 2011
10 “The Common Spinsters in modern Hong Kong”, Wen Wei Po, May 9 2011
$15,000HKD was higher than that of their male counterparts at $14,000HKD.\(^{11}\) Nevertheless, these economical achievements have also accompanied some far-reaching reforms of their changing traditional roles. For example, women in Hong Kong now expect more from their potential spouses, especially since their own criteria of education, profession, and financial capability have been highly elevated, and it adds to the challenges of identifying acceptable candidates.\(^ {12}\)

In terms of the idea of Western individualism and liberation, an individual would be accredited as a valuable one as long as she could be self-sufficient and independent, but not in terms of the cultural codes of Han’s patrilinial society. In a traditional Han society, a woman would be regarded as worthless if she couldn’t bear sons, and she was powerless to challenge these ingrained unfairness as well.\(^ {13}\) Just as one old Chinese saying goes, “A woman shares the fate of the man she married, no matter who he is.” At the present day, as a result of the influence of western modernization and education, those empowered Hong Kong women have gained infinite possibilities through their own intelligence, diligence, and persistence. Accordingly, they become more reluctant to accept the oppressive traditional role in Han society, and those who don’t want to compromise remain single.

Japan
I. Background information

In light of the Statistical Research from the Ministry of International Affairs and Communication in Japan, in the early 1970s, the number of marriages per year exceeded one million. The marriage rate at that time averaged above 10% (per 1,000 populations), highlighting signs of a marriage boom. In 2006, there were 740,000 marriages, and the marriage rate was 5.8 % (per 1,000 populations). In the same year, the mean age for a first marriage was 30.0 for men and 28.2 for women, increasing by 1.7 years and 2.6 years from the previous year, respectively. In the past twenty years, the declining marriage rate and the older marrying age in recent years are considered to be two major factors behind the downward trend in the live

\(^{11}\) Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, October 2002, “The characteristics of Women and Men from the 2001 Population Census”3.16, the Statistics Department of the Government of Hong Kong

\(^{12}\) [http://ywca.org.hk/research/200312](http://ywca.org.hk/research/200312)

Y.W.C.A and the Centre on Behavioral Health of The University of Hong Kong

\(^ {13}\) ZhaoHui Ye & ShuYing Xie, “The Special topic: The influence of disproportion of both sexes in Hong Kong society”, Ming-Pao Monthly, April 2007
birth rate.\textsuperscript{14} (See Figure 2.7 and Table 2.6)

In contrast, divorces have shown an upward trend since the 1960s, hitting a peak of 290,000 in 2002. Since then, the number of divorces and the divorce rate both have declined for four years straight. In 2006, the number of divorces totaled 257,000, and the divorce rate was 2.04%.

Furthermore, for most people in Japan, where unmarried parents are still rare, the main “benefit” of a marriage is children.\textsuperscript{15} That is why some chauvinistic government officials and conservative media outlets judged these single or childless women as “selfish” because they are devastating the foundation of society by refusing to get married and have children. Japanese women’s emerging singlehood has been eclipsed by the issue of long-term low fertility rate. However, their reluctance to get married is actually the primary factor that determines the phenomenon of low fertility.

In January 2007, Japan’s Health Minister, Hakuo Yanagisawa, referred to women as “birth-giving machines” in a speech at a local political meeting. He called for

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Mean Age of First Marriage}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Groom & Bride \\
\hline
1950 & 25.9 & 23.0 \\
1955 & 26.6 & 23.8 \\
1960 & 27.2 & 24.4 \\
1965 & 27.2 & 24.5 \\
1970 & 26.9 & 24.2 \\
1975 & 27.0 & 24.7 \\
1980 & 27.8 & 25.2 \\
1985 & 28.2 & 25.5 \\
1990 & 28.4 & 25.9 \\
1995 & 28.5 & 26.3 \\
2000 & 28.8 & 27.0 \\
2004 & 29.6 & 27.8 \\
2005 & 29.8 & 28.0 \\
2006* & 30.0 & 28.2 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\caption{Changes in Marriage Rate and Divorce Rate}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{changes_in_marriage_rate_divorce_rate}
\caption*{Source: Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{14} Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication in Japan, Statistical Handbook of Japan 2007, Chapter 2 Population: Marriages and Divorces

\textsuperscript{15} Sarah Buckley, “Japan’s women wary to wed”, BBC News, Asia-Pacific, 2004/09/28
women to try their best to have children in order to counter Japan’s plummeting birth rate and aging population. He said: “Because the number of birth-giving machines and devices is fixed, all we can ask for is for them to do their best per head,” and he added: “although it may not be so appropriate to call them machines.” Even in today’s Japan, this kind of biased attitude still exists in the public forum.

In fact, the numbers of women who are refusing to play the role of “birth-machine” continues to grow; the percentage of Japanese women in their late 20s who have not married has increased from 30% to about 50% in the last 15 years. In addition, for the first time in 2007, 25% of all Japanese women aged 30 to 35 are unmarried. It is an unprecedented change in a patriarchal and conservative society like Japan, a place where marriage was once valued as an imperative obligation and priority for a woman.

II. Factors of remaining single

The journalist of BBC News, Sarah Buckley, unveiled Japanese women’s changing attitudes toward marriage and why they are wary to wed. She concluded that the main factors which are stimulating more and more Japanese women to embrace the single life are the enormously imbalanced division of housework, the incorrigible and inflexible labor market, and the modern ideas of liberation. In contemporary Japanese society, male chauvinism still dominates. It is reflected in several observable facts, based on the briefing of Japan’s changing demographics from The Economist in July 2007. The researchers stated that the imbalance of household division is one of the crucial factors which lead to the serious issue of the

17 It emerged from the long history of modern education for women after Meiji Reform.  

“The Meiji school system aimed to include all girls at the primary level, and a law passed in 1899 called for the establishment of at least one secondary school for girls in each prefecture. The curriculum designed for girls’ uniformity inculcated the virtues the government considered appropriate to the ‘good wife, wise mother’; in primary school, in addition to practical subjects shared with boys, girls’ education emphasized ‘female modesty’. Girls’ secondary school training did not prepare them for further academic study, but rather encouraged them to acquire the ‘refined taste’ appropriate to middle-class households.’”, see Frank B. Tipton, “The Rise of Asia: Economics, Society, and Politics in Contemporary Asia”, Chapter 5 The First Asian Tiger: The Transformation of Japan, p.156~159
fast-aging and shrinking population in Japan. They also interviewed Mr. Hideki Yamada, the director for policy on aging and fertility in the Cabinet Office. “It's embarrassing to say this,” admits Mr. Yamada, “but after a first child is born, the husband often doesn't do his bit helping out at home.” In fact, this idea is also associated with cultural habit. Kuniko Inoguchi, Minister for Gender Issues and Social Affairs under Mr. Koizumi, says “Boys are pampered at home by their mothers and expect the same treatment—no nappy-changing, no washing up—later from their wives.” A lot of modern Japanese women seem to avoid this predictable circumstance by avoiding marriage, but how do they escape? Masahiro Yamada, a sociology professor at Tokyo Gakugei University, after completing a variety of surveys coined the title “parasite single” and pointed out that more than 70% of single women in Tokyo who live at home and about half of them pay rent to their parents. According to him, the main reason why these single women remain at home is that life at home is too comfortable, compared to married life. This young generation was born and “spoiled” in an affluent time; moreover, unmarried daughters usually expect to live with their parents until they get married. Also, they don’t need to do laundry, cooking, or other housework because their own mothers are playing the major domestic roles for them. Nevertheless, once they decide to get married, they will play the part that their mother always played: taking care of husbands, having children, and being decent full-time housewives. For many Japanese women, it seems like an either/or situation—work and embrace financial independence or get married and look after a house and children. This dilemma is aggravated by the obstinate labor market in Japan. Just like one Japanese woman, Hiroe Shibata, who works for a multinational pharmaceutical company in Tokyo, responded to BBC’s journalist Sarah Buckley, “If you get married, your parents expect you to have a baby. If you have a baby, it's going to be difficult to manage your work and bring up children.” In addition, Tamako Sarada, a well-known Japanese writer said, “In the United States or Europe, it is possible to pursue a career even after having a baby, but in Japan, if after marrying, a woman then realizes there is something she wants to do in her previous workplace, she has almost no chance to come back.” That’s a common predicament which is always haunting modern Japanese women’s minds.

In addition, there is one vivid story from The Economist which reveals how

severe this topic is, and how Yasuyuki Nambu, a successful Japanese businessman, utilizes his vision and empathy to make Japan’s labor market more flexible to women.\textsuperscript{23} He established a non-profit organization to place women in flexible, part-time jobs because he was struck by the brutal injustices of Japan’s workplace after he graduated from college in 1976. Nambu found that men were far more likely to be hired than women and were paid much more for the same job, and women who left their jobs to have a family found returning to work almost impossible.

The wage gap between men and women in Japan resulted from several factors. The most significant one is a common practice in many Japanese enterprises—the seniority wage system. Since women would resign for reasons of marriage, childbirth, and childcare, they are not expected to serve the company as long as their male counterparts. The difference of men and women’s average length of service for their companies directly reflects the great gap of their wage.\textsuperscript{24}

Therefore, Yasuyuki Nambu decided to help these married women to find flexible jobs which they can balance with child-caring and housework. After a while, his father suggested turning this job-placement scheme into a commercial venture. The result was Pasona, a firm that now has annual revenues of around $2 billion yen and which sends around a quarter of a million people off to a job every day. The great amount of money he has earned implies how great this need is, and how unequal and rigid the labor market for Japanese women is.

In January 2008, \textit{The Japan Times} published an article titled “Making day care fit real needs: Deregulation of Japan's licensed nursery system threatens its effectiveness”. The columnist, Suzannah Tartan, reported that: “A study in the Asian Economic Journal in 2005 estimated that the total number of families in Japan with mothers who would like to work but believe they cannot get a day-care spot was nearly equal to the total number of children in day care from ages 1 to 3. In other words, if day-care space were available, a much higher percentage of mothers would return to the workforce.”\textsuperscript{25}

Furthermore, the idea of liberation and individualism brings struggles for women

\textsuperscript{23} “Face value: Changing how Japan works”, \textit{The Economist}, September 29\textsuperscript{th}—October 5\textsuperscript{th} 2007, p.74

\textsuperscript{24} Japan Institute of Workers’ Evolution, “The Situation of Women in Japan: Working Women, 2.1 Outline”, available from \url{http://www.jiwe.or.jp/english/situation/working.html}

\textsuperscript{25} Suzannah Tartan, “Making day care fit real needs: Deregulation of Japan's licensed nursery system threatens its effectiveness”, \textit{The Japan Times}, January 22 2008
in current Japan. They are grappling with a choice between traditional roles and modern freedoms. Their rising self-awareness is now fighting against social expectations. For instance, there is one extraordinary example to embody this tension from the clash of tradition and modernity: Japan’s Princess, Masako. After she married the Prince and entered the Imperial family, she was forced to sacrifice her high-flying and beloved diplomatic career to concentrate on bearing a male heir. In early 2004, she was diagnosed with a nervous disorder due to stress.  

In addition to this concrete case, there are some pop-cultural idioms that can partly reflect the views held by Japanese patriarchal society. These terms include the Christmas cakes, the New Year’s Eve noodles, and the Underdogs. During the 1990s, a popular saying was, “Japanese women are like Christmas cakes. If they surpass the 25th, [Christmas day or their own birthday], they will be difficult to dispose of.” A woman’s value in the “marriage market” is based on her age. Once she is over 25, she will lose her competitiveness and attraction quickly. It was quite a prevalent term to mock unmarried women. After the 1990s, due to Japan’s fast changing economy, women have contributed more labor force than ever, and it naturally led to the delay of their marriageable age. As a consequence, this cursed number became 31, the New Year’s Eve noodles. In the traditional Japanese society, it is an ancient custom that people must eat long Buckwheat Soba noodles on New Year’s Eve. It turned into another stigma to satirize unmarried women who are over 30. Nobody will eat New Year’s Eve noodles after December 31st, thereby inferring that no man will think a 30-year-old woman is still desirable, or at least not eligible enough to marry. These discriminatory verbal abuses reflect the growing tide of popular opinion by the shrinking population and declining fertility. These two social phenomena are related. As the shrinking population problem becomes more severe, the blame placed upon single women becomes more intense.

As a result, a brilliant female writer, Sakai Junko, wrote one bestseller named The Underdogs’ Yowl (MAKEINU NO TOOBOE) in 2002 which has sold millions of

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copies in Japan. The term, Makeinu, actually comes from a folk idiom. Sakai Junko quoted it to categorize unmarried and childless Japanese women as Makeinu. In a narrow sense, it means “losers” and “ones who failed in the battles”. In this spellbinding book, she tried to analyze why more and more Japanese women would rather be labeled as stale cakes or noodles than submit to marriage. In addition, Miss Sakai Junko is an “underdog” herself. She interpreted with empathy that many unmarried women are not intentionally resisting the entire social custom. Japanese women remain single because they have doubted whether marriage can bring a better living standard; by getting married they might lose their freedom and financial independence. Before this unconventional sentiment occurred, many young Japanese women were longing for married life, particularly during the period after the burst of the bubble economy.

On the other hand, this enlarging group of Underdogs would represent the newly developed liberalization and individualism in Japan, and how the modern education has inculcated and stimulated them to embrace their own individuality and self-realization. Accordingly, this pervasive tendency of being single certainly reflects the modern liberation of women in Japan.

Taiwan
I. Background information

Based on the data from the Department of Statistics which is subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior in Taiwan, in 1994, the number of marriages was 171,074; the marriage rate was 8.1%. In 2004, there were 129,274 marriages, and the marriage rate was 5.7%. The proportion of marriageable single women has changed swiftly as well; they rose from minority to majority in one decade. For instance, in 1983, the unmarried rate of Taiwanese women between the ages of 20 to 24 was 62.6%. In 2004, it became 89.5%. Moreover, another group of the ages of 25 to 29 was 21.0% in 1983, and in 2004, the unmarried rate had escalated to 59.1%.

Furthermore, this formidable increase of unmarried rate also can be seen in women of the ages of 30 to 34. In 1983, the unmarried rate of this group was 8.7%; in 2004, it grew to 26.9%.

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30 Please check Figure 2.7 “Changes in Marriage rate and Divorce rate”, the period of 1988–2000
Table 1-1: Rate of increasing unmarried women in Taiwan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>96.1%</td>
<td>97.5%</td>
<td>97.5%</td>
<td>98.4%</td>
<td>98.9%</td>
<td>99.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
<td>72.4%</td>
<td>76.3%</td>
<td>84.1%</td>
<td>88.0%</td>
<td>89.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>47.5%</td>
<td>55.8%</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Statistics, the Ministry of the Interior in Taiwan

In comparison, the number of divorces has sustained a lofty peak recently in three years. In 2004, the number of divorces totaled 62,635, and the divorce rate was 2.8%. Still, it was 2.9% in 2003, and 2.7% in 2002. Compared to fourteen years ago, in 1994, the number of divorces totaled 31,889, and the divorce rate was 1.5%.

Additionally, the female participation in the labor market has also hit the highest point in history. In 1999, over 46.0% of women were participating in Taiwan's labor market, and the number was over 3.85 million. Moreover, the number of female labor has increased to 4.27 million in 2004; the participant rate was 47.7%. Further, Taiwan has a population of 230 million, and the labor force occupied about 1/3 of it. Evidently, the female laborers force has engaged a large percentage of the entire labor market in Taiwan. It also reflected on the standard of wages. In 1999, a female laborer could gain 73.6% of a male laborer’s average monthly salary. In 2004, it reached 77.6%.

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31 Sources: Department of Statistics, the Ministry of the Interior in Taiwan, available from [http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/19/quarterly/data](http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/19/quarterly/data)
### Table 1-2: The female participants in the labor market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>The number of available female labor (per 10,000 population)</th>
<th>Rate of female participation in the labor market</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>385.6 (3.85million)</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>391.7 (3.91million)</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>397.7 (3.97million)</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>407.4 (4.07million)</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>417.2 (4.17million)</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>427.2 (4.27million)</td>
<td>47.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Statistics, the Ministry of the Interior in Taiwan

### Table 1-3: The rising wages of female laborers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>The average monthly salary of one female employee (NTD)</th>
<th>Percentage of a male laborer’s monthly salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>34,016</td>
<td>73.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>35,066</td>
<td>74.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>35,683</td>
<td>75.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>35,955</td>
<td>77.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>36,548</td>
<td>77.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>37,104</td>
<td>77.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Statistics, the Ministry of the Interior in Taiwan

## II. Factors of remaining single

In August 2005, during Chinese Valentine’s Day, one popular and business-oriented magazine in Taiwan, *Cheers*, had presented an elaborate survey on the new challenges of Taiwanese career women. This cover story, titled “The Novel Definition of Work & Love”, sharply illustrated that today’s Taiwanese women are inclined to remain single but also listed the main factors that cause women’s hesitant attitudes towards marriage.  

Briefly speaking, there are several reasons to propel them to do so: the rising self-awareness of women which goes against social expectations, the severe imbalance of the marriage gradient and financial concerns.

First of all, sociologists attributed the hesitant reaction of Taiwanese women to the

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idea of marriage to the prevalence of higher education and their direct participation in the labor market. Thanks to the implementation of popularized education that emerged from the 1950s to the present, gender was no longer a concern for a marginal efficiency of investment to a family. According to Professor Ming-Ching Luoh’s academic essay, “Who are NTU (National Taiwan University) students? Differences across Ethnic and Gender Groups and Urban/Rural Discrepancy”, before executing this educational policy, a traditional Taiwanese family would most likely give over all resources to the male offspring because men inherit the family property and ultimately carry the family name, not women. Therefore, he must pursue a higher education in order to manage his family well in the future. In addition, after this policy became a compulsory obligation for citizens, well-educated women started to mushroom like bamboo shoots after a spring rain in Taiwan.\(^{33}\)

In addition, these educated Taiwanese women started to largely participate in the ascending market since the 1970s. It accompanied an unprecedented change. Based on her well-known case study in the sociology field in Taiwan, *A story of Mei-Ling: Between Filial Daughter and Loyal Sister: Global Economy and Family Politics in Taiwan,* the author and also a sociologist, Anru Lee, pointed out that Taiwanese women unexpectedly converted their old image of family’s surplus subordination into a requisite labor power. Before this dramatic transformation occurred, females were always regarded as merchandise sold at a loss because the custom of dowries, which was most often seen in the countryside. In many agricultural communities in Taiwan, elder residents still follow the traditional Han’s patrimonial codes to the present day.

Additionally, in *The Women Gender & Development Reader,* one of the co-writers, Diane L. Wolf states that:

“In Taiwan, daughters are socialized to be filial and to pay back the debt they incurred to parents for bringing them up. Parents socialize daughters that they themselves are worthless, and that literally everything they have—their bodies, their upbringing, their schooling—belong to their parents and has to be paid for. Since daughters permanently leave their natal home upon marriage, they must pay back their debt early in life. Because daughters were seen as ‘short-term members’ of the family, parents did

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not ‘waste’ resources in schooling them.”

These notions implied that woman’s education would not change a thing, because no matter how brilliant, competent, and successful she could be, she needed to marry someone in any case. Marrying a Taiwanese man means the bride is marrying his family at the same time. She must take care of her children, in-laws, and housework. Therefore, getting a degree could not shift those fundamental values at all. For these reasons, helping daughters to find nice in-laws was the major responsibility of their parents at all times until this sudden transition.

In Anru Lee’s *A story of Mei-Ling*, she articulately recorded Mei-Ling’s words which reflect her struggles as a filial daughter. When Mei-Ling realized that Lee actually is a researcher who studies at a prestigious university in the US, she was so envious of Lee and Lee’s parents’ supportive attitude towards her academic research, but also felt depressed for her own situation. Mei-Ling said to Anru Lee:

“all my family disagrees with my plan for pursuing higher education, because they think I will not need it. They only wish that I could get married as soon as possible; otherwise, I should stay at home and continuously work for my family. I used to work for my father, and right now, I’m working for my elder brother. But why should I always work for them? Why can’t I do something I really want? Why should I sacrifice myself all the time? Is that fair? Do you think it is fair?”

Further, Mei-Ling explained to Lee why she would finish her study first rather than get married. Mei-Ling told Lee:

“I know I must marry someone eventually. If I don’t pursue my higher education now, then I will not have any opportunity to do so after I get married. Look at the facts: even my own parents are very reluctant to support my dream for completing

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my education. Who else is willing to support me? Will my in-laws do that? Don’t be silly!”

Progressively, today’s Taiwanese women are contributing their labor force to the family which has helped them gain some independence and negotiating power in the family. This has resulted from the popularized higher education. They are gradually separating themselves from the conventional thinking which is that a woman should sacrifice all for her family. The rising self-awareness of Taiwanese women stimulates the new needs of self-fulfillment and their career ambition, and they are not merely satisfied with occupying full-time domestic roles anymore.

One cover story of Cheers in 2005, “The Novel Definition of Work & Love”, featured and interviewed the Research Sociologist of Academia Sinica in Taiwan, Wen-Shan Yang, in which he was asked what the important factors are which drive Taiwanese women to remain single. He shrewdly explained the case of Taiwanese women with the sociological term—marriage gradient. However, Yang used a different approach to reinterpret this term, compared to its standard definition, which is as follows:

In 1982, Jessie Bernard’s The Future of Marriage has explicated that it is normative for men to “marry-down” and women to “marry-up” with respect to education, occupation, and other characteristics. In a related vein, as a result of this marriage gradient, highly educated or high earning women (the “cream-of-the-crop”), and the less educated and lower earning men (the “bottom-of-the-barrel”) will be less likely to marry because there are no appropriate mates for them.

Again, the changes in education, employment and income over the last

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37 “Cover Story: The Novel Definition of Work & Love”, Cheers, August 2005, p.84–92

38 Academia Sinica, the most preeminent academic institution in the Republic of China, was founded in 1928 to promote scholarly research in China and to undertake academic research in the sciences and humanities. After the government moved to Taiwan in 1949, Academia Sinica was re-established in Taipei. The growth of Academia Sinica during the transition period was slow due to political instability and meager budget.
40 years have resulted in more women becoming “cream-of-the crop” and this should explain declining marriage rates over time.39

Accepting this established definition, Wen-Shan Yang applied it to explain Taiwan’s case. In traditional Han society, it is similar that women who marry-up would have a better chance to maintain a recognized and promising marriage. However, Mr. Wen-Shan Yang added, “nowadays, Taiwanese women have different interpretations of the marriage gradient; the gap between both sexes has become more complicated.” Yang said, “The generally acknowledged process of the marital relationship has evolved into three stages, and they are Institutional Marriage, Companionship Marriage, and Independent Marriage.”

The ultimate goal of a couple, who are in an Institutional Marriage, is to have children in order to extend the family bloodline. In the Institutional Marriage, the couple’s housework is distinctively distributed. A couple in a Companionship Marriage, would cherish each other’s spiritual life, and they are more like friends. If a couple stays in the Independent marriage, both of them are in a comfortable marital condition, yet they still are seeking their own self-realization.40

Yang indicated that there are a lot of Taiwanese women who are reluctant to get married for other than the so-called conventional definition of the marriage gradient. After all, today’s Taiwanese women no longer need to rely on their spouses financially because of their competitive professions and available job opportunities. Consequently, they are expecting more from their spouses. Yang argued that, compared to the western world, the evolution process of marriage becomes condensed when Taiwanese women have been through so many changes and developments in such a short period of time. Western women spent more than 30 years to establish and complete the three stages of marriage evolution. Yet, Taiwanese women only used a decade to leap to the third stage, the Independent Marriage, because of the fast changing economy and the opportunities that educational policies offered them, such as higher education, better professions, and burgeoning ambition. The sudden jump in stages indicates the major shift in cultural norms which contributed to the high


unmarried rate since men have not been ready for this drastic change.

Accordingly, most of them are still at the earliest stage—the Institutional Marriage. In a word, the huge divergence between men and women’s expectation for marriage is one of the fundamental concerns that led to the Taiwanese women’s reluctance to get married.

Lastly, economical considerations are a significant force contributing to this prevailing tendency of singlehood. For instance, in Taiwan, due to the popularized education, more and more people have to pursue higher degrees in order to equip themselves for job competition. Consequently, they have to stay in school much longer for acquiring competitive criteria, and this delays the graduation date, and also the marriageable date. According to the IMD’s annual report of world competitiveness in 2005, the average working hours of one employee are 2,327 hours a year in Taiwan which listed at Number 4 in the world ranking for the indicator of the level of hard work.  

Scholar Wei-Shan Yang utilized this result from IMD to argue that most Taiwanese must work diligently to gain recognition in their workplace. Yang said, “Taiwanese have to work really hard for their financial stability and that’s why many women have to consider their job prospect before they decide to get married.” Just like many other Asian women have to face potential predicaments after they get married, they will be expected to have children in order to meet their obligation as filial daughters-in-law. Having babies would bring unpredictable consequences to their career life. For example, in today’s Taiwan, women are frequently coerced to sign some unofficial contracts for acquiring employment, such as The Single Contract and Non-pregnant Ordinance. Generally speaking, The Single Contract mandates that a female employee should stay single to maintain her employment. If she decided to get married, she would lose her job. As for the Non-pregnant Ordinance, it indicates that a female employee is forbidden from getting pregnant. If she insists on having children, she must resign. Even these unofficial agreements are illegal now after The Gender Equality in Employment Act has been implemented; however, the lawsuits of gender discrimination in career women’s workplace are still very common nowadays; in most of these cases, the

41 http://www.imd.ch/research/centers/wcc/upload/Fundamentals.pdf
The IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook 2005
plaintiffs are pregnant employees.43

In addition, due to the recent economical recession in Taiwan, the cost of starting a family is getting much more expensive than before; especially the salaries of young graduates can hardly cover their living expenses. Therefore, many single women would rather live with their parents than establish new families. Sociologists believe that this situation will change when the economy recovers. As long as the national economy goes up, people would definitely go back to the marriage market, and it is just a matter of time.44

All in all, the factor of financial concerns is one of the solid reasons to draw more and more Taiwanese women away from marriage. However, there are other factors which are involved in these women’s decision-making process, including their rising self-awareness creating conflicts with social expectations and the issue of the marriage gradient.

Conclusion

To summarize, it is evident from these mentioned-case analyses, single Asian women in Hong Kong, Japan, and Taiwan, have faced some similar concerns which influenced their decision –making process with regards to marriage, including the struggles with pursuing self-realization and playing traditional marital roles, the severe marriage gradient between both sexes, the common patriarchal attitudes among employers and in government in East Asia, and rising individualism.

First of all, in Taiwan and Japan, women remain single longer because now they all have much better educational opportunities and job options; therefore, many of them choose to avoid marriage in order to equip their knowledge bases and then achieve their ambitions in the workplace. These are aspirations their mothers’ generation could not acquire.

In December 2006, the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific had a seminar on fertility transition in Asia and its opportunities


and changes. That meeting was in Bangkok, and Mr. Gavin W. Jones\textsuperscript{45} gave the presentation on the issue of fertility decline in Asia, “Fertility Decline in Asia: the Role of Marriage Change”. In his argument, he attributed the declining fertility rate to the role of women’s marriage delay; further, he discovered the correlative link between the sharp rise in Labor force participation rates for females (LFPRs) and delayed marriage. However, it is difficult to establish the causality because of the “chicken and egg” issue: did women remain single longer because they were in the workplace, or were they in the workplace because they were still single? Professor Gavin W. Jones took Japan as one illustration: the female participation rate in Japan’s labor market has increased faster after 1975 for women aged 25–29 than for women in other age groups. This seems to suggest that some differences were occurring at age 25–29. The rate was much higher for single women. The LFPRs for single women rose over this period from 81% in 1972 to 92% in 1999. It indicates a substantial increase in the opportunity cost for women to quit their jobs to marry and have children. Because they stayed at their jobs longer, the age of marriage rose.\textsuperscript{46}

Furthermore, in Hong Kong and Taiwan, all single women seem to have one concern in common, especially when they attempt to get married. They all have difficulty in finding eligible candidates for their potential marriages. These young women’s criteria of education, profession, and financial capability have been highly elevated, and it adds to the challenges of identifying acceptable candidates. In Taiwan, it is called “marriage gradient”, and Professor Gavin W. Jones’ research has reinforced it:

In theory, young people may be avoiding marriage for reasons that differ from those that influence married couples to avoid having children. For instance, marriage itself could be seen by young women who intend to pursue a bright career as a distraction from their goal, or they may be delaying it involuntarily, and these women often faced a hardness: a lack of suitable partners; the “good man is hard to find” syndrome. In the real life, marriage is a package, as it is not simply about the relationship between people, but tightly linked with childbearing, childrearing, and other

\textsuperscript{45} Gavin W. Jones, Professor, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore

\textsuperscript{46} Gavin W. Jones, Paper prepared for the ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) seminar on “Fertility Transition in Asia: opportunities and Challenges”, 18-20 December 2006, Bangkok, pp9
family obligations.47

In addition, to marry without the plan to have children is still considered aberrant behavior throughout the East Asian region, particularly in the areas where they have internalized Confucian doctrines. It is exemplified by a well-known ancient saying from Mencius (372-289 B.C.), “There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them.” There is no doubt that after marrying, young couples are subjected to considerable pressure to have a baby from the family and to a lesser extent from friends. As a consequence, the easiest way to avoid such intense pressure is to remain single. Although single women are also urged to marry, the pressure may be exerted more on married women to deliver their first child.48

Also, the general patriarchal attitudes among employers and in government result in poor workplace conditions for the needs of working mothers, and working wives, adding huge stress to the lives of women with children. Taking Japanese women as an example,

their husbands work long hours; child care is limited; baby sitters are expensive; and if married women decide to work part-time, they are paid less than half of a full-time worker. Additionally, Japan ranks No.38 in a UN measure which monitors female wages and public power; in 1998, its research shows 0.16% of men took paternity leave.49

Yoshiro Mori, the former Prime Minster before the Koizumi, has argued that childless women should not receive pension benefits: “It is truly strange to say that we have to use tax money to take care of women who don't even give birth once, who grow old living their lives selfishly.”50 This shows how the Japanese patriarchy does

47 Gavin W. Jones, Paper prepared for the ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) seminar on “Fertility Transition in Asia: opportunities and Challenges”, 18-20 December 2006, Bangkok, pp10

48 Gavin W. Jones, Paper prepared for the ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) seminar on “Fertility Transition in Asia: opportunities and Challenges”, 18-20 December 2006, Bangkok, pp10


50 Hannah Beech, Time Magazine, “The Wasted Asset: Japanese women are smart and entrepreneurial, so why is so little effort made to harness their talents?”, August 22nd, 2005
regard women’s wombs as public property, and the formidable stress they have to carry if she could not produce children because she stays single. However, as a married woman, not having children would be scrutinized more closely and criticized more harshly by the society, and the ensuing surveillance from her in-laws and peers would engender greater pressure that a single woman would not face. Remaining single would be a relatively easier choice for Asian women since the subsequent difficulties of married life could be insufferable.

Finally, the greater stress on individualism has led to self-determination and a related downgrading in the importance that people attach to realizing social customs such as getting married and having children. Moreover, these three countries are greatly affected by modern values from the western world, especially when the liberal ideas of human rights and gender equality have been instilled in widespread popularized modern education. They all live in a region which has an engrained family-oriented value system; those who are not family-oriented would be marginalized as a pariah. Nonetheless, they still have the courage to fight against the social expectations. Liberation and individualism have played remarkable roles in the changes to their decision-making process.

All in all, there are several major factors to impel Asian women to avoid marriage. They include the rapid rise in women’s educational levels and increasing employment opportunities for giving women strong incentives to enter the workplace; however, the unwillingness and patriarchal attitudes of employers and governmental policies have led them to have no choice but stay single. Otherwise, they would have to face the consequences that accompany marriage and the plight of balancing work and childrearing. Further, the steepness of marriage gradient makes finding an ideal spouse extremely complicated. Modern Asian women expect their future spouses to have equally progressive views on marriage. Lastly, when living in a collectivism-oriented society like East Asia, she would rather choose an unconventional lifestyle which will be stigmatized and condemned, and be labeled as a daredevil than to play a well-recognized traditional role. Individualism plays a major role in these women’s decision-making process, and it strengthens the faith of these single women in Asia, the faith that drives them to believe they have the rights to pursue what they deserve as human beings.

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5. **Abstract**

   **Abstract**

   “As in Europe, so too in Japan, war stimulated industrialization.”


   Compared to the modernizing reforms in Meiji, Japan, China traveled a longer
   and more complicated path towards its modernization. In particular, the Sino-Japanese
   War was a major catastrophe for the entire nation, but at the same time it presented
   some opportunities for China to access the new modernity.

   Following the successful completion of Chiang Kai-shek’s Northern Expedition
   (1926-1928) which reunified most of China, the country was exhausted and left
   vulnerable by its civil strife. Chiang’s government treasury was almost empty after
   years of fighting warlords, civilians were fatigued by violent upheavals, and full-scale
   reconstruction was still pending. Under these circumstances, China was not supposed
   to get involved in another war if it had an option. Unfortunately, Japan’s militarist
expansionism gave China no choice but to go to war.

This was, as the saying goes, like adding frost to snow; nevertheless, from another perspective, war also brought China needed support and guidance from allies across the globe. Thanks to this external assistance, Chiang’s government was saved from being overwhelmed by the combined effects of fiscal predicament, the civil war with the Communists, and the invasion of Japan. Beginning with the regional Sino-Japanese War and continuing through the period of total war in the Pacific, the United States played a crucial role in providing significant support to China among all allies. U.S. aid not only boosted the morale of Chinese people but also spurred the evolution of China’s military modernization. Through intense military cooperation and aid, the U.S. sketched a blueprint for China to modernize its military out of its chaotic condition. This thesis will concentrate on the role that the U.S. played in the process of China’s military modernization during World War II by showing how Americans bolstered the combat effectiveness of China’s military by introducing new techniques and strategies. Finally, the thesis will discuss the concrete influences that U.S. aid had on China’s military modernization by examining the specific case of the Flying Tigers.
The British Panto:
A Yuletide Ritual of Slapstick and Social Commentary

by

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Part I – Introduction
A. Theory and Thesis

The world’s a stage – as Shakespeare said one day
The stage is a world – was what he meant to say
Oliver Wendell Holmes 118

Theory - We are all actors in the drama of life. British Anthropologist Victor Turner studied the roles people play in social drama or “units of aharmonic or disharmonic process arising in conflict situations” (Dramas 37). He argues that social drama and stage drama interact (See appendix A). The rioting that took place in London in August 2011 provides an example of how his theory works.

The leap from the tragedy of riots to the comic chaos of pantomime, a traditional form of theater designed for children at Christmas time, is not as far as it may seem. The story line of the panto Dick Whittington describes the life of a real person born in 1358, who ran away from home and earned riches and the office of Lord Mayor of London. Pantos reinforce a belief in upward mobility. The implicit social process of the panto teaches the British people that everyone should have equal opportunity for success. Racial and economic minorities become dissatisfied when society denies them this opportunity, a frustration that leads to crime and riots.

Thesis - This paper analyzes British pantos from Turner’s perspective on the relationship between social drama and stage drama to highlight various aspects of British culture. It explores the history, music, dance, costumes, scenery, audience participation, characters, and pantomime stories. Part I introduces the unique characteristics of panto. Part II deals with the structure and substance of the panto. Part III deals with the application of the thesis.

B. History of Panto

May I kiss your hand?
Why is my face dirty?
Harris 13

Historians trace the origins of the word pantomime to the worshipers of Pan, a Greek god known for surprise visits to shepherds. The name of Zeus’ son gives birth to words like panto and panic (Broadbent 15). The Romans passed on an early form of pantomime to Medieval England in the form of mystery plays.

The Italian Commedia dell’arte introduced improvised comedy, dance, dialogue and the character, Harlequin to England. This description of Harlequin characterizes clowns both past and present. “He is a mixture of wit, simplicity, ignorance, and grace” (Broadbent 62). Other words used to describe Harlequin, zany and buffoon, also apply to today’s panto comics.

In 18th century England, John Weaver billed his production, The Loves of Mars and Venus, as a pantomime. He joined John Rich to establish the panto as a mainstay of entertainment in London. Plays like Aladdin, Little Red Riding Hood, Cinderella, and Dick Whittington found appreciative audiences.

Literati such as Henry Fielding and George Bernard Shaw labeled pantos lowbrow entertainment (Robbins 175). The Theatrical Inquisitor (1841) argued, “Pantomimes are a farrago of nonsense suited only for the vulgar and illiterate” (“Laughing Audience” 6). King
George II disagreed. He enjoyed panto immensely (Robbins 46). Victorian novelist Charles Dickens rhapsodized about the “ten thousand million delights of pantomime” (Ellacott 1).

C. Panto Conventions

_I’m just a reckless young blood._

_No you’re not. You’re a bloodless old wreck._

Harris 16

_Panto Economics_ – Pantos must attract an audience to survive. An empty house is the actors’ curse. Producers have “greedily appropriated elements from every other form of theatrical entertainment” to fill seats (Frown 9). They recruited music hall stars in the 19th century and TV stars in the 20th. _Dick Whittington_, a panto that played at the Richmond Theater in 2004, featured Basil Brush, a puppet from a British children’s television show. Harry Winkler, the Fonzie on _Happy Days_, played Captain Hook in _Peter Pan_ for several seasons.

Pantos originally were very profitable endeavors, but the use of extravagant and costly spectacles narrowed profit margins in the 19th century. The casting of television stars in the 20th century also drove up costs. As a result, London’s West End concentrates on a few box office winners like, _Snow White, Peter Pan, and Cinderella_. They focus on audience development, rather than raising enough revenue to see the theater through the rest of the year. On the other hand, amateur pantos proliferate. Dramatic societies, Village Hall Committees, schools, and hospitals sponsor these sure-fire moneymakers.

_Conventions_ Panto characters speak in rhyme, men dress as women, women dress as men, animals sing and dance (Harris 9). Dancers provide color, movement, and continuity. Pantos mock authority and reverse roles (Self 3). The audience expects and gets, physical humor, verbal humor in the form of double entendres, topical references, and audience participation in abundance.

The villain enters first from stage left, the “sinister” side, while his adversary, the good fairy, subsequently enters from stage right. These two never stray beyond their side of the stage, a convention from medieval mystery plays. Early pantos featured villains that tossed messy liquids, called “slosh” into the audience. Villains in modern pantos may squirt the audience with a water gun or pretend to throw a bucket of “water” that is actually full of confetti.

D. Creative Considerations

_Dame: That girl will drive me out of my mind._

_Comic: We’ll you won’t have far to go will you?_

Harris 14

Richard Dryer, a professor of film at Kings College, London notes that musicals provide escape, wish fulfillment, and utopianism (20). He argues that entertainment provides something better that our day-to-day life doesn’t provide. He insists that entertainment does not provide a model, like Thomas Moore’s _Utopia_; it presents what utopia would feel like. Creative elements like music, dance, costume, and scenery all contribute to that feeling.

_Music_ – Panto players sing to and with the audience. If the audience hears a familiar song, they join in. Dick and his sweetheart Alice sing Elvis Presley’s “Are you lonesome tonight,” and the Bow Bells belt out ABBA’s “Waterloo” in Beeteson’s _Dick Whittington_ script.
Songs provide community. The music director (MD) includes something for everyone; a ballad for the older patrons, a rock and roll tune for the youngsters.

The MD sets the pace from a position close to the stage. They stand ready to improvise in case of emergency. The band, indeed, plays on. The MD usually plays the piano or keyboard accompanied by a percussionist or other musicians. According to Tina Bicât, “The overriding idea is to get the widest range of tone colours you get with the number of players you can afford” (Bicât 27). The MD selects songs for the sing-a-long and ensures that the notes for the tunes fall “well within the range of the poorest singer” (Bicât 33).

Dance – A panto choreographer faces a daunting task. They can count on the professional dancers, but the actors have varying degrees of dance experience, as do the young amateur dancers. At times, they choreograph movement to music, rather than a real dance. The dancers play a host of roles: fairies, rats, villagers and dwarfs. Their routines bind together the disparate scenes in a panto.

Panto directors must abide by child labor laws if they hire children from the local dance academy. Usually, they divide the young amateur dancers into two teams. These young dancers represent a cross-section of modern British society. They “help construct a utopian fantasy world where everyone is adorable, attractive, and appealing” (Taylor 188). They provide color, energy, and consistency to a performance.

Costume – Tradition dictates the look of certain costumes. Robin Hood wears green. Royalty display crowns, their badges of office. The principal boy, if female, wears tights and boots. A costume for a panto dame features layers of frilly dresses, lots of stuffing to make her appear more maternal, and an apron with pockets or a big floppy purse to hold various props. Bicât notes, “The dame’s boobs are a pantomime gag. They must be comfortable and washable, and remain firmly in place” (94).

The director strives to have costumes as colorful, bold, and funny as the script. Children’s books are a good source of inspiration. The wardrobe department can create costumes or order them from a costumer. The emphasis is on simple, wearable, and washable costumes. Actors work under hot lights and need to make quick costume changes. Designers honor the panto tradition that dictates that costumes may represent different historical periods.

Scenery – Pantos in the last century had fantastic scenery, but in this century economic circumstances forced panto producers to lower expectations and concentrate on the relationship between characters and the audience. The exception is when tradition calls for a specific scene, such as Jack climbing the beanstalk or in Cinderella when the mice and pumpkin change into a four-horse (or one pony) carriage.

Tricks, Traps, and Transformations – Gerald Frow, in his book Oh Yes It Is observed that, “The Early pantos were stuffed full of technical tricks” (150). Springboards hurled actors on stage. Actors used traps for mysterious disappearances. Craftsmen created elaborate transformation scenes. Modern producers still use flash pans and pyrotechnics to cover entrances and exits. However, technology allows them to produce spectacular and reasonably priced effects through the use of laser pointers, LED lights, ultraviolet lights, and TV monitors.

E. Panto Humor

*Busy bee, busy bee, what have you got in the hive for me?*

Harris 64
Comedy breaks down the barriers between the actor and the audience. Stand-up comedian Tony Allen argues that humor is all about attitude. He says comedians share “exaggerated little cameos of their own feeling with the audience via looks, double takes, and visual asides” (29). British comedians are famous for their wry, sardonic, earthy approach to humor. It’s not a shock for most audience members to see actors spitting water at one another.

Pantos usually include a slosh or slop scene. The characters douse each other with a splashy foamy non-toxic mixture made with shaving sticks. They also use soapy water, shaving cream, and the old-fashioned meringue pie (Shaw 1). Stage managers hate these messy scenes because they involve a lot of clean up, but the children in the audience love them.

Some pantomimes confine the mess by using a gunge tank filled with sticky, slippery, slosh. The audience loves it when the baddies get dunked. Branagh and Orton note that a quiz show element serves as a likely excuse (54).

**DAME:** Know everyone knows this: What’s black and white and red all over?
**SILLY BILLY:** Oh, I know this! It’s a newspaper!
**DAME:** An embarrassed penguin. Aw, What a shame.
(She pulls the lever and Billy is gunged).

Most actors do not have the skills necessary to prepare and use slosh so producers hire experts in this area. This increases the cost, so there are few of these scenes in modern pantos. Water is cheap and most actors can handle the set piece known as the busy bee. The children are so familiar with it that they know what is coming. Harris gives us an example (64).

**COMIC:** Isn’t it time for tea?
**HERO:** I’d love some honey for my tea but it is too expensive.
**COMIC:** I know how to get free honey.
**HERO:** How?
**COMIC:** All you have to do is listen for a busy bee and say, “Busy bee, busy bee, what do you have in the hive for me?”
**HERO:** I’ll try it!
(Comic exits to get a mouthful of water.)
**HERO:** (Speaks to audience.) Isn’t this exciting? Free honey!
(Comic returns making a buzzing sound)
**HERO:** Busy bee, busy bee, what have you got in the hive for me?
(Comic spits mouthful of water on the hero and runs away.)
**HERO:** What a rotten trick!
(Dame enters)
**DAME:** It’s time for tea and I need some honey. Do you have any?
(Hero grins at audience.)
**HERO:** I know how to get free honey!

Each victim plays the same trick on the next actor who appears on stage. Children laugh long and loud at the sight of adults doing something their parents would not permit them to do. In one production the busy bee actors had poor aim. As a result, the orchestra got very wet. One night, the entire orchestra put up umbrellas to protect themselves.
Clowning needs no words; the humor is self-evident. Famous British comic John Inman played Wanda the Cook in the 2005 production of *Dick Whittington* at the Richmond Theater. Reviewer Amanda Hodges noted, “His corny gags and series of gravity-defying outfits continue the grand tradition of a truly toe-curling dame” (1). During the course of his antics a large grapefruit fell out of his plus size bustier (Kirtley 2).

**Verbal Comedy** – Tony Allen argues that panto players, like stand-up comedians, are performers rather than actors (59). They both use alliteration, rhyme and repetition. Richard Thomson’s script for *Dick Whittington* demonstrates the humorous use of repetition. A disembodied voice insists that Dick’s destiny lies in London.

```
VOICE: Turn again Dick!
DICK: Who said that?
CAT: Who said what, master?
DICK: Not who said what, who said that?
CAT: I didn’t say that.
DICK: Say what?
CAT: Say whatever it is you said.
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The scene continues with more whys and whats. Finally the Cat reminds Dick that the chorus behind the screen is chafing to get started and that if they keep on dithering, the adult patrons will head for the bar. Dick gets the message, and returns to London to find his fortune.

Children love nonsense patterns, wordplay, and puns. Puns can mean one thing to children and another to adults. A favorite one occurs in *Cinderella* when the ugly stepsisters discuss the magnificence of the Prince’s Royal Ball. “The Prince’s balls get bigger every year” (Taylor 157). Stuart Arden in *Dick Whittington* uses rhymed couplets and a brush with a social taboo to evoke humor. Various characters ask Dick what he does for a living and invite the audience to supply the missing word in the rhyme. They ask if he is a writer, a fighter, a carter, a f----? Dick answers, “Certainly not!”

Pantos build community when they refer to local problems. When one character failed to enter on cue, the comic in *Dick Whittington* (2004) that played in Richmond South London, remarked, “Well, we are in Richmond where the trains are always late.” Later he observed, “They said Dick Whittington would never be the Mayor of London, but they said the same thing about Ken Livingstone (former Mayor of London).” Topical humor provides relevance and a distance that allows us to find refuge in laughter. One of the favorite topics of British comedy is the Royals.

**II. The Structure of Pantos**

A. Audience Participation

*Oh no it isn’t*

Taylor 129

Victor Turner, in his work *From Ritual to Theater*, defines ritual as a performance or an enactment. Rituals mark rights of passage or special days like the Christmas holidays. It involves rules and conventions that frame the process, the most important of which is audience participation (Turner, *Ritual*, 79). The audience coalesces into a “community for the time and
place of the performance” (Taylor 132). Children have a great time doing things that parents
would not otherwise allow and laugh at outrageous violations of social mores.

A panto audience shouts, screams, and heckles cast members. The actors encourage the
audience to break the fourth wall, the space between stage and the audience. They speak directly
to the audience, throw things and exhort them to sing loud and long. Panto comics establish
rapport with the audience during the prologue. Muddles, the clown in Jim Barry’s, *Snow White
and the Seven Dwarves*, asks the audience to shout back “Hiya Muddles,” every time he makes
an entrance.

In a classic panto piece, the comic points to a sealed box on the side of the stage. He asks
the audience to sound the alarm, if anyone touches it. (Pascall and Barnard 1). The comic tells
the audience that the box contains a twelve-piece gift set of fine china. Most of the cast members
pick up the box and drop it when the audience shouts a warning. In the last scene, the comic
shakes the box and estimates that the box contains at least a hundred pieces of china.

Perhaps the most well known example of audience participation comes at the climax of
the panto *Peter Pan* when Tinkerbell is dying from the poison left by Captain Hook. Peter asks
the audience to keep her alive, to “Clap, if you believe in fairies” (Taylor 126). The ghost skit,
another device for soliciting participation, is synonymous with pantomimes. Scriptwriter Paul
Harris penned these lines (122).

DAME: I hope we don’ see a ghost.
COMIC: Well if a ghost does appear perhaps the boys and girls will shout out and
warn us.
DAME: Will you do that boys and girls? If you see the slightest sign of a ghost
shout out loud so we will know.

Children start shouting and screaming, “It’s behind you” as soon as the ghost appears on stage.

Panto tradition dictates a penultimate scene, the Sing Song, that gives the company time
to change costumes and prepare for curtain call. The chief comic recognizes birthdays and
anniversaries and leads the audience in a singing. The chief comic may toss candy to the
audience as a reward for their participation. Here is an excellent example of this technique, and a
good way to keep the theater clean from John Beeteson’s *Snow White* script.

NURSE: Now then, boys and girls these are very special sweets. Inside the wrappers
there’s invisibility dust - you can’t see it, of course, because it’s invisible. But don’t
throw the wrappers away after you’ve eaten the sweets. Take them home with you and
then you can have lots of fun becoming invisible.

Panto comedian Bobby Davro paid homage to the allure of the panto. “It’s the chaos and
the audience participation that brings me back to the stage” (Prater 1). He recognized the
importance of entertaining adults as well as children. “When you see the children looking at their
moms and dads laughing their socks off, that’s when you’ve got a winning formula” (Prater 1).

B. Panto Characters

*Is she or isn’t he?*
Taylor 105
Comedy and drama compliment each other. Both ask us to look carefully at our actions and ourselves. Despite their common roots, these two genres move in different directions. Drama is about plot. Comedy is about the relationships and motivations of the characters. Comedy characters are realistic, fallible, and at times ridiculous, in order to provoke a smile or a laugh. Success depends on how well the audience relates to the characters and their situations.

Pantomimes generally include six principal characters.

**The Panto Dame** – The Dame plays a central and pivotal part. She is variously, the mother of the hero, a governess, a nurse, a cook, or a grandma. She is mature, “sexually alert, and always on the lookout for a husband” (Bicât 17). The Dame offers blatant clues of her intentions. “I was always a beauty it has to be said. There was many a beau keen to take me to ….(pause for audience to respond bed).... wed!” (Bicât 25).

According to tradition, men play the dame character. Panto historians theorize that male actors could get away with bawdy humor in the Victorian era when audiences did not expect it of women. According to Millie Taylor, the use of males persists in pantos because of a male’s ability to relate to the audience in different ways (112). Nowadays, women comic actors play the role with aplomb.

The Dame drives the story and interacts with all age groups. Children think she is funny because they know she really is a he. There is usually no effort to cover up that fact. Women relate to the Dame as a working class woman and a single mom. Men like her because she is a flirt and a tease. Adults find her double entendres hilarious. Millie Taylor presents a typical interchange (111). The Dame often refers to her maleness in asides:

**MALE ACTOR:** Marry me, you’ll get a surprise.  
**DAME:** (To audience) No half the surprise he’ll get.  
**MALE ACTOR:** You could be the mother of my children – wouldn’t that be marvelous?  
**DAME:** Marvelous? It would be a miracle.

Occasionally, a male actor in the role of the panto Dame hides the fact that he is a man. In this case, the comedy relies on doubts about gender identity, rather than, a man playing a woman. However an actor chooses to play the role, the laughter still “emerges in the realization that all along the original was derived” (Butler189). The most important thing is that the panto dame exudes warmth, comedy, and occasionally pathos (Limelight “History” 3).

**The Principal Boy/ Hero** – This role carries the plot through the mayhem of the panto. The dashing and handsome actor who plays the part must be eminently likable because the success of the play depends on whether the audience identifies with him and supports him on his quest or transformation whether it is to marry the princess, gain wealth, or climb the beanstalk.

Madam Vestis, the first woman to play the part of principal boy, did so in 1937 (Icon 3). She created such a stir that one businessman sold plaster casts of her shapely legs (Robbins 103). Cila Black wore fishnet stockings, tights, and high heel boots and assumed an exaggerated male posture when she played the role of Aladdin at the London Palladium in 1970 (Ions 4). A gleam in her eye told the audience that she knew that they were aware that she was not a man.

A play that features a woman strutting across the stage, whacking a riding crop, and protesting her love for another pretty young woman appears wholly unsuitable for children. It is testimony to the power of the panto that it quashes any unsuitable audience reaction with a combination of laughter, narrative and panto tradition. In fact, the audience becomes part of a
subversive action. They see that gender is a “dramatic and continuous construction of meaning” (Butler 190). The children focus on the principal boy and his mission.

The Supporter of Good – This character protects the hero and helps him accomplish his task. Tinkerbell plays this character in *Peter Pan*. Dick Whittington’s cat offers helpful advice. “No time, no time, you have to make your fame and fortune in London, Master Richard. Remember, the streets are paved with gold they say” (Beeteson *Whittington* 2).

Animal or “skins” acts are part of panto tradition. One of the most shameless scene-stealers belongs to “Daisy” the cow in *Jack in the Beanstalk* (Frow 179). Daisy dances and produces a can of Carnation milk. Charlie Chaplain, the legendary English comic, started his career playing the front end, not of a cow, but of a horse (Limelight “History” 3).

Supporters of Evil – The villain and his minions thwart the hero and heroine from getting what they want. Such evildoers include the wicked Queens in *Snow White* and *Cinderella*, Captain Hook in *Peter Pan*, and the Cook in *Dick Whittington*. Lesser villains include the ugly stepsisters and Herman the Henchman. Men sometimes play the roles of the Evil Queen and the ugly stepsisters. Panto performers love to elicit the utmost perfidiousness from these characters.

The Heroine – This character often has a more important role than the hero. She inspires the sympathy of the audience, brings out the best in the hero, and accentuates the wickedness of the villain. Writers portrayed the heroine as a fawning romantic or an unwilling victim in early pantos.

Today’s heroines exhibit bravery and self-confidence. Her feisty nature provides opportunities for humor in scenes with the hero and the villain. Producers look for a heroine who is pretty, has a strong soprano voice, and excellent dance skills. She always has a solo. Her costumes often reflect the growth and maturity of her character as the play progresses. Despite a more up-to-date portrayal of the heroine, in the fantasy world of panto she remains the personification of every young girls dream.

The Second Comedy Character – This character is harlequin. He is the brother of the hero or son of the dame. He is a friend of the audience and their link to the show. He frequently chats with the audience alone on the stage. Actors portray him as slow-witted, but lovable. Oft times, the villain tricks him. Scriptwriters use a variety of names for the second banana: Silly Billy, Simple Simon, Patches, Idle Jack, Muddles or Buttons. He falls in love with the heroine, but he never gets the girl.

C. Panto Plots

*Hey Cinders, do you know the Y dance?*

Harris 21

Stories - Writers like the French writer Charles Perrault (1608-1723) and the German brothers, Jacob Grimm (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859), converted folk tales into fairy tales. Their purpose was to educate children in the cultural values and norms of society. Fairy tales usually involve a quest or journey and good always triumphs over evil. Sometimes these tales contain comic interludes that are a staple for pantomime writers.

Panto writers are always alert for new and more profitable story lines. They expropriated modern stories such as J. M. Barrie’s *Peter Pan* written in 1906. Today one sees the hand of Disney in pantos like *Peter Pan, Cinderella*, and *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. British audiences like the familiar pattern of a panto, but they demand updated language and the avoidance of pre-war stereotypes (Cookman 23).
Bruno Bettelheim, a therapist and educator for severely disturbed children, offers a Freudian analysis of the fairy tales used in Pantos. Bettelheim argues that fairy tales are a unique art form. They help children find deeper meaning and foster personality and moral development (12).

Plots - Bette Bosma, an educator and curriculum expert, provides a more straightforward approach. She writes “most tales use a problem solving structure, with the setting, characters, and problem stated early in the story” (5). Panto stories unfold predictably until the problem is solved. Convention dictates the order and purpose of the acts and scenes of a panto.

The plot drives the action. Early in the first scene the principals carry on a conversation with the comics or chorus. *Snow White* states the plot, “My Stepmother the Queen is so unkind to me, my Father King Woodynut has gone away and I don’t have anyone to love” (Beeteson 4).

A panto plot contains five elements, according to Leslie Cookman author of *How to Write a Panto*.

1. The hero or heroine under threat (financial or physical)
2. An introduction to further threat
3. Introduction of possible savior
4. Battle between the forces of good and evil
5. Evil vanquished and hero and heroine united

A review of the plots of several pantos indicates a somewhat sexist result (See Appendix B). The plot line for the hero involves hard work and bravery that results in happiness i.e. status, wealth, and marriage. The plotline for the heroine teaches that if she is pretty, works hard, and maintains a cheerful attitude, what the British call keeping a stiff upper lip, then she will find happiness, status, and marriage.

D. Programme for a Panto

*Beneath my spell be all children again.*

Frow 7

**Act I**

**Scene 1** – Prologue – The main characters, introduce the plot, set the scene and establish rules for audience participation.

**Scene 2** – This scene takes place in a village square or castle courtyard. It features the dancers.

**Scene 3** – The principal boy (or girl) discusses their desire with the chorus, comics or villagers and the audience.

**Scene 4** – The comics clarify the plot and bond with the audience.

**Scene 5** – The other principal girl (or boy) discuss the quests.

**Scene 6** – The villain thwarts the central character, an act that provides conflict and gives the panto drama.

**Scene 7** – The cast delivers an uplifting musical number.

**Scene 8** – The two comics tell jokes, sing a song, and summarize the plot. This is a good time for skit that involves physical comedy.

**Scene 9** – The principal actors restate the plot so that the children won’t forget it during the intermission.
Interval – This is a 20-minute intermission. Ushers sell candy, ice cream, and treats to mobs of noisy excited children.

**Act II**

Scene 1 – Panto writers use music, dance, costume, and the entire cast to, grab the attention of the audience, restate the plot, and create a sense of urgency. In *Cinderella*, this scene takes place at the ball when the clock strikes twelve and she flees the palace.

Scene 2 – This is a time for comic relief and an opportunity for the rest of the cast to change costumes.

Scene 3 – The principals, with help from the cast, resolve the plot.

Scene 4 – A sing-a-long takes place here. The comic interacts with specific members of the audience. He recognizes birthdays and welcomes selected members up on the apron of the stage to sing, dance, or show off their costumes. This scene gives the cast time for a final costume change.

Scene 5 – The Grande Finale – This is a warm, rousing, inclusive scene, often a joyous wedding. The music is familiar to the audience and they join in whole-hearted while the cast members take their curtain calls.

Bespoke scripts for pantos are available for £500 ($780.55) or you can write your own. Cookman advises novice panto writers to diagram their panto scene by scene, so as not to strand a character. Be sure to include lots of jokes. When you have plenty of songs and dances, then throw the rulebook out of the window and write the script (Cookman 106).

**III Applications**

Travel to England at Christmas time and buy a ticket to a panto, if you wish to impress the British with your determination to understand British culture. They will argue that you won’t understand it, but give you credit for trying. This paper uses Victor Turner’s argument that the interplay of social drama and stage drama provides insight into British culture.

Since there is no national consensus of what British means, a good place to start is with the four components of the United Kingdom: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (Bagehot 42). Pantos reflect the rhymes, music, and language of each of these cultural areas, as well as other English speaking countries, in the use of local and topical humor.

A study of pantos does find some common denominators for those who identify as British. They have a well-deserved reputation for courtesy. They politely queue up for buses and theater tickets. Some speculate that this behavior comes from the need of a relatively large population to get along on a small island. The United Kingdom is slightly smaller that the state of Oregon, the respective populations for each are 60 million and 3.5 million. Population density is 646 people per square mile in the UK and 14 people per square mile in Oregon (Project Britain). Others believe that courtesy provided a control mechanism in aristocratic social class system. Irving Goffman, a Canadian Sociologist, called it “expression-management” (217). Tax legislation and education have greatly diminished the power of this hierarchical system, but it remains deeply ingrained in the English character.

The British let go of that control in pubs and pantos. Theatergoers check their reserve along with their overcoats. They become children once again, although perhaps not as excited and rambunctious as the youngsters in the audience (Brannagh and Orton 9). It is a family atmosphere. People talk to one another and watch each other’s children. Everyone, including the
actors, understands that the youngest members of the audience will cry, fall asleep, and need to use the loo, during the performance.

British humor runs the gamut from Monty Python to Benny Hill. It is word oriented, a product of control, and characterized by irony. Pantos contain all the motifs of British humor. Panto actors mock themselves and the society in which they exist. There is black humor and blue humor, supposedly above the heads of the children. There is bawdiness, bantering, and buffoonery. There is teasing, ribbing, and a healthy lack of respect. No subject is taboo. The British are correct. You will never understand it all.

The British panto, stand-up comedy, and creative stage shows like the Blue Man Group that break the fourth wall demonstrate advanced forms of audience participation. The English participate in pantos because they think that it is only fair that everyone has their say (Kipling Norman and Saxon). British film and literature displays nostalgia for village life. They yearn for a time when everyone enjoyed the security of belonging to a community. Panto offers audiences a simulacrum of life in these rural communities.

Cricket, pubs, and pantos are artifacts of British culture. Pantos tell stories of upward mobility and redemption. They show that ordinary folks can become rich with a little luck and lots of pluck. Muddles the clown continues the tradition of Harlequin, always in love, always in trouble. He persists despite confusion and difficulty. He muddles through. He may not get the girl, but he is testimony that good overcomes evil.

Pantos give us the same kind of insight into British culture as children’s picture books by English authors like Beatrix Potter, A.A. Milne, and Roald Dahl. Like picture books, pantos have a set layout and a predetermined length. They are colorful, vibrant, and filled with magic and surprise. They make all generations young again. They make children laugh. Nothing is more precious.

**Works Cited**


---. Personal Interview, 29 July 2002.


Appendix A – Adapted from Turner, *Ritual*, 73. Relationship between social and stage drama
Social drama crosses over into stage drama at centerline in figure eight pattern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Drama</th>
<th>Stage Drama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(everyday life)</td>
<td>(panto in theater)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>overt drama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit</td>
<td>manifest performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implicit rhetoric structure</td>
<td>implicit social process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix B – Panto Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panto</th>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aladdin</td>
<td>Upward mobility</td>
<td>Complicated twists in plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty and the Beast</td>
<td>Importance of character</td>
<td>Beauty is skin deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinderella</td>
<td>Value of work and a good disposition</td>
<td>Most popular panto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick Whittington</td>
<td>Risk taking in capitalist system</td>
<td>Based on real person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack and the Beanstalk</td>
<td>Value of assertiveness</td>
<td>Upward mobility (literally)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Pan</td>
<td>Importance of childhood</td>
<td>Originally a play for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Riding Hood</td>
<td>A cautionary tale</td>
<td>Not often produced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleeping Beauty</td>
<td>Sleep symbolizes, growth and change</td>
<td>It takes time to mature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow White</td>
<td>Works for and cares for dwarfs</td>
<td>Wicked Queen like Narcissus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Title: ARE ALL RADICAL ISLAM GROUPS THE SAME?

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Abstract

**Are all radical Islam groups the same?**

Islamic radicalism has been feared equally since September 11, 2001. But are all radical Islam groups the same? Do they share a plan to destabilize the world? Are they united to implement the plan? Beneath the façade of their homogeneity, there seems to be considerable contradictions and frictions among them. Several questions are raised as to whether or not the characters of all radical Islam groups are really the same, whether or not there is a big coalition between Al Qaeda and Chechen guerillas and many other radical Islam groups, whether or not they have next big plot to threat the regional and world security. This study tries to understand each radical Islam groups’ ideology and their methods of its implementation. This study selects radical groups influential over the areas spreading throughout Egypt, Central Asia and North Caucasus, namely, Al Qaeda, Al-Jihad, Muslim Brotherhood, Hizb ut-Tahrir, IMU, and Umarov and his Chechen Guerillas. The materials to be used is the text of each group’s statements and publications, such as “*Knights under the prophet’ Banner*” by Zawahiri, and Video messages of Umarov on [www.kavkascenter](http://www.kavkascenter) and field work including interviews with members of Hizb ut-Tahrir. Expecting result of this study is to categorize so-called radical groups according to the radicalness of ideology and means. This is also a way to understand the mutual closeness of radical groups and the possibility of coalition among them.
What does the past tell us about the future of Syria and Egypt: A Social Structural approach

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Paper Presentation

Political Science or Sociology

The current events in Syria raise legitimate hopes and fears about the kind of a regime will take control in Syria following this civil unrest and its effect on human rights, democracy and civil society. In this paper I delineate the social structural characteristics embedded in the history of Syrian society and politics which allow delineating existing and possible scenarios for future development. I use network theory and methodology for my analysis.
The changing social structure in Bangladesh – Minorities within Minorities

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Paper Presentation
Political Science or Sociology

Politics in Bangladesh has been almost always at constant turmoil form the time the country has established its independence. One of the main reasons for this unrest is the social structural fabric of the society particularly religious believes associated with political affiliations. In this paper I use the social fabric to delineate the place of minorities and their relative religious freedom in time of significant changes in the general Muslim world of the East.
APPLICATION OF LAW OF CONTRACT IN PAKISTAN

A Research Article

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ABSTRACT

This article will trace that how the contract law is being applied in Pakistani courts; what are the ramifications which it entails; and what are the remedial measures which can be taken to overcome the problems which are being encountered by the litigants. In this article the focus will be primarily on the civil suits regarding contracts. The application of Law of Contract in Pakistan has significantly plummeted in the current scenario. It does not mean that the cases related to Contract Law have dwindled but the people are loath to approach courts on matters related to meagre amount. To approach the court is fraught with multi-thronged problems: the civil litigation related to Contract matters takes interminable delay on the part of the courts; the populace has to splurge money in the form of the professional fee of lawyers; the people have to attend the courts frequently; the plaintiffs have to produce corroborating evidence etc.

Therefore, the masses prefer to settle the matters of law of Contract in amenable manner and sometimes in inimical manner rather than knocking at the door of the courts. Law of Contract in Pakistan is governed by Contract Act 1872 and Specific Relief Act 1877. Law of Contract seems to be being replaced by other laws like Writ Petitions etc.

KEY WORDS:

Contract Law, Specific Relief, corroborating evidence, plaintiff, Empiricism, Constitution.
INTRODUCTION

We stand at the verge of a new era of empiricism. In this world of empiricism, the application and applicability of law of contract sounds like an anachronism. In most of the countries like India, China, the United Kingdom etc. the application of law of contract has dwindled, specifically in Pakistan. John O. McGinnis has pontificated that the contract law has much to do with morality; morality and law of contract are intertwined. 1 If we separate these things then we have to go to the courts of law to get the matters settled. But in Pakistan the people have had morality, now no more, but since the number of cases relating to contracts have dwindled. Here we will discuss this issue in detail.2

An agreement between two or more persons which is enforceable by law is a contract. It is based upon one Latin phrase pacts sunt servanda which can be roughly translated as “agreements must be kept”. Origin of contract can also be traced from one of the verse from the Holy Quran: ya hayu allazina aimo aafu bil aqoode (Surah Al-Maida), the English rendition of this verse is “O’ Believers keep your promises”. Contract entails further process to get completed.

First of all, there is offer from one side and acceptance from the other side; there is consideration; and contract has to be for legal consideration. But here we are only concerned with the application of contract law in Pakistan. The common laws which were prevalent in the sub-continent before bifurcation of India and Pakistan were adopted by both the states after independence – some laws were not adopted. The constitution of Pakistan was formed in 1956 by the Constituent Assembly but other laws and acts which were applied by the courts were of British Era.

APPLICATION OF LAW OF CONTRACT:

All Pakistani Courts – Civil Courts, District Courts, High Courts and the Supreme Court – started to apply Contract Act 1872 to handle the matters related to agreements. It was averred by the Pakistani junta that the British laws will be soon replaced by Pakistani and Islamic laws but more than sixty three years are down the line but nothing has been done except replacement of few laws. From the very inception of Pakistan, when Pakistan was at its fledgling state the populace used to approach the courts regarding their contract matters to get the matters get settled and to get the decree from the court and later on filed execution of the decree.

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Let us dilate upon the fact that why the people preferred filing of civil suits in the courts for disputes relating to contracts in the early years. There were conglomerate of reasons. The first reason was that the lawyers or counsels of the petitioners did not charge hefty amount for filing of the suit from the plaintiffs. The second reason was that the court fee was nominal and was within the reach of common masses. The judges have empathy and commiseration for the penury stricken people. The courts were in the position to issue decree within the short span of time. The courts were not prone to procrastination. The courts were not awash with corruption and graft. The courts used to issue decree approximately within 5 years after filling of the suit. 3

But the trend for approaching the courts for contract matters took a sudden turn. And number of pending civil suits for contracts started dwindling gradually. What were the circumstances which led to sudden shift in the thinking of the people regarding filing of civil suits for contractual matters? The populace of Pakistan being aware of the fact that to approach the courts for measly matters is being fraught with multi thronged problems started to minimize their proclivity to approach the courts.

The Plaintiffs have to splurge a huge amount of money to get the decree. Albeit, The Code of Civil Procedure 1908 envisages that the costs of the cases will be recovered from the judgment debtor, but that has not been usually done. The decree holder has to bear the brunt altogether. The process for civil suits is significantly lethargic and time consuming for the plaintiff. Sometimes it happens that the plaintiff kicks the bucket but the case has not been disposed of by the court. Most of the lawyers usually charge huge amount from the plaintiff along with court fees.

The stenographers, readers and other staff of the court also endeavor to extract money from the plaintiffs and defendants in the form of corruption. There is no regular hearing on day to day basis or week to week basis, the case are usually adjourned for more than one month. First of all the court will frame the issues which will take one month to be framed afterwards the court will ask for documentary and other evidence which will be recorded by following the Quanoon-e-Shahadat Order 1984, that will also take two years to be completed. The court process is so enigmatic for the plaintiffs and the defendants that it seems to them that they have been embattled in a mesh where there is no way out.

The Supreme Court of Pakistan in its National Judicial Policy of 2009 underscored these points and stressed that the cases of all natures whether they pertain to civil matters or criminal matters have to be disposed of within six months. The National Judicial Policy also mentioned the number of cases pending in the courts, which are as follows:

The aforementioned table clearly highlights the no. of cases pending in the courts and no of filing of the cases is mushrooming significantly. It is easy to render the raison detre, that why the backlog of the cases is increasing considerably.

There are also other significant problems which exist regarding procrastination in the disposal of the civil cases and regarding the piling up of the backlog. One of these reasons is that the number of Judicial Officers across the country is far less and is not compatible with the number of cases pending in the courts. This problem needs to be redressed with zeal. The other similar problem which persists on is that the Judicial Officers are not paid hefty salary.

\footnote{\textit{National Judicial Policy 2009, Islamabad, Pakistan}}
so that they can stave off any corrupt practice which is offered in the form of bribe. The salary of Judicial Officers is lowing just because of paucity in the budget allocation by the concerned Provincial Government and Federal Government.

Judicial Crisis of 2007 has brought a change in the red-tapism which exists in the judicial process from top to toe which includes corrupt practices embedded in the dispensation of justice. Albeit this change is of measly relevance to the entire process, but still considerable. The current Honourable Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr. Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary has vehemently stressed that there would be no corruption in the whole judicial hierarchy, if there would be then it will be dealt with iron hands.

The main problem which hampers the dispensation of justice to the people is lengthy the process involves in the disposal of the case. If the case relating to contractual matter is disposed of within time i.e. 5 years in such case the judgement debtor got plenty of remedies. The judgement debtor can file review petition in the same court; the judgement debtor can prefer appeal in the Court of District Judge. Against the decision of the District Court the appeal can be preferred in the High Court and against the decision of the High Court the Supreme Court forum is still open to aggrieved party, in this way the contract cases take more than 20 years for final disposal.

Being distraught from this labyrinth of the court process the people have relinquished to approach the courts on contract matters. Only the companies and the departments approach the courts for contractual matters. The people intend to settle the matters amicably on measly amounts. Truculent and pugnacious persons try to settle the contractual matters in an inimical fashion by entering in affray or tiffs. These affrays have also resulted in murders as well, sometimes not always.

For these reasons Contract Act 1872 and Specific Relief Act 1877 seem to be replaced by other specific and particular laws as that has been put by Nathan B. Oman in the Georgetown Journal: “Since the end of the nineteenth century contract law has been shrinking as specialized bodies of law such as labor law or employment law are created to govern particular kinds of transactions. The trend is not an accident. Many contract theorists see the generality of contract law as a historical accident born of a formalism whose basis was ultimately more aesthetic than functional.”

The Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) Sayings are bristled with stress on the fulfillment of the contracts in amenable manner by producing witnesses which will swear upon oath for their respective rights. The Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) emphasized on the fulfillment of the contracts by saying: \textit{La Din a Leman La Ahda Lahu}, that can be translated as “The one who does not keep promises is like the one who has no religion or faith.

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5 Posner, \textit{Economic Analysis of Contract Law after Three Decades: Success or Failure?}
To get the matters resolved regarding the contracts or agreements we need to assimilate the contracts with our morality or moral values, as it is being done in developed states like the United States, Germany, France and Japan etc. if the matters will be resolved in amicable matters regarding the contracts it will accelerate the economy of Pakistan which is already wobbling.

**CONCLUSION:**

The people being reluctant to approach the court, the application of law of contract in Pakistan is at verge of extinction, it needs to be revived by developing the trust of the people on the courts and the process of the courts. Instead of replacing the Contract laws the existing laws need to be implemented with letter and spirit. A trend has to be developed among the people that they start approaching the courts. The cases have to be decided sans any delay. Hefty court fees need to be waived off.

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Title: WHAT IS MANEUVERING BY TERRORISTS?  
A COMPARISON BETWEEN US ANALYSIS AND RUSSIAN ANALYSIS

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Proposals for Future Research

What is Maneuvering by terrorists? A comparison between US analysis and Russian analysis.

Phil Williams argued that "in the 21st century, the state monopoly use of force is increasingly being reduced to a convenient fiction. Relatively few of the sovereign states of the United Nations can truly claim a monopoly on force within their territorial borders." What does this mean? The situation has been changing dramatically since the 20th century when the world was believed to be all composed by nation states. Warlords and militias have a territory beyond the borders and becoming equal power to sovereign states. US and Russia are not exceptions. Notion of terrorism should be changed. Violent non-state actors' power is unignorable. Accidentally two super powers seem to be in a similar situation. However it is not clear whether or not their recognition of terrorist groups and correspondences are the same. This study is proposed to compare US and Russia's recognition of terrorist groups and their correspondences regarding Al-Qaeda and Chechen terrorist Umarov whose nickname is Russia's Osama Bin Laden, who claims himself “Emir of Caucasus Emirate”, and his Chechen guerillas. The materials to be used is both state's publications including news papers, published interviews and research of The US Air Force Academy such as “Modeling Violent Non-State Actors: A Summary of Concepts and Methods”, “Lords of the Silk Route: Violent Non-State Actors in Central Asia”. The expecting result of this study would indicate how Al-Qaeda and Chechen Guerillas create the chances of maneuvering and how two states make different or similar analyses and correspondences against terrorist groups.
Transcultural Theory at Its Beginning: Black Male Voices for a New World?

Reginald Martin, MFA, PhD, University of Memphis

Some big name critics I have been reading over the past few years assert that “Theory” as an area of English Studies is dead, pointless in its own solipsism, or “ended,” as Jonathan Culler and others have written. Houston Baker in his latest book *Betrayal* seems to express that while theory is not dead, it is pointless unless it embraces key, current social issues. Baker, as an original member of the New Black Aesthetic Critics, should be expected to posit a humanistic center to his theories; to his credit, he has not changed that opinion in 50 years. Indeed, the positing of the human and human concerns at the core of original and New Black Aesthetic Criticism is one of the key reasons this school of criticism was shunned by Yale and its Structuralism at the same time [early 1970’s]. English Studies were not only controlled and garrisoned by Anglophiles and Francophiles, it was desperate from 1965 (J. L. Austin’s *Speech Act Theory*) to 1979 [the high water years of Structuralism [esp. Giroud] and Deconstruction [esp. Foucault] to turn itself into an algorithm so that it could compete with its affiliates in the hard and applied sciences for funding. To say that academic theory failed miserably in its attempt to become relevant and funded by a government that could not spell “Deconstruction,” much less understand the theories, is telling only the more obvious part of our last 50 years of Theory in the Academy.

Later theoretical schools, such as Structuralism and Deconstruction, did have an immense impact on film [what is “Pulp Fiction” if not a purposely deconstructed text?], music, graphic art, even Reader Response Criticism for readers who would not be considered academics. But, ultimately, as do all things in our rigged system of rigged “capitalism,”—this Kleptocracy into which we
were all born—the success or lack thereof of Theory went with its funding, and in a country whose idea of education is currently to sell out to the highest federal, military or corporate bidder, Theory—as did all humanities studies—lost.

Or did it? Post-Structuralist and Feminist Critics were able to ungrasp each others’ throats long enough to embrace and embolden something we now call Cultural Criticism, a kind of unified field of any theories that could be textually (or extratextually) supported within reason. Interestingly, these new (1985-present) Cultural Critics were composed of some of the very same people and their graduate students who had ignored and/or disdained African American Literary Theory 30 years before, a set of theories so specifically cultural that African American Literary Theory can rightfully claim to be the ultimate and original Cultural Criticism. This type of criticism is often marked as beginning with Clarence Major’s “A Black Criterion: Total Life Is What We Want” (1967). Under the African American Critical umbrella today, we see those who call themselves Cultural Critics, Post-Feminist critics, Black Feminist Critics, Queer Theorists, and even some New Historicist critics, such as the earlier work of W. Lawrence Hogue. So, while the academy can still not to this day accept any critical rubric on its walls or in its curriculum that is not from England, France or Russia, African American Literary Theory and its cultural/humanistic components undergirds all of the current Cultural Criticism. As Muddy Waters wrote, “A young horse gets there faster/but the old horse knows where it’s going.”

If there is any “end” to Theory and Criticism in the Academy (outside of the Academy, no one cares), then it is what we now call Cultural Criticism with its undergirding of African American Literary principles. Indeed, if there is to be an end to theory, it will not come from self-serving
academics seeing the errors of their ways; it will come from the state budget cuts that no school
of theory, except the Marxist School, even attempted to acknowledge, and all theorists who want
to keep a job will then have to teach composition and rhetoric to undergraduates as they should
have in the first place.

Addison Gayle and Carolyn Gerald wrote that if human interest were not set at the heart of any
to theory, then the theory had no relevance to the community. At the time (roughly 1969-70), this
“community” meant the black community. However, as Americans have been forced to live and
work with each other after the 1965 Civil Rights Act, and as wrong-headed people have forced
us all into an exploitive “globalism” from which none of us may return alive or with a dollar that
means anything, “community” has now morphed into two working meanings: 1. All of
American, syncretized culture. 2. World culture as inflected by the American Empire and its
ideas, beliefs and peoples’ customs.

I have written at length elsewhere about African American Literary Theory principles (see any
of my articles or books on the New Black Aesthetic over the past 25 years), but for this
discursion I only want to mention several rhetorical windows often used in African American
Literary Theory, and thus, used in all of Cultural Criticism. Conceded: African American
Literary Theory asserts that the study of the artifact (literature or other works of art) must put
current human interest as its forefront of being. For example, having a structural discussion of
why the most recent cover of *The Color Purple* is different from its original cover and the
significances thereof, would make any African American Theorist true to his or her principles
gag. He or she would ask: “Exactly how is such a discussion helping one human being to read better? To understand significances of plot and meaning? To better his/her own life?”

But more specifically, the theorists I work with are trained to look through several narrower, focused examination windows to achieve their explicatory ends. Those rhetorical windows are:

- **Intertextual** (how the text responds in its words and structures to other texts);
- **Metatextual** (how the text talks to or explains itself by its words and structures);
- **Extratextual** (how the text responds to non-fictional indices outside itself);
- **Subtextual** (how the text reveals hidden or deeper meanings beneath its plain textual surface);
- **Historical** (how the narrative structure of the text is shaped by history related to it or history that the reader knows otherwise), and
- **Psychological** (the text’s meanings at sub-subtextual and associative levels).

Once the Cultural Critic begins to look through these “windows,” anything can be plausibly illuminated and supported. My theorists are taught, too, that any repeated set of narrative sequences is a “text.” Thus, certain rap “flows” are texts, certain repetitions in Gordon Parks’ photographs, certain themes in the poetry of Ntozake Shange, etc.

While it goes without saying that I do not believe in “race” as anything other than a psycho-fantasy to enlarge one’s penis, breasts or brain, I do believe in culture and all of its differences, overlaps, and surrealistic permutations. One should not confuse me with a Henry Gates’ Post-racial person or Post-Racial Theorist. I am not. I am a Transculturalist and a syncretist, i.e., I believe that African American culture is one of the top three most fascinating and absorptive cultures in the world and, thus, the culture produces unique and new cultural artifacts. As an absorptive culture, African American Culture will absorb and mutate quickly and become
something new every 3-5 years, much like jazz, yet another African-American (not an African) invention. To be a syncretic, Transcultural Theorist, one’s religion, look, gender, or sexual orientation means nothing; one’s ability to write well and syncretize toward deeper, mixed-cultural understanding and new artistic creation means everything.

Let us start with my PREMISE developed over the past 5 years, written 1 and 1/2 years ago, and published in March 2011: The theory “community” has now morphed into two working meanings: 1. All of American, syncretized culture as expressed by American theorists (primarily Cultural Critics). 2. World culture as inflected by the American Empire and its ideas, beliefs and peoples’ customs. These first two main points have important, related sub-points:

3. One aspect of syncretized American culture is African-American culture, with its own blues and cultural concepts; 4. Transcultural Theory asserts that, via the syncretization tools of African American Literary Theory, a new matrix theory has evolved: African-American literature and culture written about by non-Americans or critics who are otherwise “othered” by new, global perspectives on African American literature and culture. 5. Obviously, thus, Transcultural Theory, does, should, and must look at other literatures and cultures using the artifacts of African American Literature as a lens and starting point.

My use of the term “Theory” here invites misunderstanding with “method,” as Dr. Jerry Ward has pointed out. So to be clear for the immediate future (3-5 years), Transcultural “Theory” is a historical moment brought on by our inflected responses to the historical moment of a vision forced upon me and others by globalism. I am against globalism and all its aspects as it continues to work its evil upon the stupid and the sleepwalkers: the stupid think that the index of “globalism” will bring about “one” world, one people, one vision, one economy in which everyone will get along and exchange ideas freely in some wonderland where writing is separated from the New World Order. This is madness. First of all, The New World Order wants us all dead. As recently as the June 6-10 2011 Bilderberger Meeting in Geneva, Switzerland,
Henry Kissinger once again asserted his desire that the world have a total population of no more than 500 million. With the help of his techno-crat friend Bill Gates, who wants to vaccinate all of Africa for “free,” and the help of his entertainment czar, Oprah Winfrey, who will serve as the brown face to sell the idea to brown and beige females under the smoke screen of feminist freedom, Kissinger will work relentlessly to achieve this depopulation as soon as he can. Then, and only then, will the remaining humans be crafted into one mind, one people--- one set of servants to the elite. Only in my nightmares can I imagine what these 500 million humans will “look” like, and only in my nightmares can I imagine the kind of “art” that will be allowed. Perhaps there will only be an endless series of Dreamweaver constructed digitized images of slaves continually bowing down to their masters and genetic-betters?

Nevertheless, globalism is upon us, and as oppressive and scary as it is, everything creates its opposite. So when I see how well my student from Germany can fuse African-American Literature with Yogic concepts, or my student from China seamlessly fusing Baraka’s ‘60s thoughts for use as change-agents in a present-day oligarchy, or how my Czech Republic student pulls African American architecture into the world view of architecture as a positive inspiration for hard times, I am hopeful. I am even impressed.

It is doubtful that any cultural index other than African American literature and culture could be absorptive and powerful enough in its concept to be used against globalism’s defects. After all, syncretism is what saved and formed this thing we call “African American Literature and culture.” It is not African, and it is not American; it is an ever-evolving change agent. It is *jazz*, to be used by the improviser in new and unique ways never before known, toward the betterment of individual human lives.

Even as I write these programmatic and foundation words, I am acutely aware that black culture—especially black southern culture—as we all know and love it, is dead. It was dead after the first generation of children after the 1968 Aid for Dependent Children Act reached adulthood. It was dead when the blues player from Clarksdale, Mississippi bought his grandchildren their first color TV set. It was dead when some African Americans integrated into
mainstream culture exceedingly well, and some were not allowed to, and some could not and still others would not integrate at all. But, black culture is only recently dead, and its death throes can be used in Transcultural Theory to elucidate and support entirely new concepts and paradigms of any artistic index.

We in this volume are writers and theorists: that is our art, what we do, what we produce. But once one can examine Jimi Hendrix’s “Castles in the Sand” (1967) through a Serbian cultural window, one can easily see the contemporary Icelandic art that could come from such a fusion. Iceland, the only country in the world with vision and fortitude to repudiate false debt and arrest the bankers, will not be saddled with the “Castles in the Sand” of others, only their own, as they feverishly try to untangle themselves form foreign debt they did not create. The old news of African-American, southern, blues culture is that extreme suffering creates extreme, new art. I can only imagine the new music, writing, graphic arts, sculpture and theater that are soon to come of out Greece, Portugal and Spain. 45% of all people under 40 in Spain cannot be employed; there is no global space to employ them. The globalists move around Spanish futures on Zbigniew Brzezinski’s (Barack Obama’s hidden mentor) Grand Chess Board as the pawns they are, and send employment to any Asian country they can exploit for cheap wages. Extreme suffering creates extreme, new art and new perceptions.

Some of my critics to volume one, while supporting me and wishing my ideas well, have pummeled me via email. I include only a few of the responses here. For example: “transcultural theory must be cautious about closing doors on possibilities as it evolves. It is crucial that the principles upon which the theory is predicated be "open" and flexible enough to critique the foibles of "globalization" and the bad faith that often lurks behind bright talk about multiculturalism in literary and cultural studies.” Indeed. I could not agree more, and I am purposely lowering my regular discourse level to make clear that Transcultural Theory is a negative critique of globalist culture that will only be extant for 3-5 years, yet Transcultural Theory would not exist without the globalist move to make us all the same, expendable economic units. People may write of Transcultural Theory ideas after 3-5 years, but the historical
moment in which we are living right now will have passed. For as surely as Transcultural Theory responds to globalism, so will globalism respond negatively to it; the attack will yield even newer, greater writing paradigms, as the human spirit cannot be crushed.

Equally, I welcome this criticism: “One instance of an assertion you should consider modifying in your introduction for the special issue: Part Two appears on page 5.

‘For example, having a structural discussion of why the most recent cover of *The Color Purple* is different from its original cover and the significances thereof, would make any African American Theorist true to his or her principles gag. He or she would ask: ‘Exactly how is such a discussion helping one human being to read better? To understand significances of plot and meaning? To better his/her own life?’

From the EXTRATEXTUAL rhetorical window comes this answer: The discussion of covers is not directly related to the ability to read and make meaning of an individual text (in this case, a novel). It is directly related to efforts to become more literate about how the publishing industry uses the visual to manipulate potential readers and to exercise power in shaping reputations. The single individual becomes empowered by acquiring a sharpened critical understanding of how she or he is being manipulated. The betterment of life is related to an increase in one's acuity in detecting how visual motives serve the interests of power in the publishing industry. Depending upon the individual's sophistication, the extratextual discourse can help that person to understand the nexus of propaganda, value, and power in this world. It was quite valid for Joyce Ann Joyce to raise the question of reading with Henry Louis Gates and Houston Baker. At present, the transcultural theorist has to deal with reading as a matter of a Chinese, Chicano/a, or African reader's ability to grasp or not grasp what is done in and with English of one kind or another.”

Or this additional criticism:

‘To be a syncretic, Transcultural Theorist, one's religion, look, gender, or sexual orientation
means nothing; one's ability to write well and syncretize toward deeper, mixed-cultural understanding and new artistic creation means everything’ --page 6

“This generalization invites misunderstanding. The theorist's religious ideology, ideas about gender as a control mechanism, sexual orientation, and regard or disregard for appearance (look, I suppose) do mean something in acts of interpretation. Otherwise, the theorist backs herself or himself into a dead-end, an impasse from which the ability to deal with problems of intersituationality germane to interpretation becomes weak or non-existent. Granted, the ability to write well (by somebody's measure) and to syncretize or make fresh connections is important. These abilities are not, however, everything! Left without necessary explanation, your assertion sounds oddly like a surreal version of a New Critical article of faith.”

Or this related criticism of my platforms as stated in this part 2:

“I like the sub-points 3, 4, and 5, especially sub-point 4 regarding instruments or tools. Description of those tools, however, will be at once very necessary and very difficult. I consider "signifying" or "signifyin' " to be a special tool forged out of linguistic theory within the African American matrix. 1) Signifying refers to attitudes embodied in modes of address by way of intonation. 2) Signifying refers to one writer's response to a prior work by another writer by way of revising. If a critic does not explain carefully how she or he is using signifying, a reader confronts a ball of confusion. I would distinguish within transcultural theory such tools as signifying from methods constituted by the windows discussed in Part 1.”

All of these thoughts are well-taken and understood by me. However, what such criticism misses from my base point is that Transcultural Theory will re-designate all of our old terms and
old ways of seeing, as our seeing will not be only from our own American eyes, but from multiples [others’] eyes.

Another critic has made a good analogy point on Transcultural Theory and the global impact of Hip-Hop music and culture:

“What is Hip-Hop's role in creating this transcultural environment where ‘other’ cultures can latch on to and study as a means to resist American/Anglo power and its identity marker as ‘other’? Is there a connection between Hip-Hop's soaring global popularity and the globe's increased interest in African-American literature/Southern literature? How is African-American literature used as a paradigm in other world literatures where authors are seeking to subvert their government power? I think Dr. Ward has a good point when he says that religion, nationality, looks, etc...does mean everything when interpreting. However, I think he misunderstands your point that syncretic culture would allow "outsiders" to come together and form one community built from common ground, respect, and sensitivity so that men can write about feminism, whites or non-blacks can write about African-American issues without feeling they are intruding on cultures that don't welcome their input and ideas.”

Ultimately, at this time, my tough-love critics will have to judge their own indexes of nationalism/separatism/fusion, and work those feelings through the Transcultural lens, and neither I, nor any of my critics can stop this globalist tide; we can only ride it, try to push the surf board in positive directions. Not one of the writers included in this volume, or any of my well-meaning critics—separatists and syncretists alike--is on the board of the International Monetary Fund, the Federal Reserve Board, or on the steering committee of the Tri-lateral Commission. Most don’t even know what these transnational entities are, and how these powerful forces,
controlled by no voters, shape their lives as writers and products of English Departments. While they have been worried about whether Ellison should have completed a second novel, or Ntozake Shange should have agreed to have *For Colored Girls* revamped for the screen by Tyler Perry, the United States Federal Government has severely cut its funding to the states, and state governments have severely cut their allocations to state higher education. Our new world is the globalists’ world, not the past-worlds we foolishly hope to inhabit. While we were worried about past structures, they were busy creating a new one right in front of our distracted eyes that will refocus our views against our wills. I have been in the English profession for 36 years, and there was never an ivory tower for those of us at state schools, much less at HBCU’s. Such metaphors were merely the way(s) those inclined away from the arts and toward corporatism kept our raging intellects in place. They won. We are poised to lose it all if we do not embrace the real issues of our times, which are all economically—not artistically—based.

Continuing to develop the rudiments and emanations of Transcultural Theory offers one possible position of power for those who, otherwise, will be allowed to write only about the past while suffering through a present they do not grasp.

**Works Referenced on the Plain Surface of the Narrative or Sub-Textually**


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---. Messages to the author. June 17/20 2011. E-mail.

TITLE OF SUBMISSION: 
Peer assessment: Learning from giving feedback

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PRESENTATION FORMAT: 
Paper Session

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ABSTRACT: 
Assessment drives student learning and feedback is a key indicator of how students are travelling. As higher education expands and becomes more costly for students, university teachers may be finding that students are demanding more feedback more often on the work they submit for assessment. In these challenging circumstances, university teachers will be considering how to respond to student needs and expectations. Feedback on student work need not be limited to feedback from teachers. Self assessment is an important skill that should also be nurtured by encouraging students to reflect on assessment criteria and their own learning throughout the semester. Feedback can also come from peers. In recent years, peer assessment strategies have increasingly been implemented by teachers in their classrooms and analysed by researchers in academic journals. Concerns have been raised about both the ability and the desirability of students as assessors and a number of studies have focussed on the correlation between peer and teacher marks. Useful feedback on assessment should not however mean that marks or grades are always attached to the feedback. Indeed, formative assessment may be of just as important for student learning as summative assessment. This paper reports on assessment practice in a university business law subject in which students give their peers written feedback on their class presentations. It provides an analysis of student views of the benefits of both receiving and giving feedback to their peers. It also discusses the student assessments in terms of what it tells teachers about how students think about feedback and outlines the advantages and challenges for students and teachers considering peer assessment in their courses.
Hydraulic Fracturing of Shale Gas Plays, Environmental Policy Concerns, and Our Energy Future

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The ability to economically produce natural gas from unconventional shale gas reservoirs has been made possible recently through the application of horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing. Texas is a major player in these developments. Of the eight states and coastal areas that account for the bulk of U.S. gas, Texas has the largest proved reserves. Texas' Barnett Shale already produces six percent of the continental U.S.' gas and exploration of Texas' other shale gas regions is just beginning. Shale gas production is highly controversial, in part because of environmental concerns. This paper explores the regulatory framework for hydraulic fracturing of shale gas plays in Texas.

In its 2011 Annual Energy Outlook, the U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) estimates that the recoverable gas resources from U.S. shale gas plays have more than doubled in the past year, in large part due to the successful use of advanced drilling techniques. Indeed, the report forecasts that by 2035 almost half (45 percent) of the natural gas produced in the U.S. will come from shale gas, up from 14 percent in 2009 (Energy Information Administration, 2011). Over the last few years new drilling techniques are remapping the energy future of the U.S. These new drilling techniques have opened vast quantities of natural gas. Estimates suggest these new reserves will amount to 616 trillion cubic feet (17,248 billion cubic meters) -- about the same as Kuwait's proven reserves (Cox, 2010).

While conventional sources of natural gas are declining, unconventional sources like shale gas are rapidly increasing. Instead of facing dwindling reserves of conventional natural gas, the application of horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing (HF or fracking) techniques in shale gas reservoirs has turned the U.S.
from a nation of waning gas production to one of increasing production. Texas is forecast to be a key state contributing to U.S. natural gas supplies in the future.

The use of fracking and the gas drilling boom that has resulted from its use has led, however, to some controversy and environmental worries. Concern centers not only around air emissions and potential water contamination associated with fracking chemicals used, but also around the substantial amount of water necessary to make the wells productive. Additionally, apprehension extends to chemical waste management practices, the large land footprint of drilling operations, and the necessary infrastructure required to support these large drilling operations.

**Why Texas Matters**

The state of Texas contains five major shale gas plays and has assumed a critical role in demonstrating the new HF drilling technology. The largest of the Texas' plays, the Barnett play, is located in north central Texas. Nationally, this was the first play to be exploited. Between 2005 and 2007, almost all completed horizontal HF wells were successful in the Barnett Shale play. Texas is also site of the Haynesville Shale play in the eastern part of the state along the Texas-Louisiana border. This site is expected to be the largest national producer over the coming decade. The Eagle Ford Shale play, located just south of San Antonio, is the newest site to begin production and is also expected to be a significant producer. Texas also is home to the Barnett-Woodford Shale in the west and the Bend Shale play in the Panhandle.

Production of shale gas in Texas is increasing rapidly. In 2007, Texas produced 988 billion cubic feet (27.66 billion cubic meters) of shale gas. In 2009, production rose to 1,789 billion cubic feet (50 billion cubic meters). That production
accounted for 57 percent of the 3,110 billion cubic feet (87 billion cubic meters) of shale gas produced in the United States that year (Energy Information Administration, 2010). Estimates of proved shale gas reserves within Texas continue to rise at the same steep rate.

**The Regulatory Tangle of Texas**

While other states have moved legislatively or administratively to control shale gas drilling within their jurisdictions, the regulatory climate of Texas has thus far prevented any similar action in the Lone Star State. Where some efforts have been attempted, they have not gone far. The reasons are interrelated and primarily due to the fragmentation of the regulatory bureaucracy, a fundamental anti-regulatory disposition, and a well-entrenched legal and administrative structure that promotes oil and gas extraction above other concerns.

In Texas, multiple commissions and authorities have a role to play in jurisdiction over mineral, water, air, and land regulation. But unlike states like California, that also have a fragmented structure, Texas does not have a strong ethos of environmental protectionism. Moreover, under the leadership of Governor Rick Perry, Texas has taken a decidedly anti-EPA and anti-federal regulation position.

Within Texas, environmental pollution issues typically fall under the jurisdiction of the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality. TCEQ is the agency that deals with air and water quality issues as the state agency given primacy for implementing federal clean water and air laws. TCEQ, however, has recently found itself in conflict with the EPA over what EPA considers lax enforcement of the federal Clean Air Act. In a most unusual step, in March of 2010, EPA disapproved Texas' air permitting exemption program (Environmental Protection...
Agency, 2010a). The Qualified Facilities exemption rule was submitted by TCEQ to EPA as part of the required State Implementation Plan (SIP). The rule allows certain facilities that have Texas permits to avoid following federal Clean Air Act requirements. EPA rejected the permitting plan and told Texas to change the SIP to bring it into compliance with Clean Air Act requirements (Galbraith, 2010). Texas refused and the standoff began. The Governor and the TCEQ argue that the federal government is meddling in Texas' business and is involved in an unconstitutional overreach.

Tension between the TCEQ and the EPA escalated later in 2010 when Texas became the only state to refuse to implement EPA's greenhouse gas regulations. While several other U.S. states have joined with Texas in suing the EPA over its efforts to regulate greenhouse gases, Texas is the only state that has refused to create a state program to implement the federal rules. In December, EPA announced that it would seize authority and issue Clean Air Act greenhouse gas permits in Texas because of Texas' unwillingness to do so (Michaels, 2010). Texas appealed to the courts and continued to fight the EPA but as of November 2011, EPA began issuing greenhouse gas permits for Texas.

EPA has pushed TCEQ to consider air emissions in the Barnett Shale. Responding to complaints from citizens of Dish, Texas EPA began an investigation of toxic air emissions in 2010. The TCEQ also conducted a study of air quality in the Barnett Shale. They found elevated levels of benzene and other chemicals. TCEQ recommended long-term monitoring (Vaughan and Pursell, 2010). Subsequently, the TCEQ put in place a two-phase monitoring study to examine air emissions in the Barnett Shale (Texas Commission on Environmental Quality, 2010). But drilling continues.
Conflict with the EPA has spilled over to another Texas agency, the Texas Railroad Commission. Under Texas law, the Railroad Commission (RRC) regulates the oil and gas industry including pipeline transporters. It is responsible for community safety and stewardship of natural resources, while at the same time one of its missions is to promote "enhanced development and economic vitality" (Railroad Commission of Texas, 2011a). Given its dual purposes, some would suggest that the missions of community safety and of stewardship of natural resources fall victim to that of promoting the oil and gas industry.

The RRC has come into conflict with the EPA for its lax enforcement of the Safe Drinking Water Act. In December of 2010, EPA issued an *Imminent and Substantial Endangerment Order* to protect drinking water in Southern Parker County. By this order the EPA ordered a natural gas company operating in the Barnett Shale to take immediate action to protect the water wells of local residents. EPA testing confirmed the presence of flammable substances in the drinking water. By issuing this order, the EPA trumped the RRC which had done nothing in response to complaints from homeowners (Environmental Protection Agency, 2010b).

Air and water quality issues are not the only regulatory concerns in Texas. In an arid state like Texas, water quantity is a key issue. When it comes to determining adequacy of water supplies, multiple authorities exercise overlapping jurisdiction. These include the more than three dozen river authorities and special law districts, multiple aquifer authorities, nearly 100 Groundwater Conservation Districts, sixteen Groundwater Management Areas, and seven Priority Groundwater Management Areas, myriad water utilities, municipalities, and counties. In addition, the Texas Water Development Board and its regional planning committees are responsible for producing a 50 year plan for water resources, updated every 5 years. However,
when it comes to use of groundwater use for drilling gas or oil wells, these regulatory bodies have no authority.

   The RRC allows a company to use as much groundwater as it needs to complete a well (Railroad Commission of Texas, 2011b). Drillers that wish to use surface water do need to apply to TCEQ for a permit. The first such application was filed in 2010 for use of San Antonio River water for a fracking operation in the Eagle Ford Shale. The permit seeks 65 million gallons a year for ten years (Harman, 2010). The use of such vast amounts of water raises some concerns especially in dryer parts of the state but thus far there are few attempts to control the water use. Groundwater is specifically exempted from control under the state's water code.

   In Texas, surface land property rights can be separated from mineral rights and mineral rights supersede property rights. Natural gas is classified as a mineral. The separation of surface rights from mineral rights can happen in several ways. Either the landowner sells the minerals but retains the surface or the landowner retains the minerals but sells the surface. In Texas, the latter is more common. The language regarding the terms of the sale is recorded on the deed. If the seller fails to reserve the minerals when selling the surface, the mineral ownership goes automatically to the buyer and the transaction is considered a fee simple estate.

Whether the surface and mineral estates are separated on a tract of land or not, in Texas mineral rights are dominant. This is because to benefit from the ownership of minerals, access to the surface of the land is essential. If mineral ownership did not have priority over surface rights in law, then mineral rights would be worthless for the mineral owner could not enter the land to explore and extract the minerals (Fambrough, 2009).
Because the surface of the land must be disturbed so that minerals may be accessed, this can create a tension between surface land property owners and mineral rights owners. It is important to note that often the same individual owns both the surface and mineral rights, in which case no conflict would ensue. Mineral rights owners are permitted by Texas law to lease the rights to explore for oil and gas to a company which in turn must provide the surface land owner a notification of intent to explore and drill. In Texas, though, the surface land owner cannot block the mineral rights owner from access to the minerals. Mineral rights owners can use as much surface land as is reasonably necessary to explore, drill, and extract minerals. The mineral rights owner is allowed by Texas law to clear trees and remove fences so that drilling rigs can be brought to the property. Once gas is discovered, the mineral owner can bring in extraction equipment on a dedicated pad that can be an acre or more in size. The mineral rights owner or lessee may also erect pipelines for the removal of minerals. Texas law does not require the mineral owner or lessee to pay for damages to the land or to pay reparations for the loss of use of the land while the drilling operation is in place (Woods, 2010).

In Texas, private gas pipeline companies have been given the right of eminent domain by state statute, which in practicality allows them to lay lines wherever they choose. That interstate pipeline companies have the power of eminent domain is established in federal law. Interstate natural gas transmission pipeline companies were given the power of eminent domain by the federal Natural Gas Act of 1938. An interstate pipeline company may use the power of eminent domain if the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) has issued a certificate of public convenience and necessity for a pipeline project and the company has not been able to successfully negotiate a purchase price with the property owner (Armentsen and
Simmons, 2009). Intrastate pipelines are generally regulated by state Public Utility Commissions. States vary on the authority given to intrastate pipeline operators. In most states, intrastate pipelines and gathering pipelines -- lines that take the gas from the wells to a larger transmission line -- do not have eminent domain authority (Killion, 2010). In Texas, however, pipeline companies have considerable sway.

In Texas, pipeline operators and gas utilities have the power of eminent domain. The Railroad Commission does not have any right to regulate any pipeline with respect to the exercise of eminent domain (Railroad Commission of Texas, 2010). If a company wants to cross private property to lay a pipeline, they are allowed to do so. If they take the entire property through condemnation, they were required under the 1936 case *State v. Carpenter* to provide fair market value for the land (Brannan and Peacock, 2010). However, in 2004, the Texas Supreme Court ruled in *Hubenak v. San Jacinto Gas Transmission Co.* that the dollar amount of the condemning agent's offer does not have to align with fair market value for the land. Further, even if the party whose land is being taken wins in a court appeal, the attorney fees and appraiser fees cannot be recovered as part of the judgment (Fambrough, 2010). These aspects of Texas policy make opposing mineral development difficult and costly.

**Conclusion**

Taken together these provisions and actions constitute a very friendly environment for oil and gas producers in the state of Texas. Unlike actions in other states and at the federal level to control horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing, Texas remains pretty much "the wild West." The fragmentation of the Texas regulatory bureaucracy, a fundamental anti-regulatory disposition of the TCEQ and
the Governor, and the well-entrenched legal and administrative structures that promote oil and gas extraction above other concerns make Texas a strong pro-drilling state. While land owners who lease their mineral rights to oil and gas companies stand to gain significant income from such leases, once the lease is negotiated landowners have few protections. How much water will be used, the disposal of wastewater, and the footprint of drilling operations are not under their control. What will remain of the rural land that passes to future generations is unclear. And urban dwellers who find themselves unexpectedly living in a gas field will have to deal with the development and production.

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"Investors: The Missing Piece in the Foreclosure Racial Gap Debate"

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Abstract

Foreclosures have become one of the most important problems facing cities and the U.S. economy. However, not all communities are affected equally. Our goal is to better understand factors that affect variation in neighborhood foreclosures in a typical, mid-sized U.S. city—Louisville, Kentucky. While previous findings indicate that a key explanatory variable leading to rising neighborhood foreclosures is the proportion of racial minorities, our analysis finds that in a fully specified model, race does not predict differences between black and white homeowners. On the other hand, an analysis of investors predicts high foreclosure rates in African-American neighborhoods. The effect of percent non-white is caused by several key intervening variables, including the presence of investor foreclosures, the absence of neighborhood walkability, and the prevalence of high cost loans. In the past, walkability and investor behavior have largely been ignored by social scientists studying neighborhood variation in foreclosures and the role of race in rising foreclosures. In this paper, we examine how speculation by investors in majority African-American neighborhoods along with degree of walkability and the concentration of high-priced loans have contributed to recent increases in foreclosures and variation across neighborhoods. Together, the findings demonstrate that these three factors help to better explain the contemporary causes of greater foreclosures in African-American neighborhoods.
Introduction

Foreclosures are one of the most important problems facing cities today. This problem is not only devastating to individuals and households, but also to neighborhoods. Foreclosures are not equally distributed throughout a city. Some neighborhoods exhibit major foreclosure problems while other neighborhoods are virtually free of foreclosures. During the recent housing market crash and foreclosure crisis, low-income minority neighborhoods were hit the worst. Several cities have attempted to address these problems through mortgage counseling, foreclosure relief efforts, and even litigation against lenders perceived to be the most egregious predators (Aalbers, 2011; Bocian et al., 2010; Relman, Dane, & Colfax, 2011). Yet it is projected that we are, at best, halfway through the foreclosure crisis with millions more families almost certain to lose their homes (Bocian et al., 2011).

To better explain this phenomenon, the following analysis develops a greater understanding of how foreclosures vary by neighborhood by examining three key explanatory variables, two of which have been ignored in virtually all of the academic research on foreclosures: walkability and investor-owned foreclosures. A third variable, high interest loans, has been noted as a contributor to the foreclosure crisis generally, but has not been sufficiently examined as a factor in accounting for neighborhood variation in foreclosures. This research attempts to provide a much wider and more convincing explanation of how foreclosures vary by neighborhood and shed new light on the conventional explanation of why foreclosures are so high in African-American neighborhoods. This paper uses Louisville, Kentucky, a mid-sized city, as the case for study over the initial two years of the crisis: 2007 and 2008.

Foreclosures, of course, are not simply a research topic for scholars. The costs to households, communities, and the U.S. (if not the world’s) economy have been the focus of
much policy debate, community organizing, protests, and related activities (McLean and Nocera, 2010; Stiglitz, 2010; Chomsky, 2011). Powerful financial and political interests have exerted substantial influence on the behavior of lenders, regulators, and others engaged in financial services. News reports, feature films, television shows, and other aspects of popular culture are paying attention. Despite the attention that many scholars in academia, as well as business, government, and policy research settings have paid to these issues, important unresolved questions remain. In the following pages, we highlight some important research findings about neighborhood differences in foreclosures, particularly differences associated with racial composition. We hope this research can help resolve challenges facing policymakers, private business, and individual households.

**Background on the Foreclosure Crisis**

Foreclosure is the legal process by which a lender seizes real property from its owner due to the owner not making timely mortgage payments. Upon seizing a property, a bank can auction the property to recover some losses from the defaulted loan. Amid the recent economic recession, foreclosures catapulted to national attention in early 2007 when the collapse of the national housing price bubble left many borrowers “underwater,” or living in a home worth less than the amount owed on the mortgage. The situation was exacerbated when many affected homeowners encountered difficulty refinancing their adjustable rate mortgages (ARMs) that were about to reset to higher interest rates. For many, foreclosure became the only option.

Foreclosures have been on the rise since at least the beginning of 2007, with some media outlets reporting rising foreclosures as early as 2005 (Powell, 2005). RealtyTrac (2008), one of several services that track national foreclosure trends, reported that at the end of 2008 over 3.2
million foreclosure proceedings had begun since the start of the crisis in 2007. RealtyTrac’s ranking of foreclosure rates by state and metropolitan area placed Kentucky forty-second among the states and Louisville, the state’s largest city, at 131 out of 203 metropolitan areas.

While once-flourishing Sunbelt states like Nevada, Arizona, and Florida were hit the worst by rising foreclosures, several Midwestern states are also listed in RealtyTrac’s top ten, including Michigan, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio (RealtyTrac, 2008). Since June 2010, the crisis has hit mid-sized metropolitan areas, such as McAllen, Texas (where foreclosures increased by 230 percent in the first half of 2010 over 2009 foreclosure rates), Kennewick, Washington (up 217 percent), Gulfport-Biloxi, Mississippi (up 153 percent), Baltimore, Maryland (up 130 percent), and Barnstable Town, Massachusetts (up 93 percent) (Andriotis, 2010). This information indicates that, as of 2010, the crisis is still spreading and is worsening in many mid-sized communities. Consequently, it is important to understand all of the factors causing this crisis, particularly in once flourishing mid-sized, midwestern cities, and the resulting geographic disparities that exist within these communities.

The impact of foreclosure on individuals and families is enormous. The Center for Responsible Lending (CRL) estimated that approximately 2.5 million homes were foreclosed in a three-year period beginning in January 2007, and estimate that 5.7 million borrowers are currently at risk of losing their homes (Bocian, Li, & Ernst, 2010). CRL estimated that $1.86 trillion will be lost between 2009 and 2012 due to home values depreciating as a result of nearby foreclosures. The CRL also estimates that up to 13 million homes could be foreclosed upon within the next five years, which would undoubtedly prolong a full economic recovery (Bocian et al., 2010). Immergluck and Smith (2005) argue that foreclosures have reduced nearby property
values in Chicago by more than $598 million, or an average of $159,000 per foreclosure between 1997 and 1998.

The loss of a home not only hurts a family or an individual financially, but it also causes emotional stress, including depression and suicide, as reported by dozens of news outlets (Armour, 2008). A person forced to move from his or her home and neighborhood can undergo considerable psychological stress from the loss of community or families and friends (Currie and Tekin, 2011; Harvey, 1973; Fried, 1963; Wechsler, 1961; Gilderbloom and Appelbaum, 1988).

Several well-known commentators, including editorial writers from the Wall Street Journal, Charles Krauthammer of The Washington Post, and Lou Dobbs of the Fox Business Network (formerly of CNN) have put the blame on federal government policies that pressured lenders to make bad loans to residents of black and low-income communities, leading to the glut of foreclosures that have plagued these neighborhoods. Subprime and predatory loans were often targeted to vulnerable families in such neighborhoods. However, these high-pressure practices were not the result of fair lending and community development policy. The Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) of 1977 bans redlining and encourages lenders to make loans to African-Americans in poor neighborhoods consistent with safe and sound lending practices (see also Apgar and Duda, 2003). As Squires observed (2008, p. 3):

…Federal financial regulatory agencies were charged with the responsibility to “assess the institution’s record of meeting the credit needs of its entire community, including low and moderate-income neighborhoods, consistent with the safe and sound operation of such institution.” The goal was to put an end to redlining and to increase access to credit for qualified borrowers in areas that had
long been underserved. But, again, only “consistent with safe and sound” lending practices. And the law has worked.

Research by federal agencies, scholars, and advocates has consistently demonstrated that the CRA has met its objective by increasing access to good loans in traditionally underserved neighborhoods. As Janet L. Yellen, President and CEO of the San Francisco Federal Reserve Bank, stated in March 2007:

There has been a tendency to conflate the current problems in the subprime market with CRA-motivated lending, or with lending to low-income families in general. I believe it is very important to make a distinction between the two. Most of the loans made by depository institutions examined under the CRA have not been higher-priced loans, and studies have shown that the CRA has increased the volume of responsible lending to low- and moderate-income households. We should not view the current foreclosure trends as justification to abandon the goal of expanding access to credit among low-income households, since access to credit, and the subsequent ability to buy a home, remains one of the most important mechanisms we have to help low-income families build wealth over the long term (Squires, 2008, p. 4).

**Literature Review**

Scholars have examined foreclosures by comparing across states, metropolitan areas, or cities (Swanstrom and Chapple, 2009; Calem, Hershaff, and Wachter, 2004). Aalbers (2009) takes an expanded look by examining different states, cities, and financial centers in developing
and developed countries. We believe that a comparison of local neighborhoods, which we identify as census tracts, is valuable for understanding and explaining the lop-sided variation in neighborhood foreclosures that disproportionately affect poor black neighborhoods.

Before examining neighborhood-level foreclosures, one must note the factors leading to individual mortgage foreclosures. There are two competing explanations why individual homeowners default on their mortgages and eventually enter foreclosure: the ability-to-pay and the amount of negative equity (Pederson and Delgadillo, 2007). The first explanation argues that homeowners default and enter foreclosure because they cannot make their monthly mortgage payments. This is often due to income shocks or trigger events such as the loss of employment, divorce, or catastrophic illness (Elmer and Seelig, 1998). Other researchers note that changes in family structures can lead a household to reassess the desirability of their current residential arrangement (Chomsisengphet and Pennington-Cross, 2006).

In the alternative explanation, the amount of home equity, rather than monthly income, is the key variable (Clauretie and Sirmans, 2003). Homeowners with substantial equity are less likely to default on their mortgages, whereas homeowners with negative equity or a higher “loan-to-value” ratio are more likely to default. Home equity lines of credit and second mortgages further reduce built-up equity (Pederson and Delgadillo, 2007). Other individual-level factors deemed important predictors of mortgage default and foreclosure are income (Van Order and Zorn, 2000); minority status of homeowner (Anderson and VanderHoff, 1999); age of homeowner (Ambrose and Capone, 1998); and age of home (Pederson and Delgadillo, 2007).

While the aforementioned literature examines individual-level variables, limited literature has examined neighborhood-level predictors of mortgage default and foreclosure rates (Calem, Hershaff, and Wachter, 2004; Williams, Nesiba, and McConnell, 2005; Immergluck and Smith,
2005; Pederson and Delgadillo, 2007; and Grover, Smith, and Todd, 2008). Immergluck and Smith (2005) emphasize subprime lending prevalence while controlling for demographics and economic conditions. Pederson and Delgadillo (2007) compare residential mortgage default rates in high and low-minority census tracts, ultimately claiming that high default rates in nonwhite neighborhoods are likely due to persistent economic disadvantages. Grover, Smith, and Todd (2008) examine inter-neighborhood variation explicitly to target foreclosure interventions. They argue that an “accurate [neighborhood-level] credit risk variable is among the best predictors of foreclosure” (Grover, Smith, and Todd, 2008, p. 91). Each of these studies focus on a key predictor: subprime mortgages, racial composition, and credit scores, respectively. These studies analyzed data prior to the recent crash and crisis and ignored the impact of investor speculation.

Baxter and Lauria (2000) also examine foreclosures and neighborhood transition. Lauria (1998) contests the idea that foreclosures are related to white flight caused by blacks moving into once-white neighborhoods. They find that middle-income, professional whites who had recently bought houses with high loan-to-value ratios were forced to sell or have their houses foreclosed upon (Baxter and Lauria, 2000). Similar conditions existed in suburban communities during the recession of 2007-2009.

Several factors have been identified to account for rising foreclosures nationwide. Less has been learned about variation in foreclosures among neighborhoods within metropolitan areas. And some potentially key variables have been virtually ignored by foreclosure scholarship. The following section identifies three particularly key factors that have been missing from research and policy debates.
Understanding Foreclosures: Three Key Explanations That Deserve Attention

Our contribution to understanding the variation in neighborhood foreclosure rates is the explication of the impact of three factors that have not received much attention by scholars: high interest rate loans in neighborhoods; the distinction between investor and homeowner foreclosures; and walkability as a “green” proxy for sustainability. High interest rate loans are often acknowledged as a cause of foreclosures generally but have been largely ignored as a neighborhood-level variable in previous studies.

Separating investor and homeowner foreclosures has not been done in previous studies due to the lack of data providing this distinction. We were fortunate to obtain such data exclusively from the local property tax assessor, the Jefferson County Property Valuation Administrator (JCPVA). The relationship of neighborhood walkability to foreclosures has not been studied at all. In order to understand contemporary housing dynamics, green urban theory suggests that walkability could be a contributing factor in explaining property value. However researchers have not used walkability as a variable in examining neighborhood foreclosures. This might be due to a failure to consider theoretically the role of walkability in the foreclosure crisis, as well as the difficulty of gathering this information.

High Priced Loans

The expansion of subprime lending institutions and exotic mortgage loan products has greatly exacerbated the problem of foreclosures in the current recession (Quercia, Stegman, and Davis, 2007; Foote et al., 2008). Subprime borrowers are expected to be those with poor credit histories or those who present additional risks to lenders, including self-employment, little or no documentation of income, or high debt-to-income ratios (Cutts and Van Order, 2005). Research
has demonstrated that at least a third, if not more, of subprime borrowers could have qualified for prime loans (Engel and McCoy, 2002). Quercia et al. (2007) stated that over one-third of new mortgages during the second half of 2005 were subprime. Quercia, Stegman and Davis (2007) blame foreclosures with high interest rate loans on “predatory” mortgages. More specifically, their regression and repayment analysis finds that predatory loans are twenty percent more likely to enter foreclosure than other mortgages; and mortgages with balloon payments are fifty percent more likely to foreclose. These findings suggest that a neighborhood-level measure of high cost loans should be an important predictor of neighborhood foreclosures. Our study incorporates such a measure of high interest rate loans in neighborhoods.

Investor Foreclosures

One critical missing piece from the empirical research on the causes of foreclosure, but potentially a key contributing factor, is the role of investors. Investors can be defined simply as those who own homes in which they are not the occupant. This can include single family homes or multi-family properties, in both cases purchased primarily for the purpose of economic gain.

Investors can have both positive and negative impacts on communities. They can infuse a community with desperately needed capital, including financing for housing. However, when housing prices decline, they can reinforce downward cycles, similar to the one the nation has experienced in recent years. Investors have increased as a share of mortgage borrowers during the recent crisis, particularly in those states where foreclosure rates have been the highest (i.e., Arizona, California, Florida, and Nevada) (Haughwout et al., 2011). Among investors, those who purchased with intent to sell at a profit (as opposed to those who purchased property for the rental income or to occupy at a future time) have been the most active in recent years. Housing
price bubbles, along with relaxation of downpayment and underwriting practices associated with those increases, have been fueled by an influx of investors (Haughwout et al., 2011). The optimism nurturing such investments exacerbates all of these trends (Geanakoplos, 2010). One predictable outcome of these pressures is the rising number of investors walking away from floundering investments; and thus rising incidences of investor foreclosure.

Separating out investor foreclosures from homeowner foreclosures can inform one of the fundamental debates regarding the causes of foreclosure, which basically posits the role of uninformed and greedy homeowners fueled by irresponsible government policy versus the role of predatory, exploitative lenders and investors. To the extent that investors account for foreclosure problems, particularly in low-income and minority neighborhoods, this would suggest a greater role for supply-side rather than demand-side factors. In fact, our findings reinforce previous research showing the problem has not been the borrowing behavior of African-Americans or government policy that encouraged safe and sound lending in underserved communities, but rather the behavior of lenders and speculators. Despite the significant role investors may play, an electronic search of several data bases covering scholarly and mass media publications yielded no additional sources on this issue.

Walkability

Many recently-built subdivisions on the fringes of American cities, reflecting a wide variety of housing types and income levels, have been hit hard by the recent wave of foreclosures. The foreclosure epidemic was once restricted mainly to neighborhoods in the urban core (Leinberger, 2009). In a recent study on patterns of foreclosures in the outskirts of metropolitan areas, the purely suburban ZIP codes exhibited a very high rate of foreclosures,
outnumbering those ZIP codes in the city center that also experienced high foreclosure rates (Immergerluck, 2009). Within these suburban ZIP codes, the ones that had longer commutes to the workplace were more likely to have more foreclosures than those with shorter commutes (Immergerluck, 2009). Another study conducted by the National Resource Defense Council (NRDC) found similar results, unearthing a connection between higher instances of foreclosure in neighborhoods with a lack of efficient transportation options (NRDC, 2010).

These findings stress the importance of future planning and policy initiatives taking into account the probability that future energy costs will prohibit further development of the metropolitan fringe. A neighborhood may be defined as walkable if sufficient infrastructure and proximately placed amenities encourage pedestrian activity. A walkable neighborhood should provide the opportunity for residents to be able to walk to amenities such as restaurants, groceries, theaters, coffee shops, parks, and shopping centers. In addition to the close proximity of such amenities, a heightened sense of walkability is created when the presence of adequate sidewalks, bike lanes and street connectivity are also present.

Walkability goes hand in hand with neighborhood features related to traditional neighborhood planning, along with more recent approaches to planning often referred to as “smart growth” and “new urbanism.” For instance, the types of places that provide favorable walkable conditions encourage more face-to-face, informal communication and socializing among residents, reduce the need for parking, and provide better access to many urban amenities. Being closer to these amenities reduces transportation and fuel costs by requiring less time in the car and encouraging the use of alternative modes of transportation, such as public transportation, walking, and biking. For the same reason the presence of walkability can spur demand and be a positive influence on housing prices, its absence may have deleterious effects on the
neighborhoods that find it lacking. In the wake of the many foreclosures that have resulted from the recent financial meltdown, studies are finding that a significant number are occurring in the neighborhoods that are not conveniently connected to the urban center and do not support walkability within its boundaries. Transit oriented development and location efficient mortgages are two of the new community development tools that have been developed in response to these concerns (Leinberger, 2005; 2009).

The walkability of a place or property relates to the potential it has for encouraging one to walk from that place to another (Pivo and Fisher, 2010; Cortright, 2009). The Walk Score objectively examines the walkability of a neighborhood by focusing on pedestrian activity primarily as a mode of transportation. The Walk Score index is freely available on the Internet (www.walkscore.com) and is increasingly being used in the real estate market as an efficient, low cost measure for walkability in an area (Cortright, 2009; Leinberger, 2009, xiii). The Walk Score incorporates geographic data for destinations within one-fourth to one mile of residential properties (as determined by Google Maps) for 13 categories including: grocery stores, restaurants, coffee shops, bars, movie theaters, schools, parks, libraries, fitness places, drug stores, bookstores, hardware stores, and music and clothing shops. Places that are within one-fourth of a mile of the residential property earn a maximum number of points while those that are more than a mile away receive no points. Only one destination out of each category is considered, and there is no improvement in the score if more than one place in a category fits the above criteria. Each category is considered equally and the scores are normalized from zero to 100.

Scores that are generally lower than 50 are car dependant locations with few proximate amenities within walking distance; 50-69 is somewhat walkable; 70-89 is very walkable; and 90-
100 is considered to be a “walker’s paradise” (Cortright, 2009). Any bias in this measure remains constant across all neighborhoods.

Despite its limitations, studies have concluded that the Walk Score suffices as a reliable tool for measuring the walkability of an area (Carr et al., 2010; Leinberger, 2005; 2009). The Walk Score may also provide a more accurate time sensitive tool because Google tends to be reviewed and updated more than other GIS tools (Carr et al., 2010). The Walk Score suffices as a valid measure for quantifying walkability and can be inserted into a hedonic regression analysis to gauge its effect relative to the many other components composing the market value of a home (or a neighborhood median value).

**Case Study of Louisville, Kentucky**

Louisville, Kentucky, a mid-sized city that mixes several regional cultures, has historically been referred to as the “Gateway to the South.” Louisville exhibits a semiautonomous housing market roughly one-hundred miles from other large cities of 50,000 people or more, such as Lexington, Kentucky, Cincinnati, Ohio, and Indianapolis, Indiana. Its monocentric shape and distinct neighborhoods permit one to delineate neighborhood-level factors influencing foreclosures. Louisville, like many other cities in the United States, is segregated by race and class (Cummings and Price, 1997). The city is divided into several distinct sections, which can be roughly defined and bounded by the interstates. Interstate 65 (I-65) divides the city east and west between white and black neighborhoods, respectively.

Louisville’s 2003 merger with surrounding Jefferson County—creating consolidated Louisville Metro—allowed for more effective efforts to collect data on both the urban core (the historic former City of Louisville) and its suburbs. Louisville Metro now includes two
concentric rings of suburban neighborhoods, within one political jurisdiction, demarcated by two beltways—the inner-ring suburbs, between the inner and outer beltways (I-264 and I-265), and the outer-ring suburbs beyond the outer beltway (Louisville-Jefferson County Metro, 2006).

Most of Louisville’s suburbs and the bulk of the Metropolitan Statistical Area’s (MSA) population are within the newly merged city’s limits, but the MSA does extend beyond Jefferson County to other counties in Kentucky and even into Indiana, across the Ohio River.

Despite its modest ranking mentioned earlier, Louisville has seen drastic rises in foreclosures over recent years. Between 2000 and 2002, Louisville experienced approximately 1,500 foreclosure complaints resulting in court-ordered auctions due to the post-9/11 recession in the early part of the decade (Bourassa, 2003). Bourassa (2003, p. 4) states that one-third of these foreclosures were related to predatory lending rooted in “deceptive and in some cases illegal practices to coerce borrowers into unfavorable mortgage agreements.” Figure 1 graphs foreclosures over the past ten years in Louisville Metro, showing steady growth in foreclosure activity since 2002 according to the Jefferson County Property Valuation Administrator’s (JCPVA) office. Figure 2 displays the growth in investor foreclosures. Investor foreclosures did not appear to be a problem until 2004. One sees a noticeable uptick in investor foreclosure in recent years with the number doubling between 2006 and 2008. Since then, the number has doubled again.

FIGURES 1 & 2 ABOUT HERE

The Metropolitan Housing Coalition (MHC, 2008), a local housing advocacy organization in Louisville, found that over a six month period during the year 2007, the average neighborhood experienced about ten foreclosure starts. One neighborhood had 41 new foreclosures, while some neighborhoods experienced zero foreclosures. Of the 1,700 foreclosed
properties during this time, half had an adjustable rate mortgage (ARM), one-third had pre-payment penalties, six percent were interest-only/interest-first loans, and four percent required a balloon payment. Nine out of ten had closed since 2000, with nearly all ARM foreclosures’ sales closing in the past eight years. Just above half of the foreclosures had interest rates over 7.6 percent (the “high” cutoff used by MHC), and over 40 percent had maximum interest rates over ten percent. Half were assessed above the median neighborhood assessed value for Louisville in 2006 ($103,843) and one-third had loan amounts exceeding the median neighborhood sales price for Louisville in 2006 ($114,000). More than one of every ten units foreclosed were built since 2000. Between 146 and 240, or 9 to 14 percent, were identified as possible investment properties by MHC. This fact signifies that the foreclosure crisis has also affected investors in Louisville, or perhaps that landlords themselves contributed to the crisis.

Properties entering foreclosure during this period were assessed from $5,000 to $825,000. These properties had loan amounts ranging from $9,051 to $800,000. It is clear that the foreclosure crisis did not solely affect a single sub-market of Louisville’s overall housing market. At least one multi-unit, residential property—an apartment building valued above $1 million—also entered foreclosure in Louisville during this period.

While MHC examined foreclosure starts over a short six-month period, we obtained foreclosure sales data from the JCPVA for a five-year period, from 2003-2008. In this analysis, we focus on the two-year period 2007 to 2008. Foreclosure sales data are superior because it isolates those foreclosures that completed the entire foreclosure process from default to auction, rather than just those that began the process but may have come to another resolution beside foreclosure (e.g., loan modification or short sale). Each of the years between 2006 and 2008 saw approximately 2,000 foreclosure sales. From 2004 to 2006, 11 percent of all foreclosures were
identified by the JCPVA as investor foreclosures. The number of investor foreclosures ballooned to 14 percent in 2007 and nearly one-quarter in 2008.

Every census tract had at least one foreclosure sale during the two-year analysis period. The median number of foreclosures is 24 foreclosures per census tract, with approximately four investor foreclosures per tract. The highest total of foreclosures in a census tract is 90 in an inner-city, majority African-American neighborhood. Five census tracts have more than 70 foreclosures and 20 census tracts have more than 50 foreclosures. The median number of foreclosures in majority African-American neighborhoods (N=32) is 39 per census tract, with 15 of these identified as investor foreclosures. The median number of foreclosure sales in majority-white neighborhoods (N=138) is 20 per census tract, with an average of two identified as investor foreclosures. Removing investor foreclosures from the total brings black neighborhoods down to an average of 24 foreclosures, a number more comparable to the average of 18 foreclosures for white neighborhoods. While there are four times as many white neighborhoods, these communities experienced only twice the total amount of foreclosures as non-white neighborhoods.

To provide a clearer picture of the geographic distribution of foreclosures throughout Louisville Metro, Figure 3 maps the number of owner-occupied foreclosures per neighborhood. Higher incidences of owner foreclosure are spread out over roughly two-thirds of the city-county’s territory with other areas showing only minor problems. A minority of neighborhoods have nearly zero foreclosures during the period of analysis. While the western portions of the former city, which are mostly poor and majority black, seem to exhibit high owner foreclosures, high incidences of owner foreclosure are also found in black suburbs and majority white suburbs in both the inner and outer rings. Figure 4, another map, shows that—in stark contrast to the
distribution of owner foreclosures—nearly all investor foreclosures are located in majority black neighborhoods in the urban west end. For greater clarity, we have cross-hatched majority black neighborhoods where fifty percent or more of the population identifies as minority.

FIGURES 3 & 4 ABOUT HERE

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Our research question, simply put, is: what variables influence variation in neighborhood foreclosures? Ultimately, we hope to understand why poor black neighborhoods are most affected by the recent crisis. We introduce the investor variable by specifying “split” models that, in addition to predicting total foreclosures, predict homeowner and investor foreclosures separately. This section details the expected effects of our test and control variables.

Given the severity of the housing crisis and rising foreclosure rates throughout the United States, we look not only at standard inter-neighborhood variations but also additional forces that may explain variation in foreclosures. As noted above, most recent published studies have compared neighborhoods across cities (Grover, Smith, and Todd, 2008; Immergluck and Smith, 2005). These findings indicate that the highest foreclosure rates are found in the central city, or at the very least neighborhoods with “urban” characteristics (Immergluck and Smith, 2005; Pederson and Delgadillo, 2007). The strategy of looking at neighborhoods within cities has proven to be accepted by scholars (Song and Keeling, 2010; Ambrosius et al., 2010). However, in the aftermath of the recent housing boom and the beginning reemergence and gentrification of neighborhoods closer to downtown, anecdotal evidence suggests that foreclosure rates are also high in outlying suburbs and exurbs (Lloyd, 2008; also see MHC, 2007).
In light of the previous research, we believed that percent nonwhite exerts a positive effect on neighborhood foreclosures (e.g., Pederson and Delgadillo, 2007). Other potentially positive indicators include crime, number of units, and number of high price loans (Immergluck and Smith, 2005). Median housing value will exert a negative effect, although this effect may be mitigated by recent expansion of the foreclosure crisis to high-priced suburbs. Median housing age and distance from downtown are somewhat unpredictable. Some believe that median housing age has a positive effect on foreclosures due to high maintenance costs associated with older housing stock and the rise in subprime lending in older, poorer neighborhoods. Allegations of “slumburbia” suggest that distance from downtown may have become a positive predictor during the current foreclosure crisis (Lloyd, 2008; Ambrosius et al., 2010).

In an attempt to better understand how neighborhood structures affect foreclosures, we look at walkability, which is a relatively unexplored variable. According to Kelbaugh (2001, p. 9), “Walkability may be the single best test—and pedestrian activity the best measure—of a healthy functional city.” Others claim that “fostering such walkable urbanity is the key to the revival of any struggling downtown” (Leinberger, 2005, p. 2). Previous studies have found that walkability can positively affect housing values and other quality of life variables like health (Carr et al., 2010; Pivo and Fisher, 2010; Armstrong and Greene, 2009). There are no studies available that have linked walkability and foreclosures. We predict that the more walkable a neighborhood, the greater the house values. In addition, neighborhood walkability may be correlated with foreclosures because of recent shifts in the housing and energy markets. Given drastic increases in fuel costs, and thus commuting costs, walkable neighborhoods are more desirable and, as a result, are less affected by the downward trend created by the bursting bubble.
Non-walkable neighborhoods, such as those that lack employment opportunities and amenities within walkable distances, are expected to experience greater numbers of foreclosures.

In addition to walkability, another potentially critical factor is variation in investor activity and foreclosures. Investors, as noted above, are those who own property not considered their primary residence(s). We note that the number of investor foreclosures doubled from 2007 to 2008. We do not have a reliable measure of investor activity within a census tract, so we instead split the dependent variable into homeowner and investor foreclosures, allowing us to explore the factors that influence each rather than just those factors influencing total foreclosures. Investment foreclosures have been largely overlooked or never properly captured so it could be used in a regression equation. We theorize that as the number of investors increases in a neighborhood, the higher will be the number of foreclosures—although we cannot directly test this assertion. Furthermore, we hypothesize that race is an important positive factor when predicting investor foreclosures—more important than for owner foreclosures.

Walkability is expected to exert greater negative pressure on homeowner foreclosures, while high cost loans will more positively influence homeowner foreclosures.

Data and Methodology

In order to better explain inter-neighborhood variation in total, owner-occupied, and investor foreclosures, we construct several multiple linear regression models predicting these three types of foreclosure measures using eight independent variables drawn from a variety of sources. The units of analysis for this study are neighborhoods, operationalized as census tracts. Louisville, as of the 2000 Census, is composed of 170 census tracts. However, due to missing data on one or more variables, listwise deletion of cases creates an analytic sample of 167 cases.
This section explains our methodological approach, the variables in the models, and the various data sources.

Our three dependent variables are: (1) total neighborhood foreclosure sales for 2007-2008; (2) owner-occupied foreclosure sales for 2007-2008; and (3) investor foreclosure sales for 2007-2008. The source of the foreclosure data is the Jefferson County Property Valuation Administrator (JCPVA). We chose the period 2007-2008 both out of convenience, because the data were compiled and made available for analysis, and because it covers the beginning years of the national housing crisis that saw a sharp rise in foreclosure activity. Previous research on the Louisville housing market has used the period 2000-2006 to approximate the “boom” with 2007-2008 approximating the “bust” (Ambrosius et al., 2010). The reliability of housing data provided by the property assessor was found to be accurate with no significant variation from other independent measures, including census values and sale prices (Gilderbloom et al., 2011). Foreclosure sales are a better source of data compared with foreclosure starts, because starts may be resolved prior to repossession and thus not affect neighborhood housing markets as negatively. Previous work on foreclosures in Louisville has relied solely on analyses of foreclosure starts (MHC, 2008).

We use raw counts of foreclosures as the dependent variables rather than ratios because we were unable to obtain the typical denominator in a neighborhood foreclosure ratio: total neighborhood mortgages. Previous research has utilized a foreclosure “rate” which calculates the number of foreclosures per mortgaged owner-occupied housing units for each tract from the 2000 Census. For example, Grover, Smith, and Todd (2008, p. 94) conduct an analysis of 2002 foreclosures, writing that the “approximately 2-year gap between our measure of mortgaged units and our measure of foreclosure sales nearly aligns with the median time between mortgage
origination and foreclosure in our sample.” While we are unaware of the median time between origination and foreclosure for the foreclosure sales in our dataset, one can assume that the seven year gap between 2000 and 2007 makes the Census data unusable for this purpose.

Because our dependent variable does not control for neighborhood size, thereby ignoring the fact that larger neighborhoods are likely to see greater raw numbers of units in foreclosure, we include number of residential housing units from the JCPVA in 2006, the year prior to our analysis period, as a control variable in the models. Previous to this analysis, we constructed a ratio, with foreclosures as the numerator and unit count as the denominator, to use as a dependent variable. The regression results showed that doing so severely diminishes the predictive power of the model. Moreover, the findings using the ratio as a dependent variable were nonsensical. Many key independent variables were non-significant and, in several cases, carried the opposite sign than was predicted. This finding ran contrary to the literature review showing that these chosen variables possess proven predictive power in foreclosure scholarship. As an alternative to using ratio to control for size, we instead control for number of housing units in each census tract. This leads to a richer explanation of the contemporary housing dynamics of neighborhood foreclosures and intuitive findings more consistent with prevailing theory.

We seek to explain neighborhood foreclosure sales with the following eight independent variables: (1) percent of residents not identifying as “white only”; (2) distance to the central business district (CBD) in miles; (3) crime rate (total violent and property crimes per 100,000 residents) for the base year; (4) the Walk Score, a measure of walkability; (5) number of housing units for the previous year; (6) housing age in years; (7) median sales price for the previous year; and (8) number of high priced loans made during the analysis period. See Table 1 for a concise description of these variables’ sources, years, measures, means, standard deviations, and ranges.
TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Most of these variables are traditional predictors with a theoretical basis from the body of housing literature on foreclosure that we reviewed earlier. Racial composition, distance from the city center, crime rate, and housing age are all variables that affect the prices and availability of housing and exhibit a theoretical connection to neighborhood foreclosure rates (Ambrosius et al., 2010; Gilderbloom, 2008; Appelbaum et al., 1991). Walkability is an emerging variable in the housing valuation literature with possible connections to contemporary foreclosures (Leinberger, 2005; 2009). Other variables, including overall level of sales prices and presence of high cost lending, are theoretically important for predicting neighborhood variation in foreclosures.

The years of observation for several of our independent variables vary from the ideal due to availability of data. Given that present foreclosures are the product of past actions, such as purchasing a home, origination of a loan, and participation in the housing bubble, all predictors must be measured prior to our analysis period. In other words, housing prices and externalities like violent crime must be measured prior to measuring foreclosures because the present or future cannot affect the past. In the cases of different variables, the ideal temporal lag is different. Two of our variables are measured in the year 2000 because Census data were the best, readily available measure for racial composition and median housing age. We use the 2000 housing age as it is, instead of adding seven years to it, because of unknown levels of new construction over the intervening years. In the other cases, we attempted to collect data for either the foreclosure analysis period (07-08), the base year of the analysis period (07), or the year prior to the analysis period (06), depending on availability.

The multivariate analysis relies on ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models predicting variation in neighborhood foreclosure sales. Previous research on Louisville’s
housing market concluded that estimating spatial lag and error models does not substantively alter the regression findings on neighborhood characteristics (Ambrosius et al., 2010). Thus, only OLS results are presented in this paper. The regression equation is as follows:

\[
\text{Foreclosures [total, homeowner, or investor]} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \times \text{Nonwhite percent} + \beta_2 \times \text{Distance to CBD} + \beta_3 \times \text{Crime rate} + \beta_4 \times \text{Walkability} + \beta_5 \times \text{Housing units} + \beta_6 \times \text{Housing age} + \beta_7 \times \text{Median sales price} + \beta_8 \times \text{High priced loans} + \epsilon,
\]

where \(\beta_1\) through \(\beta_8\) are the coefficients to be estimated and \(\epsilon\) is the error term.

All models shown were tested for multicollinearity by calculating tolerance scores and examining zero-order correlation coefficients (Beck-Lewis, 1993-1994; Beck-Lewis, 1980; Appelbaum et al., 1991; Gilderbloom et al., 1992). All tolerance scores exceed 0.30, an acceptable and traditional cut-off, with the exception of distance from the central business district which exceeds a more modest 0.20 cut-off. It is expected that this variable is correlated with several others, including housing age, walkability, racial composition, crime rate, and sales prices. However, the tolerance score is not exceedingly low so as to warrant omission of this theoretically interesting and important predictor variable, particularly in light of recent shifts in the housing market reflecting higher appreciation closer to downtown (Gilderbloom, et al., 2009; Appelbaum et al., 1991; Gilderbloom et al., 1992; Ambrosius et al., 2010; Gilderbloom, 2008). We ran models omitting the distance measure, but its omission did not significantly alter the findings on the other key variables for this study.

Median income (tolerance score of approximately 0.10) was omitted from earlier models owing to excessive multicollinearity with median sales price (MSP). MSP was chosen over
median assessed value, another variable in our extensive housing dataset, because of its superior performance in the models and greater theoretical connection to foreclosures. When median income was included in the models instead of MSP, the effect mirrored that of MSP and income’s inclusion did not have an impact on our key variables of interest, just a lower explained variation. Furthermore, median income is measured in 2000 as a census variable and is thus outdated compared to 2006 MSP. We also omitted unemployment, a theoretically important variable connected to foreclosures, as an independent variable because of measurement concerns. We could not obtain a tract-level indicator of unemployment more recent than the 2000 Census. A 2000 measure of employment density was also omitted because of its lack of correlation with foreclosures. Once again, when these variables were included they did not alter the key findings of this analysis.

Regression Results

Table 2 presents OLS regression results predicting total neighborhood foreclosure sales. Model 1 is the base model containing seven predictors. Model 2 adds an eighth variable—high priced loans. The adjusted R-Squared statistics show that Model 1 explains over two-thirds of the variation in total neighborhood foreclosures, while Model 2 raises the explained variation to over three-fourths. All variables in the models are statistically significant with the exception of distance to the CBD. Nonwhite, distance, crime, units, and age are all positive in both models, along with high priced loans in Model 2. Walkability and median sales price are negative in both models. In Model 1, nonwhite, units, and sales price exert the strongest affects (by standardized beta) on neighborhood foreclosures. In Model 2, high priced loans replaces these variables as the strongest predictor, cutting these other variables’ effect sizes by one-quarter to over one-half.
Table 3 portrays the findings of OLS regressions estimating owner-occupied foreclosures. This table again presents two models—the same base model (Model 3) and a model with high priced loans added (Model 4). These models again explain a large portion of the variation. Model 3 explains over half, while Model 4 explains nearly three-quarters. Both explain less, however, than Models 1 and 2, respectively. The directions of the effects of all variables are identical to those found in Table 2 predicting total foreclosures, likely because owner-occupied foreclosures make up the bulk of total foreclosures, and vary based on the same characteristics for the most part. In Model 3, all variables are significant except walkability, which is also not significant in Model 4 and represents one difference with the total models. On the other hand, Model 3 is the only model in which distance from the downtown attains statistical significance. Another major divergence from the total models is that the effect of nonwhite is cut in half and even becomes non-significant with the introduction of the high-priced loan variable in Model 4, which also removes the significance from distance from the CBD and housing age. The high priced loan measure is again the strongest predictor in the model, diminishing the effect sizes of all other variables.

Table 4 illustrates the findings from the regressions predicting investor-related foreclosures only. The explained variation, about two-thirds, stays the same in Models 5 and 6, despite adding a high priced loan variable to the latter, which adds little to the model and fails to reach significance. All variables maintain the same signs as the earlier models with one exception—distance to the downtown becomes negative in an investor-only model, but is not significant in either specification. Crime and walkability are also not significant in both 5 and 6.
In addition, median sales price loses significance when the high priced loan measure is added to the equation. Most variables’ effects are much weaker here than in the total and homeowner models, except for nonwhite and housing age—both are stronger positive predictors.

**TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE**

Finally, Table 5 presents the findings of the full models (2, 4, and 6), with high priced loans included, predicting each of the three dependent variables adjacent to one another for direct comparison. While most variables are significant in the total foreclosure model, comparing significant predictors in the homeowner and investor models reveals a striking contrast. Crime, sales prices, and high priced loans all matter for predicting owner-occupied foreclosures. On the other hand, race and housing age matter for investor foreclosures. The strongest predictor for owner-occupied foreclosures is frequency of high cost loans, while the strongest determinant of investor foreclosures is neighborhood racial composition. Racial composition, which was not a significant predictor of owner-occupied foreclosures when high-priced loans were included, is the most important factor in predicting investor foreclosures when all variables are included. Walkability is negative in all models, but attains significance in the total model only.

**TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE**

**Discussion and Conclusion**

All variables confirm our hypotheses by consistently carrying the expected signs, with the possible exceptions of housing age and distance which were ambiguous in the literature. The consistency of predictors across three distinct models with differing dependent variables displays the robustness of our variables and models for predicting foreclosures. All exhibit high R-squares. Our findings on the impact of racial composition in the foreclosure crisis show that
claims made by commentators and previous researchers may have been exaggerated because they do not take into consideration the role of investors, the concentration of high interest rates loans in neighborhoods, and walkability. Foreclosing on investor-owned properties in these neighborhoods has caused a great deal of stress for residents. Our maps show that where there is a high concentration of African-Americans, there also is a higher share of investor-owned foreclosures and low walkability scores. These two variables help explain the high number of foreclosures in African-American neighborhoods (see Figures 3 and 4).

Moreover, not all low-income black neighborhoods are cursed with high foreclosures rates. Indeed our research finds several majority African-American neighborhoods with only a small number of foreclosures in 2007 and 2008. The difficulty lies in disentangling these variables and trying to determine causation over correlation. We need to rethink the conventional wisdom of an association between neighborhood racial composition and foreclosure rates. Policymakers must recognize that a key cause of this crisis is investors who do not live in the neighborhood and are not culturally or financially astute about certain neighborhood housing markets.

A related issue is the extent to which mortgage lenders target black neighborhoods with risky and exotic loan products. According to the Federal Reserve Board, when subprime lending peaked in 2006, 47 percent of borrowers in minority neighborhoods received high-priced loans, compared to 22 percent in white communities (Avery et al., 2007). Given the increased risk of foreclosure in neighborhoods with higher interest rates, policymakers should discourage these types of loans. As we show in this paper, high interest loans are a major cause of foreclosures. This could break the cycle of risky mortgages forcing borrowers into default and foreclosure, thereby limiting bad decisions on the part of banks and borrowers alike.
Practices such as flipping real estate are hurtful schemes whereby neighborhoods with the lowest housing prices are targeted by nefarious investors as commodities for exchange value and not neighborhoods of use value (Logan and Molotch, 1987). An unpublished survey of over 100 members of a 500 member real estate investor club in Louisville shows how investors learn the art of “get rich quick” schemes targeting low-income neighborhoods. This organization, and others like them, teach members how to flip properties quickly and deceptively fool banks by buying a piece of property, often exchanging the property to a dummy entity at an inflated price, making minimal repairs (usually painting and landscaping), refinancing it at three to four times the original purchase price, cashing out, and walking away (Gilderbloom and Appelbaum, 1988). This organization encourages investors to target African-American neighborhoods by providing flyers and information on low-priced housing.

Our survey of this one investor group finds that nearly 89 percent identify themselves as white, while only a handful identify themselves as African-American. Personal communications with a Louisville investigative reporter who broke the story on investor foreclosures also reveal that all of the egregious offenders were white investors, accounting for dozens of black neighborhood foreclosures each (see Davis, 2009). Moreover, an elected government official, who reviewed the investor foreclosures records found that many of these “foreclosed investors” lived in mostly white neighborhoods and many of these failed investments were recognized as “white” owners. In one case, an investor who lived on the east side of the city (21 miles away) had 200 foreclosed homes in west side black neighborhoods. This is only suggestive and this research cannot provide a hard number on the race of these investors. More definitive research needs to be done in this area that looks at the relationship between distance, race and investor foreclosures.
Investor behavior is one important cause of why these neighborhoods face so many foreclosures that has not been recognized by previous research or policy. Researchers and policymakers must complement what they have learned about race, predatory lending, and other practices that contribute to rising foreclosures and examine these destructive investment practices. High rates of foreclosure, the large foreclosure gap between white and non-white neighborhoods, and other costs would be greatly reduced if the gap in investor foreclosures was closed.

A related reason for examining homeowner and investor foreclosures separately is specifically to address the demand side versus supply side arguments. By showing that investor foreclosures provide such a high proportion of black neighborhood foreclosures, we provide support for an argument that this problem is not primarily the result of greedy or uniformed low-income and black homeowners or government policy aimed at assisting traditionally underserved markets, but rather the behavior of financial institutions (which targeted high priced loan products to these markets) and investors who exploited the housing bubble while it lasted.

If Louisville’s experience is indicative of other mid-sized cities, the foreclosure crisis is indeed taking its toll, particularly on poor and working class neighborhoods in the downtown and in the suburbs. The scapegoating of black borrowers in conservative circles for the foreclosure crisis is misplaced. The emphasis on predatory lending is more on target, but is incomplete. The investor gap needs to be at the center of future policy and research. The “Great Recession” is threatening to undue urban gains that were achieved in the 1990s. The striking increase in the concentration of poverty in the 2000s following a substantial reduction in the 1990s is illustrative (Kneebone et al., 2011). On the other hand, rising costs of transportation, the problematic dynamics of sprawl generally, and the growing interest in “smart growth” initiatives around the
country may encourage a re-centralization of metropolitan areas. Our finding of fewer foreclosures in the older, gentrified and walkable neighborhoods of East Louisville provides evidence that such a trend may well be in the works.

Furthermore, this research confirms our speculation that walkability matters and in fact leads to fewer foreclosures. Regression results predicting total foreclosures find that for every ten point increase in the Walk Score, a neighborhood experiences ten fewer foreclosures over two years, or an average of five fewer annually. This means that moving a hypothetical neighborhood from completely unwalkable (score of zero) to “walker’s paradise” (score of 100) could alleviate foreclosures by nearly fifty percent. Policymakers should pursue such equitable development policies and take every opportunity to creatively encourage walkable, sustainable neighborhoods.

This research contributes significantly to our understanding of the foreclosure crisis. Further work must be done in other U.S. cities to examine the validity and reliability of our model. We believe that the significant variables from this study will remain good predictors of neighborhood foreclosures in other cities. Our examinations of investor behavior, walkability, and high cost loans have enabled us to understand how these factors contribute to higher foreclosure incidences in black neighborhoods. It is reasonable to argue that these are among the factors that created a more intense foreclosure crisis in black neighborhoods over the past few years. Such thinking, if followed with appropriate policy and practice, can ameliorate the costs these communities have paid—first from decades of redlining when virtually no credit was available, then by years of reverse redlining when they were flooded with predatory loans and ensuing foreclosure crises. The end result could well be more equitable and sustainable development of the nation’s metropolitan areas.
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### Tables (Editable tables are provided in a separate Excel file)

#### Table 1. Description of Variables

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<th>Source</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Range</th>
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<td>Count</td>
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<td>Count</td>
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<td>Dollars (000s)</td>
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<td>28.67</td>
<td>1.37 - 98.06</td>
</tr>
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<td>Median housing age</td>
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<td>Years</td>
<td>38.92</td>
<td>14.92</td>
<td>4 - 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance to the central business district (CBD)</td>
<td>GIS</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Miles</td>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>0 - 18.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime rate</td>
<td>LMPD</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Rate (per 100,000 pop.)</td>
<td>6441.40</td>
<td>5460.53</td>
<td>193.72 - 51022.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High priced loans</td>
<td>HMDA</td>
<td>2007-2008</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>10.07</td>
<td>7.26</td>
<td>0 - 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walkability</td>
<td>WS</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Index</td>
<td>42.29</td>
<td>23.33</td>
<td>0 - 97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. OLS Regression Results Predicting Total Neighborhood Foreclosure Sales, Louisville Metro, 07-08

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonwhite percent</td>
<td>0.300***</td>
<td>0.221***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.444)</td>
<td>(0.328)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance to CBD</td>
<td>0.649</td>
<td>0.291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.134)</td>
<td>(0.060)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime rate</td>
<td>0.001**</td>
<td>0.000**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.155)</td>
<td>(0.120)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walkability</td>
<td>-0.111*</td>
<td>-0.104*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-0.134)</td>
<td>(-0.125)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing units</td>
<td>0.017***</td>
<td>0.007***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.612)</td>
<td>(0.255)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing age</td>
<td>0.316**</td>
<td>0.260**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.244)</td>
<td>(0.200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median sales price</td>
<td>-0.096***</td>
<td>-0.052***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-0.431)</td>
<td>(-0.233)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High priced loans</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.282***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4.80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>-10.569</td>
<td>-8.121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F                        | 53.323***       | 71.882***       |
Adj. R²                   | 0.688           | 0.774           |
N                         | 167             | 167             |

NOTES: Unstandardized coefficient (standardized); Sig: *** .001 ** .01 * .05 (bold)
Table 3. OLS Regression Results Predicting Owner-Occupied Foreclosure Sales, Louisville Metro, 07-08

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonwhite percent</td>
<td>.118**</td>
<td>.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.227)</td>
<td>(.088)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance to CBD</td>
<td>.822*</td>
<td>.493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.222)</td>
<td>(.133)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime rate</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.152)</td>
<td>(.111)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walkability</td>
<td>-.070</td>
<td>-.063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-.110)</td>
<td>(-.099)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing units</td>
<td>.013***</td>
<td>.004**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.626)</td>
<td>(.198)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing age</td>
<td>.193*</td>
<td>.141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.194)</td>
<td>(.142)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median sales price</td>
<td>-.082***</td>
<td>-.041***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-.477)</td>
<td>(-.240)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High priced loans</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.179***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(.577)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>-4.609</td>
<td>-2.357</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F       34.654***   51.803***
Adj. R² .587       .710
N       167         167

NOTES: Unstandardized coefficient (standardized); Sig: *** .001 ** .01 * .05 (bold)
Table 4. OLS Regression Results Predicting Investor-Related Foreclosure Sales, Louisville Metro, 07-08

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonwhite percent</td>
<td><strong>.182</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>.176</strong>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.652)</td>
<td>(.630)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance to CBD</td>
<td>-.173</td>
<td>-.202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-.087)</td>
<td>(-.101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime rate</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.093)</td>
<td>(.086)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walkability</td>
<td>-.041</td>
<td>-.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-.120)</td>
<td>(-.119)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing units</td>
<td><strong>.004</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>.003</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.320)</td>
<td>(.251)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing age</td>
<td><strong>.123</strong></td>
<td><strong>.119</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.229)</td>
<td>(.221)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median sales price</td>
<td>-.015**</td>
<td>-.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-.158)</td>
<td>(-.119)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High priced loans</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(.093)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>-5.961</td>
<td>-5.764</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| F                               | 45.077***  | 39.752***  |
| Adj. R²                         | .650       | .651       |
| N                               | 167        | 167        |

NOTES: Unstandardized coefficient (standardized); Sig: *** .001 ** .01 * .05 (bold)
Table 5. Summary of OLS Regression Results Predicting Neighborhood Foreclosure Sales, Louisville Metro, 07-08

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total (2)</th>
<th>Owner (4)</th>
<th>Investor (6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonwhite percent</td>
<td>0.221***</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.176***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.328)</td>
<td>(0.088)</td>
<td>(0.630)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance to CBD</td>
<td>0.291</td>
<td>0.493</td>
<td>-0.202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.060)</td>
<td>(0.133)</td>
<td>(-0.101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime rate</td>
<td>0.000**</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.120)</td>
<td>(0.111)</td>
<td>(0.086)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walkability</td>
<td>-0.104*</td>
<td>-0.063</td>
<td>-0.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-0.125)</td>
<td>(-0.099)</td>
<td>(-0.119)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing units</td>
<td>0.007***</td>
<td>0.004**</td>
<td>0.003**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.255)</td>
<td>(0.198)</td>
<td>(0.251)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing age</td>
<td>0.260**</td>
<td>0.141</td>
<td>0.119**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.200)</td>
<td>(0.142)</td>
<td>(0.221)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median sales price</td>
<td>-0.052***</td>
<td>-0.041***</td>
<td>-0.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-0.233)</td>
<td>(-0.240)</td>
<td>(-0.119)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High priced loans</td>
<td>1.282***</td>
<td>1.179***</td>
<td>0.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.480)</td>
<td>(0.577)</td>
<td>(0.093)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>-8.121</td>
<td>-2.357</td>
<td>-5.764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>71.882***</td>
<td>51.803***</td>
<td>39.752***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R²</td>
<td>0.774</td>
<td>0.710</td>
<td>0.651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: Unstandardized coefficient (standardized); Sig: *** .001 ** .01 * .05 (bold)
Figures

(Separate image files are provided of these two graphs, but titles must be added as indicated below to the images.)

Figure 1. Foreclosures in Louisville, 1999-2008
Figure 2. Investor Foreclosures in Louisville, 2004-2008
(Separate image files are provided of these two maps, but titles must be added as indicated below to the images.)

**Figure 3.** Owner-Occupied Foreclosures by Neighborhood, Louisville Metro, 2007-2008
Figure 4. Investor-Related Foreclosures by Neighborhood, Louisville Metro, 2007-2008
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN COLONIAL MULTAN

Abstract.

Industrialization is a process of social and economic change that transforms a human group from an agrarian society into an industrial one. It is a part of a wider modernization process, where social change and economic development are closely related with technological innovation, particularly with the development of large scale energy production. Industrialization is most commonly associated with the European Industrial revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The first country to industrialize was the United Kingdom and they set out to civilize and modernize the world through their colonialism. Colonialism played a provocative role in this process as external market surpluses were exploited for domestic benefits. Being the rulers of India British introduced innovations and the mercantile areas experienced significant change while underdeveloped experienced structurally limited development.

Multan was a large and thickly populated town of Punjab. It works as gateway to India and served as second defense line for British, therefore it remained an important cantonment for centuries. The study focuses on the industrial development and the social change in colonial Multan.
Abstract of research paper in History

Author: Abida Kausar Chuadhary
PhD Scholar
Department of History
BZU Multan Pakistan

Email Address: abidachuadhary@yahoo.com

Socio –political change in Colonial district Multan.
An Anthropological aspect in historical research

This research will examine some of methodological issues involved in the development of ethnographic research in History. An introduction will provide the form and nature of data including statistical records, personal documents, items of mass communication, anthropological reports. The main methodological approaches will stem from History itself and social sciences. The paper will argue that a variety of methodologies in common. This research will help out for future researchers and policy makers.

This research will try to analyze the direction of British anthropology in colonial Multan. Its agenda centers on village or tribal communities as well as aspects of political domain and great man politics. I would like to explain how British administer the said district? more particularly, how they provided the colonial infrastructure that became the key cause for socio-political change? The social and psychological dimensions can not be overlooked because growth and change of social structure had not occurred over night.

Reconstruction of history through anthropology is an artistic medium like film, music, creative writing, visual arts and designs. In south Asia the region comprises a mixed blend of culture. We believe that the language of anthropology can be a unifying platform through which we can explore the socio political change of the region. Multan is one of the archaic abode of humans in the world. All modern historians and anthropologists agree upon the antiquity of Multan and its demographic, geographical, historical and cultural importance. The Punjab was the largest area which finally incorporated in British India through a military conquest and Multan was annexed by the British in 1849.
The British role requires an examination of the structure of power through which the British controlled the Punjab. The primary goal of the colonial rule was to maintain law and order and to collect revenue. The British role formulated and implemented certain policies to maintain their rule, devised the system of authority, and as a result, social change occurred throughout Punjab and more particularly in Multan occurred throughout Punjab and more particularly in Multan district. The imposition and maintenance of British rule brought considerable social change in existing traditional political and social order. The change was towards all direction which altered the existing pattern of life. The policies which were adopted, the institutions which were established and the persons who controlled the helm of affairs in different capacities participated in bringing the social change.

It will be a historical analytical study and will follow a case study approach. The study will use a range of sources. In addition to published works, this will include unpublished official records, files “a” and “b” annual administrative, public works, irrigation, agriculture board of revenue and assessment reports. Proceeding of the Punjab government settlement reports, gazetteer, gazette, manuals, census district gazetteers. An attempt will also be made to access district level record held at Islamabad, Lahore and Multan. Material will be drawn from military recruitment books. There are of course numerous British official accounts in Cambridge and London which will reinforce the official view.

Non-official record will also be used to counterbalance the official view so effort will also be made to look for the private papers which may be lying around with leading families of the region. Research will be consisted of magazines, newspapers, and research journals. Seminar on each chapter will be organized to get feedback. New sources of information in English, Urdu, and Punjabi will be uncovered.

The present research is significant in many respects. In the last two decades the studies appearing on colonial India demonstrate a visible shift of focus from macro level study to microanalysis. Various works covering subaltern themes and regional histories have appeared. The present study is part of this historiographical movement. The study is significant both from theoretical and practical stand points. Theoretically, it envisages examining the concept of socio-economic development and administrative control at a regional level. In practical terms, the study would contribute by mapping the socio-economic and political history of Multan district. It will not only open new vistas of our perception towards the colonial impact at the Punjab provincial level, but will also help understand the political economy and development of feudalism in the Multan region.
Abstract

Title of Submission: American Indian Grandparents and Adolescent Grandchildren Share Their Grand Family life experiences: Challenges and Rewards

The Study

A qualitative study was conducted to determine the rationale for 31 American Indian grandparents who provided sole care of their grandchildren. The focus of the study was to assess the impact of historical trauma on the grandparents’ decision making process in accessing services, the value of American Indian Child Welfare policies in addressing care issues, and custody status of the grand families. Indian Outreach Workers, Community Health Representatives, Elder Program Directors, and tribal community leaders were key in the recruitment of participants. A phenomenological approach of the “word of the lived experience” informed the design of the study (Gibson, 2002). In addition eight adolescent grandchildren were interviewed to gain their perspective regarding the grand family relationship.

Methods

Over a two year period, thirty-one American Indian grandparents and eight adolescent grandchildren (ages 11-17) participated in the individual, face-to-face interviews. The interviews with the grandparents ranged from 60-90 minutes in length, and the interviews with the grandchildren ranged from 20-40 minutes in length. Two semi-structured interview protocols (with both open and closed response categories) were constructed for the study, one designed for the grandparent interviews and one designed for interviews with the grandchildren. The grandparent protocol queried information on their basic demographic characteristics (gender, age, marital status, income, health status, etc.), the reasons for providing care for the children, identify services the grandparents have accessed to assist in care-giving responsibilities, assess any unmet service needs among the grandfamilies, and grandparents shared the types of trainings they would like to participate in, and finally, gather opinions from grandparents on the training needs for social workers as service providers working with American Indian Tribal Nation communities- both on and off the reservation. The second protocol queried the grandchildren to obtain information on their perceptions on why they were being raised by their grandparent(s), assessed the mental health, educational, and social aspects of the grandchildren; and queried the grandchildren on their future goals and career aspirations.

Researchers recorded responses from the grandparents and adolescent grandchildren using field notes. After each interview session, the researchers met to conduct a comparison of the responses recorded by each researcher to assess the internal reliability of the responses captured within the field notes. The responses to the questions were entered into the Microsoft Office Word program and downloaded into Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis program for coding and data analysis.

Findings

The findings for the segment of the grandparents include; (1) explanations for providing sole care of grandchildren; (2) legal options for the grandparent-grandchild relationship, (3) traditional child-rearing practices, (4) grandparents’ decisions affected by the historical trauma of U.S. Indian Boarding School issues and the removal of children from their homes due to cultural differences resulting in a reluctance
to seek and access national and state programs; (5) knowledge of the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 (6) challenges and rewards of grand parenting.

The segment of the study with the adolescent grandchildren included; (1) grandchildren’s mental health and educational challenges (2) perceived future goals and career aspirations of American Indian grandchildren were defined differently by grandparents and the grandchildren; (3) Suggestions for improvement of the dyad relationship were offered by both the grandchildren and their grandparent caregivers.

Recommendations

For social, human services and mental health professionals;

- Become knowledgeable of the historical and cultural issues in addition to the needs of the grandparents and their grandchildren.

- Receive and engage in cultural sensitivity training to become more empathic, respectful and open to different cultural beliefs including the reasons why children are being raised by their grandparents.

- Increase knowledge about the full array of legal options available to grandparents who are raising grandchildren to ensure the living arrangement best meets the needs of the family.

- Invest in American Indian communities by collaborating with tribal nations’ health, social, human services, education, and elder services programs.


For school personnel;

- Foster more positive grandparent, grandchild, teacher and peer relationships.

- Assist the grandparents in obtaining needed services such as counseling, tutoring services, and after school programs.

- Include grandparents as partners in the development of the grandchildren’s Individual Education Plan (IEP).

- Invite grandparents to be volunteers at their grandchild’s school; it may be helpful to them to gaining a sense of the current school practices.

- Engage American Indian adolescents and their grandparents to discuss career planning as a way to increase interest and persistence in school. This includes having a dialogue about career goals requiring completion of high school and some form of post-secondary education (i.e. college, vocational education, and apprenticeships).

Conclusion
At the national level, it is important that all grand families be included as a population in need of assistance. It was not until the 2000 U.S. Census that data were collected on grand families. Although, the data are likely to be an undercount, especially for American Indians and Alaska Native grand families, it is the start of focusing on a population with service needs and of tracking success in addressing those needs (Cross, Day, & Farrell, 2011).

The benefits to grandparent involvement in caregiving of their grandchildren is great. Extended family is the central organizing unit of most American Indian and Alaskan Native cultures. Within this extended network of care, American Indian and Alaskan Native children develop strong relationships and attachments with not only their immediate biological family, but includes aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents. Because of these connections, American Indian and Alaskan Native children thrive in kinship care. Grandparents keep children both safe and immersed in their heritage. Therefore, children living with grandparents maintain connections to their family members, traditions, and identity. In several cases, kinship care giving enables sibling groups to remain intact. The children are able, to a greater extent than foster children not in kinship care, to maintain relationships with other family members and birth parents. Cross et al. (2010) found of the thirty-one American Indian grandparents interviewed, twenty-one of the children had a visit from at least one parent and other family members, five had visits from only family members, and three had visits only from parents with two children having no visits. If these children had been placed in non-kin homes, the number of parent and family visits would have likely declined significantly. Evidence suggests that children in kinship care have more stable living situations than those in non-kin foster care placement. Children placed with kin by the child welfare system are less likely to experience multiple placements, and are more likely to stay within the same community and school system (Cross, Day, & Farrell, 2011). Children in kinship care are usually familiar with their caregivers and therefore less traumatized by moving into the grandparents’ homes, and often-express feeling loved.

Selected References


b. **Topic Area of Submission:** Intergenerational Studies & Social Work

c. **Presentation Format:** Paper Session

d. **Paper Authors:**

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Abstract

Title: *The Impact of the U.S. Indian Boarding Schools on the Lives of American Indians And Their Communities*

The word “Elders” is a term used in reference to older adults in the American Indian Tribal Nations’ cultures. Referring to someone as an “Elder” is a means of showing respect and an acknowledgement of their status in the community. The Elders are viewed as oral historians and keepers of the culture for they share ceremonies, songs, and traditional ways of life with the next generation. However, this cultural continuum has been ruptured, in part by a U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) social policy, which was designed to create the boarding school system in American. From 1830-1984, thousands of “Indian” children were forcibly removed from their homes and Tribal Nations and placed in these federal institutions to be civilized and assimilated to a way of life that was unfamiliar. The result was devastating to the Tribal Nations and nearly brought an end to the existence of their unique cultures. Often times, these children were absent from their Tribal Nations for several years or never again reunited with their families.

In addition to being disenfranchised from their families, many of the children who attended the boarding schools experienced incarceration, starvation, physical, psychological, and sexual abuse, and death. The magnitude of the impact of attending these institutions on the Elders of today and the resultant rupture in the culture becomes clearer with the awareness of nearly one half of the American Indian people alive today were not raised by their parents and extend families, but in the BIA boarding school system.

Consequentially, the traumas of discrimination and maltreatment that occurred in the BIA boarding schools often resulted in experiences that produced feelings of dehumanization, anxiety, guilt, chronic bereavement, severed ties with extended families, abandonment, shame, anger, loneliness, fear, hopelessness, and of tribal culture. Unless the Elders of today have taken steps to ameliorate the losses they have experienced, their lives continue to be impacted by feelings of failure in not being able to fulfill their cultural roles. It is important for them to be able to reclaim their heritage, take pride in their culture and their ability to make contributions to their families and Tribal Nations.

It is imperative to understand the impact this particular historical trauma has had on the Elders and how it impacts their lives today. Many of these Elders only need a quiet moment before they begin to open up to share the traumas they experienced while living in these institutions. Others “do not want to talk about it”; at first, and then, their experiences flow as if they were irrepressible. Once they are allowed to share their experiences, the Elders discover they are not alone, and they did not have control over their fate at a time when they were merely children. When they are able to share their experiences and acknowledge their feelings, the healing begins as they feel they have “come out of the darkness.” Then they are able to move forward in their lives by reconnecting with their Tribal Nations’ communities and begin to gain the knowledge
and skills necessary for them to transition into their traditional cultural roles. They are no longer hopelessness, or have feelings of isolation because they are able to take actions that will allow them to fulfill their cultural roles. One female Elder shared her experiences during an interview, then thanked us for listening, and stated, “This talk was very cleansing.”

A beneficial plan of action for many of today’s American Indian Elders who continue to experience harmful reactions of their boarding school experiences is to seek assistance from mental health professionals to enhance their coping skills to address the experiences of the long-term negative environments. These Elders may be currently experiencing one or more of the following disorders, which include posttraumatic stress disorder, depressive disorder, anxiety disorder, obsessive-compulsive disorder, and/or substance abuse. All of these disorders have harmful effects on the mental and physical health of the Elders, which reverberates through the lives of their immediate families, extended families and Tribal Nations.

The purpose of the study and documentary is to first allow the Elders to directly share with audiences their “lived experiences” to validate their experiences by their voices being heard. Secondly, to develop an understanding and awareness of a part of the U.S. history that is little known to those who are in positions to make a difference in the lives of these Elders. Professionals who are informed of the occurrence of the historical traumas experienced by many American Indians in the BIA boarding schools may be able to provide more appropriate and effective treatment and/or services, and understand the distrust that sometimes occurs with non Tribal health and human services providers. Third, the knowledge of the BIA boarding school experiences may bring an understanding of the rationale and importance of such legislation as the Indian Child Welfare Act.

b. **Topic area of submission:** History & Social Work

c. **Presentation format:** Workshop

d. **Paper author(s):** Suzanne L. Cross, PhD, ACSW, LMSW
   
   School of Social Work
   Michigan State University
   suzanne.cross@ssc.msu.edu
Communication Internships:

The Good, the Bad, and the Not So Pretty

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Communication Internships: 

The Good, the Bad, and the Not So Pretty

Abstract

This study asks interns about their internship experiences. Interns reported on successes, frustrations, as well as what surprised them in internships. Utilizing the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning this study emphasizes what can be done to help students transform internships into more positive experiences? These suggestions include more time spent on internship objectives, different approaches to planning and implementing different assignments, and considerations about intervention. Highlighting students’ voices about their internships can help inform the scholarship of teaching and learning that carries impact for future internships?
I. Introduction.

When it comes to higher education students, faculty, administrators, and the public disagree on several things. One thing many do agree on is the need for practical experience. Internships are one way to gain such practical experience. College students are encouraged, and in some cases required, to complete internships as part of their undergraduate education. Internships carry positive connotations and are believed to be one of the best ways to gain entry into a career.

This paper emphasizes the student voice in internships. In particular, what are the reasons for an internship to be successful while another is not? What areas of concern do students have with their internships? What can be learned and done differently to help these students transform internships into more positive experiences? Furthermore, what can be discovered with these internships that can help inform the scholarship of teaching and learning that can impact future internships?

II. Review of Literature

A. Why Internships?

Taylor (1988) defines internships as “structured and career relevant work experiences obtained by students prior to graduation from an academic program” (p. 393). A diversity of disciplines in the arts and the sciences, in law as well as medicine offer internship prospects. According to Popik (2009) “the basic premise of an internship is to take the organization or field of work for a test drive” (p. 24). Likewise, “the organization can also test drive the person for
compatibility as a future employee” (p. 24). The structure and the requirements for an internship vary widely but do share a common purpose of providing learning opportunities in an organized setting (Rothman, 2007, p. 40). For the purposes of the current study, an internship is defined as a structured and career relevant work experience that students obtain academic credit for prior to graduation. An “intern” is described as an advanced student gaining practical experience usually in a professional field. Specifically, the study reported in this paper focuses on internships done by students who major or minor in Communication.

Internships provide students with both immediate and long-term benefits. Knouse, Tanner and Harris (1999) state, “Internships can help them [interns] develop immediate skills that can improve course performance, such as better time management, better communication skills, better self-discipline, heightened initiative, and an overall better self-concept” (p. 35). Internships reflexively bridge theoretical knowledge learned in the classroom with experiential practice gained in the workplace. Students are attracted to internships because they are considered to be a reliable way to learn about the work environment (Knouse, Tanner, & Harris, 1999). An internship is a way to test one’s personal commitment to a career as well as appreciate the need for ongoing professional development (Capasso & Daresh, 2001). Furthermore, internships are seen as way to gain a competitive edge. As Cannon and Arnold (1998) note, “Students have increasingly relied on internships to differentiate themselves from their non-participating counterparts” (p. 202).

B. Internships as Experiential and Transformational Learning

“Experiential learning is making meaning from direct experiences” (Benander, 2009, p. 36). For interns experiential learning can consist of engaging in teamwork, being sensitive to and balancing a variety of needs, and encountering complex problems where
judgment and organizational ability are essential. Communication skills both oral and written, are exhibited, developed, and often tested with an internship. The internship experience is a direct way for one to come face to face with one’s own strengths and weaknesses and then examining why this is so. Experiential learning requires reflection on what has been done and application to future situations (Benander, 2009).

Adult students in internships must go beyond learning gained from direct experience. Learning should be transformational (Baumgartner, 2001; Mezirow, 1994; Mezirow, 1997). An essential part of this transformational learning requires critical reflection that encourages the learner to evaluate their worldview and frames of reference with the new experiences (Cranton, 2002; Curran & Murray, 2008). Although the teacher can assist students in the process of transformational learning, Mezirow (1997) suggests that students must be independent, to be socially responsible, and to think on one’s own. Students must also grapple with the difficult questions. “In an effective internship, there are always more opportunities for questions; answers come slowly. That is the same as it is in the real world of administrative practice” (Capasso & Daresh, 2001, p. 160). For interns, these questions are likely to be: What is the purpose of this internship? Was this internship effective? What are the key ingredients of a successful internship experience? What are my non-negotiable values for this internship? Did the internship meet all of the goals and objectives as stated in the project proposal? (Carpasso & Daresh, 2001). In addition, Where did the internship fail, and why? What lessons can be learned from this failure and how can these lessons be applied to future experiences? Such questions should also matter to those teachers and supervisors who regularly work with student interns.

This paper derives from the author’s role as a director for a departmental internship program. The author hoped that community intern sites supervisors would recognize that student interns were competent, enthusiastic, and ready to work. The author also aspired to do a better job as a director with students having a successful internship. A challenge soon presented itself. Why do students have completely different internship experiences? What is it about what makes an internship a good one or turn out to be a bad one? Inspired by the title of the Clint Eastwood starred spaghetti western movie, *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, the author’s attention turned to those areas about internships that are not necessarily “good” or “bad”. Because of the potential to be a positive or a negative experience these internship situations that proved most intriguing. Ugly was thought to be too strong of a word so the author chose to label these as “not so pretty” internship experiences.

Distinguishing internships into neat categories of good, bad, and not so pretty is tricky because interns can experience all three in one internship, or for that matter in one week at an internship. Nevertheless, there are specific characteristics for each. “Good internships result in students putting theoretical knowledge to practice and create a mind-set of continuous learning” (Capasso & Daresh, 2001, p. 160). Thiel and Hartley (1997) specifically state that “The student gained professional experience, and credit in his major, the [company] gained an excellent intern, and the college received tuition money and favorable image enhancement by the quality of the work of the intern” (p. 19). The author’s own experience with “good” internships include: All the student’s objectives are met; student earns a strong letter of reference from their intern site supervisor; and student has networked future contacts. In addition, the student expands on what they have learned in class with an experience at the
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An internship; the student gets their work done on time, is responsible, and communicates well with their site supervisor and course teacher.

A bad internship is more than just less than satisfying results. In the case of a bad internship experience a low grade is assigned or a student is asked to drop the internship and withdraw from the course that goes with it. For example, an intern is reprimanded for not showing up for work on time or is found sleeping at the desk. Such things can happen, but if this continues to be a problem and lessons are not learned, a bad internship results. Academic and work dishonesty including faking hours worked, lying about what was accomplished at the internship, plagiarizing others’ work, and even forging signatures are considered by this author as bad internship experiences. Bad internships can also involve a contract abuse or legal and academic problems that once reported often goes beyond the teacher, student, and work site jurisdiction. Other examples include students getting hurt on the job, alcohol, substance and physical abuse, or sexual harassment.

Bad internships can stem from structural circumstances beyond the control of the intern. Yagoda (2008) warns about a possible internship reality that reinforces the divide between the have and the have not students. Since most internships are unpaid, richer students are in a better financial position to acquire the opportunities and the prospects that come with these internships. According to Yagoda, unpaid internships despite the types of experiences, the networking, and the good recommendation from the supervisor are not economically feasible for the less well off students. Faced with rising tuition, bills, and other financial demands these students cannot afford to work for nothing. Thus, poorer students can wind up doing menial work and gain less experience to put on resumes.
Unlike bad internship experiences the not so pretty internship experiences have the potential to turn out to be positive satisfactory learning opportunities. Some of the not so pretty experiences in internships are likely results of students’ misunderstood expectations. Internships are often the first time that students may hold a job within their professional field. The realities and the challenges that come with a job may be energizing or dispiriting. New interns may be upset that their knowledge is not being used, that they are not learning anything new, or what they do accomplish does not seem essential or make a difference. They may be over-whelmed by the pace or under-whelmed by the mundane. Interns, especially those that set out ambitious goals, may be discouraged that objectives are not being met or that networking is hindered or nonexistent. Many interns are taken aback that others at the intern site are not considerate of their circumstances, are not welcoming, are suspicious, or in some cases hostile to their very presence. Bosses and supervisors may not be clear about their roles as supervisors for interns and with other added demands they may not take the time to appropriately and effectively mentor interns. Those interns who are used to the constant attention, feedback, and reinforcement that is given to them in their classes and campus activities may have an especially difficult time adjusting to the realities of an internship. It is for such reasons that these “not so pretty” situations in internships are of interest in this paper.

The approach this paper takes is the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning. The Scholarship of Teaching and Learning is the scholarly inquiry into student learning which advances the practice of teaching by sharing this research publicly. Bok (2006) urges teachers to better understand how students learn and to evaluate one’s own methods of going about teaching. Bok further advocates that in order to do this systematically one should start with one’s own classes. This is the intention of the study reported in this paper. The author asks interns to talk
about what they are learning in their internships. This includes the good, the bad, and especially those situations that are “not so pretty” with the internship. The lessons learned resonate with what is currently going on, and may change the way that internships are arranged, conducted, and reported.

III. Method.

A. Context of the Study.

Participants in this study consisted of 43 student interns in an undergraduate communication internship course from the Spring, Summer and Fall 2010 semesters. Participants were majors and minors in Communication with over 60 hours of college credit. A majority of the participants majored in Public Relations. In terms of gender, 77% were female (n = 33), and 23% were male (n = 10). Students interned at both non-profit and for profit organizations. One academic hour of credit equaled approximately 48 work hours completed at the internship site. Since internships were on-site work experiences students did not meet in a regular classroom. Most internships took place in the same city where the university is located. Other internships were in different areas of the state. Three internships were located in other parts of the United States. The teacher/researcher kept in touch with individual students using face-to-face, phone, and email correspondence. Periodically throughout the semester each student would turn in journals noting what their experiences were at the intern site. Students were asked to collect materials for a final internship portfolio showcasing examples of work completed during the internship. The Communication interns produced press releases, detailed planning for events, photos, and offered explanations of internship work to give a sense of what had been accomplished. Signed time sheets with schedules verified from the on-site internship supervisor as well as a final letter of evaluation for work completed were included in the portfolio. In
addition each intern wrote a six to eight page double-spaced paper that focused on connecting what had been learned in one’s coursework with what the intern carried out at the internship site.

Due to the dispersed intern sites required class meetings between the internship teacher and students did not take place. However, if an intern needed to speak with the instructor he or she was encouraged to do so. In the week immediately leading up to the mid-point of the semester students were required to get in touch with the course teacher through a “conference” whereupon students were asked to answer questions and have their own questions answered.

B. Procedures.

As part of the internship course conference the teacher contacted each student through email with a list of open-ended questions. Spring and Fall semester interns were contacted and asked to respond within the seventh and eighth week time period of the 16 week semester. Summer interns were contacted and asked to respond within the fourth and fifth week time period of the eight-week long semester. Among the questions interns were asked to comment was how internship was going, what specifically was being learned at the internship including how the experience was helping them to be a better communicator, and if any surprises were encountered as well as words of advice for those in future internships. Other questions focused on how the department and the university had prepared them for the internship as well as what more needed to be done. Interns were also asked to rate on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being not good at all, and 10 being excellent, how he or she would rate the internship so far. Interns were asked to explain their ratings, and if needed, offer specific suggestions for improvement.

Each intern was required to answer conference questions as part of the internship class. In a separate set of instructions interns were asked permission for their responses to be used for a study on internship experiences. Before proceeding with the questions for the study the author
sought and got permission from the University’s Institutional Review Committee. Interns were assured that their identity would be kept confidential, and whether or not the individual intern agreed to participate in the study it would not impact their grade or performance in the communication internship course. Any student expressing concerns about a conflict between grades and participation was provided contact information for the Department Head. Interns who chose to participate in the study were asked to sign an informed consent. Participants were told that contact through follow up emails and or a follow up face-to-face interview could occur for additional interviewing.

Participant answers to the email conference questionnaires were collected and filed in a Word file on the researcher’s office computer. Each response was then printed out. In the case of follow-up interviews (email or in person) the researcher wrote down the individual participant response and attached this to the individual interview questionnaire. Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) constant comparative method was used for themes and categories derived from the interns’ responses on the email questionnaires and any follow-up interview responses.

IV. Results.

The semester mid-point “conference” and follow-up interviews with interns was a way to check in on how interns scattered among different work sites were doing. The conference was also a way for some to voluntarily report for the purposes of this study on how things were going. More specifically, questions provide information on what’s good, what’s bad, and what’s not so pretty about internships. Because participants were drawn from a pool of communication interns the results underscore communication interactions found in internships.

One question asked interns to determine on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being not good at all, and 10 being excellent, how the internship rated so far? Interns were then asked to explain
the rating. Of the 43 respondents 8 rated the internship as a 10; seven rated the internship as 9; 14 respondents rated the internship as an 8, 11 respondents gave a 7, two respondents reported the internship as a 5, and one intern rated the internship a 4. No respondent ranked an internship with below 4.

Interns reporting upper range ratings of 9 and 10 were in agreement that the internship was going well. One intern summarized, “I feel like I’ve learned much more than through a class.” Others who rated the internship highly remarked on how they felt that they were made to feel welcome and a part of the team. The excitement and professional aura of the job served as highlights. “I’m in a “big girl” job now,” stated one intern.

Highly rated internships often had “excellent” supervisor mentorship. One intern explained, “My boss has let me sit in on phone conferences with other employees all over the Midwest, coordinate and escort media crews…contact doctors/nurses, patients, and people when needing further information or expertise for a news release, attend meetings, and many more.” Support extended beyond the supervisor to include strong working relationships and communication with other intern site personnel. Responses from interns included, “people are nice and friendly,” “I am part of the team,” and “they really worked with me.”

Interns in highly ranked internships saw the value in their experience. One way that value was defined was through the variety of tasks assigned. One intern pointed out, “I am not only doing significant work for the company, but my ideas, thoughts are valued as well.” The interns who were satisfied with their internships also reported value extending past the current internship to include opportunities for networking and making future contacts.

Three participants assigned the internship with the lower ratings of 4 and 5. They reflected the opposite from the interns who reported favorably on their internships. No to little
supervisor mentoring and support was a factor. One intern divulged there was “no executive
director for a big part of my internship.” Another intern said, “The changes were unsettling with
a new transition, new VP,” which resulted in “poor communication” and “little direction.” The
intern further explained, “I feel like they were still trying to find out who they are as an
organization and because of that, they did not have the defined roles that I expected.” One intern
declared, “I’m not learning new things.” Negative assessments influenced how interns saw the
value of their internship as in the case, “[It’s] not worth the amount I paid per credit hour. I’m
just disappointed in my experience.”

Interns who gave their internships a rating of 7 or 8 often reported a combination of
hopefulness and remorse. For these interns the internship was not as good as they would have
liked, but things were not bad either. Using the vocabulary set forth in this paper it is these
experiences that often fall into the “not so pretty” category. These interns reported things like
“I’m doing plenty of stuff, but could do more.” There was also a concern about the lack of time
in meeting internship objectives. As one intern commented, “I have only 3 months for this
summer internship.” Supervisor mentorship was listed as a concern for these interns. One intern
admitted, “She (supervisor) did not have the time to adequately address my questions.” Another
intern referred to “not enough guidance” and the “difficulty in getting in touch with the boss.”

Interns who marked their internships as a 7 or 8 talked about the need to improve
communication or about the communication difficulties of the job. For example, one intern
reported, “Communication with the guests are going well, but with some of the other employees
not so well, because of in-fighting.” Another expressed frustration with working with those
outside the organization specifically the coordination of volunteers and the “volunteers not
following through.” Another intern desired more time for interactions. “If I was able to have more one on one connection with the patients I would be totally satisfied with my internship.”

Like their course colleagues value was a concern for interns assigning internships with a 7 or 8 rating. Primarily, value was expressed in thoughts of being needed. “There is not enough for me to do,” reported one intern. Another intern explained the course of their internship as, “Work work, but then there is down time.” Other respondents in this category also talked about the busy periods followed by a slowdown causing one intern to say, “I don’t feel as needed.” To make up for any slow periods, one intern responded that she was “given odd things to do other than PR.” Another intern reasoned, “I remain hopeful. “I’m hoping this will change if Mr. H---- agrees to implement my marketing suggestions.”

Interns were asked about the biggest surprise with the internship? Time and managing time was the biggest surprise for interns no matter how high or low the internship was ranked. Closely related with time is the discipline or responsibility required for the job. One intern said, “I’ve never worked outside a coffee shop, so it was strange to sit at a desk all day.” Because many interns worked in public relations time and schedules demanded fluidity where “work goes beyond the 9 to 5.” An intern in the thick of a midterm political campaign noted, “Seventy hours a week is a lot more than what it seems like on paper.” Surprises about time for these interns included the time it takes to prepare to do a job well. One intern said, “I couldn’t get over the amount of detail that was required for this event to run so smoothly. I have really learned a hard lesson in how much time goes into planning even the smallest event.” The balance needed to stay on schedule or competing projects requiring attention was another element about time that surprised interns. One intern remarked, “the biggest surprise that I have found would be the
amount of projects that are going on at one time, and you have to give each project the appropriate amount of time.”

Other surprises interns did not expect include the need to plan in detail every function of the event, meeting responsibilities and challenges that are not “necessarily glamorous” such as cold calling, making sure to follow up with clients, and “doing things that you don’t get credit for.” Blame is easily assigned whereas credit can be overlooked as was pointed out by one intern. “My supervisor disclosed that she feels that the rest of the ____ Development office does not entirely back up her fundraising efforts….She said she gets little recognition when she does something good, but everyone is eager to give feedback when something goes wrong.”

One intern was surprised by the versatility of knowledge required for a job as a lobbyist. “My co-workers are not only experts in politics, but also in many other areas like messaging, public relations, economics, product placement, and client relations.” Another intern became aware of the need to be resourceful. “I was surprised how creative you have to be sometimes when working for a nonprofit, because our budget was very small.” A majority of the participants were public relations interns where writing is required. Still, many reported they were surprised by the amount of writing required for the job along with the “tight deadlines” and the “need to be disciplined and correct” with writing. One intern summarized, “I REALLY need to work on using precise words and making every word count.” Interns who struggled the most with their internships had the most difficulties with how communication impacted the infrastructure and interactions at the internship site. In these cases, the surprise was the “poor communication especially from those who are in charge” or the ‘lack of structure including what tasks need to be done, and when.”
Surprises with the internship can lead to unexpected results or a discovery of something positive and new. Such surprises include intern reports on how much was being learned on the job, the opportunities to work with professionals and to network, or how the internship turns out to consist of “fun satisfying work.” Surprises led to learning something new about one’s self. For example, an intern who had worked in the health care field and who had originally wanted to work in pediatrics admitted, “My biggest surprise has been that I really enjoy working around older people. This may change my career direction.” Another concluded, “I thought I was more interested in the print side of journalism. After my internship I’m now considering if I would like to be in front of the camera some day for the news.”

Interns were asked to respond to the question, “What is one thing that you have learned in your internship that has helped you to be a better communicator?” Many interns noted that in order to be a better communicator one must be organized and clear. As one intern said, “I learned that you should always know everything you can about the organization you are working for, so that you are always prepared to answer any questions about it and will sound more professional when answering.” One intern who worked in promotions for a sports team explained, “I have learned to be concise and precise when interacting with fans, especially when supervising the children’s play area and when explaining how our promotions work. My message has to be clear or a fan could be harmed by miscommunication.” These lessons about clarity extend to social media and email. One intern said, “Now I know how to phrase social media updates so that they are attention-getting. I also communicate via email a lot so I have to make my emails more direct and clear.

Adaptability is another internship requirement according to interns in this study. The challenge of contacting people “playing phone-tag, getting quotes, waiting on responses” has
been an eye-opener for some interns.” This is epitomized by one intern “Learning that my agenda is not the most important.” One intern remarked, “I have been very observant on how my bosses communicate with their co-workers, clients, and government officials. Their suaveness with word choice and tone is what makes them such successful professionals.” Another intern said, “When on the phone or face-to-face with [managers of different companies] I cannot sound like I am a 21 year old college student. Therefore, I have adapted a more professional communication technique.” Becoming a better communicator extends beyond being organized, clear, or being adaptable to an audience, sensitivity is also important. As one intern reported when working with persons experiencing cancer, “I had to be very careful about the words I used.”

In several cases the intern supervisor and co-workers served as role models for learning about communication. One intern praised his supervisor, “She handled complications and problems with people with ease and although she should have just ripped people apart she kept her cool and managed the problems affectively.” In the case where communication did not go well at the internship site, an intern said, “After seeing this all firsthand, it has taught me to be a better communicator s I now understand how necessary it is for me to not only communicate with peers, but listen to their responses and when there isn’t a response, I need to take the initiative to get one myself.” Another intern reported, “I have troubles not thinking ahead and completely tuning in to the person I am speaking to. Because the workers here spend a lot of their time listening to stakeholders, I’ve understood the importance of sitting back and just listening.”

Internships consist of a culmination experience for students’ education where they draw upon lessons learned in their academic coursework. Thus, one question in this study asked
respondents to talk about how the department, major, and or specific classes helped prepare them for the internship. Predictably, respondents cited courses that had a direct and recent impact on internships such as public relations writing, cases, and event planning. Interns identified other courses such as public speaking and interpersonal communication, and courses with service learning components that influenced their performance at internships.

When it comes to particular skills interns note how relationships are influential. In this area interns commended their major/minor department. One intern summed it up, “It is all about relationships, relationships, relationships.” Writing a good press release does not mean much unless you have “coordinated with local media,” or “nailed your demographic when planning an event.” According to these interns good speaking goes beyond articulation and knowing how to organize a speech. The most successful speaking outcomes are intertwined with “knowing how to ask questions as well as how to have a conversation with the person so that they feel comfortable” when presenting a case for asking for donations. Being clear also means being diplomatic as in the case with one intern who had been asked his opinion, said “What I have learned has also helped me know to respectfully tell my superiors what can be improved so I can do my job better and tell them in a way that is beneficial to everyone involved.” Regarding relationships in the case of one student who did not have a particularly successful internship the intern did see where the department had helped her “make sense” and learn from the experience. “I also feel like I was more prepared to deal with the organization’s lack of structure because in class we had talked about how a lack of strong communication can affect an organization, and I know [I] have been able to see that first hand.”
V. Discussion.

Boyer (1990) urged that scholars “should be asked to think about the usefulness of knowledge, to reflect on the social consequences of their work, and in doing so, gain understanding of how their own study relates to the world beyond” (p. 69). The focus of this study asked students to report on their internship experiences. What these students say about their internships provide lessons insuring the good, decreasing the bad, and tackling the “not so pretty” episodes that occur when interns enter the workplace. Intern feedback such as found in this study has led to a “rethinking” about internships for this scholar/teacher.

*Spend More Time Early on Internship Objectives*

In the excitement of setting up an internship it is easy to get caught up in the immediate needs of the internship while sacrificing attention to more long-term projects. It is useful to set up social media sites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, etc.) for the company, but then what? Monitoring these sites may lead to the development of other work skills. Also, interns will likely get bored. Planning and implementing a fund-raiser may take up the first weeks of the semester, but what will the intern do in those remaining weeks once the event wraps up? If nothing takes the place for that void then what was once a motivating internship experience soon becomes loathed by the intern. Before the internship begins strategizing should include looking at tasks that will take the student throughout the entire semester. Prepare students to be more self-disciplined and specific about what objectives can or cannot be accomplished at the internship site. Ask interns to rank the importance of objectives he or she wants to achieve by the conclusion of the internship. Talk about what is one objective that could be dropped for the internship to be considered a success? Encourage the intern to communicate with the intern site supervisor to formulate mutual objectives for the internship as well as working on a schedule for meeting goals. Also, share the
course syllabus and assignments with supervisors. Chen, Ku, Shyr, Chen, and Chou (2009) emphasize that site supervisors should be educated and comprised of internship expectations, “Articulating the responsibilities of internship supervisors prior to their participation in the internship is a key element of a successful internship” (p. 1432). Based on what interns in this current study say about good, bad, and especially not so pretty internship experiences spend more time with those students who will be working with a new company, or an organization new to internships. Finally, internships are a window into the real world of work. At times the atmosphere is face-paced and exciting; other times are slow and not as thrilling. Students must learn that the mundane can occur in any job. Speak with prospective interns about taking advantage of the mundane times that occur in the internship. Becoming self-reliant and using this time to work on more long-term projects is a lesson that all interns will find beneficial. Thus, what could be a not so pretty or bad internship experience has the potential to become one of the best parts of the internship.

Evaluate and Readjust Internship Assignments

Kahl (2010) believes that “for students to use communication to make a difference in their own lives and the lives of others, they must be engaged in communication scholarship beyond the classroom” (p. 299). For intern participants in this study the workplace serves as the place beyond the classroom. Interns should have work opportunities that connect to and build upon what they have learned in their academic courses. Offering new and readjusting assignments so that students can link classroom content with intern work experience should be emphasized. Adding brief readings on workplace communication is one option. Requiring interns to conduct a personal interview with supplied questions to ask the interviewee is another assignment. Whatever the assignment or the requirements interns should keep in mind that
portfolios should be organized, clear, and professional looking with an audience that goes beyond the teacher grading it. Internship directors may consider using a team of volunteer professionals to review portfolios and provide brief but essential feedback on what interns are accomplishing. Often student interns are asked to summarize work experiences in a journal. Instead of being open-ended more structured questions could help students use their experiences to engage in more active and deeper learning (Caine and Caine, 1994). “In effect, the learner asks in as many ways as possible “What did I do?”, “Why did I do it?”, and “What did I learn?” (pp. 156-157). Journals should pose these specific questions but should also include other questions such as “How did I spend my time?” “How could I have spent my time better?” “How am I meeting immediate work demands?” and “How am I doing with more long-term projects?” Ask the intern to comment on how he or she communicates with supervisors, other co-workers, and clients. More specifically what lessons are learned concerning communication with others? In the cases of “not so pretty” episodes, interns should be encouraged to directly confront these if possible in their journals. Afterwards, the instructor can work with the intern on if and how to turn around any not so pretty episodes.

**Know When to and When Not to Intervene**

Anyone who has coordinated internships for very long soon asks when it is best or not to intervene in internships. Teachers and internship directors need to be available to interns, while at the same time not come across as Velcro ready to pounce and address every concern real or imagined. Bad internship situations such as a safety, physical, sexual harassment or other legal type issues should be addressed and referred to the proper authorities. The “not so pretty” experiences for interns are not so clear-cut. Internships are the training wheels in introducing students to the demands of the workplace. “High levels of reality shock occur when individuals
find that many of the work standards and procedures learned in school directly conflict with those required on the job” (Taylor, 1998, p. 393). With the ease of electronic communication, the teacher needs to determine whether an intern is finding it hard with a temporary situation, having a bad day, or if the incident is something more long-term and acute. Student should be allowed to experience, work through, and learn from those “not so pretty” elements that can come with internships. Internship directors can follow up throughout the semester to see how things are going and intervene if need be. The mid-point semester conference that information for this study was gathered should not be the only opportunity for students and faculty to talk about internships. Even if things are going well early on new “not so pretty” situations may crop up well after the semester is underway. One possible situation that an intern nearing the end of the internship can experience is when to extract from the organization. Many interns voluntarily continue working for organizations long after the internship period is completed. Students may want to see a project to completion or feel a responsibility to helping an organization that provided the internship opportunity. In some cases interns may feel guilty for leaving the organization and are not able to move on despite other responsibilities such as a new academic semester or a different job. Thus, an end of the semester formal conference asking for similar feedback to questions asked in the first conference could be implemented to address any “not so pretty” episodes that can come about in the final weeks of the internship.

**Encourage Doing a Second Internship**

Finally, the feedback from interns in this study points to the benefits of doing more then one internship. Interns should be encouraged to consider gaining experience through internships that provide them with different types of experiences whether it is for academic credit or not. If building relationship skills are vital as interns in this study indicate than opportunities to work at
different sites (large and small organizations, profit and not for profit groups) and engaging with a diversity of people should be a motivation for doing multiple internships. For those interns who liked what was learned from the first internship then a second internship could offer additional opportunities for learning but with a different perspective. Certainly, if things did not go so well in the first internship, then interns working closely with the teacher/director should revisit why this was so. Adjustments could be made and hopefully the second internship will be a more gratifying work and learning experience.

**Concluding Observations**

One of the strengths of this study is that interns were given time to reflect on their experiences. It is interesting that no student reported less than a 4 when ranking his or her current internship. Avoidance of lower number rankings may partially center on the inherent nature and reputation of internships. Students can reason that whether or not an internship experience is good, bad, or not so pretty, that the internship can be listed on the resume. Internship reporting was right before or at the semester mid-point so interns may be still hopeful for any improvements. Interns were aware that their responses were going to be assessed by the internship director who in turn served as the professor and final grader. Interns may have been less than forthcoming with lower rankings so as not to give the impressions of negativity and complaining. Interns less than satisfied with their current internship may reason that this is just a part of working in the “real world” where one must learn from the experience and then move on.

The gender disparity of participants in this study where females outnumbered males could be seen as a limitation. One explanation is that there are more females in the department in which participants were drawn from. The gender ratio in this study of 77% female and 23% male is more equal compared with the gender ratio of students completing internships in the
three years leading up and involving this study (83% female and 17% male). Males may not be as attracted to internships as a result of societal expectations for males to be earners and breadwinners. Thus, a male student could believe that he should take a paid job over an unpaid internship even if the paid position has little to nothing to do with his career path. Males may be more likely to avoid or not be in a financial position to complete unpaid internships echoing what Yagoda (2008) warns is the divide between have and have not students.

For the interns in this study completing an internship satisfied an elective choice in their degree programs, but an internship was not a mandatory requirement. Would intern perceptions be different if the internship was a requirement for completing a degree? If a student has no choice in academic electives, has to pay for an intern work experience that is often unpaid itself then a consumer mentality may take over. This could result in demands for more available internships, placement help and for specific locales (e.g. “Get me an internship in Daytona Beach for the summer!”), and the expectation that success should be guaranteed or “I want my money back!” Thus, leading to new not so pretty episodes found with internships. Likewise, intern sites may look toward internship programs as a ready supply of potential workers much like temp agencies already serve. Such heightened expectations are not likely to be met considering the limited time, support and resources that most academic internship directors currently have.

This study focused on the voices of student interns and their experiences. However, other perspectives would add to the richness of understanding what is good, bad, and not so pretty about internships. For example, what does the intern supervisor have to say in response to what their interns are reporting? Certainly, the author in the role of an internship director could offer up other “not so pretty” episodes that student participants did not mention, such as not following through on appointments, not following up or responding to email in a timely manner, or at all.
Future research on internships should include internship directors/advisors as well as on-site work supervisors.

For many students internships are transformational experiences that add value both professionally and personally to their resumes. An internship impact can last a long time and can change one’s direction in life. Good internship experiences are hoped for. Bad experiences can happen, but hopefully are avoided. The intern experiences that occur in the in between –the not so pretty–have the potential to become transformed into ones with tremendous learning value. Disraeli said that “experience is the child of thought, and thought is the child of action.” The project outlined in this study has made the author reflect on the experiences working with interns and has led to the implementation of changes in course of action so that interns are more likely to succeed. “Teaching, at its best, means not only transmitting knowledge, but transforming and extending it as well” (Boyer, 1990, p. 24). Through the approach of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning the research in this study primarily benefits current and future intern students. It also has implications for better working relationship with intern site supervisors. Furthermore, it is a step in assisting the author in becoming a better communication teacher and scholar.
References


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Title
The Dating Relationship Scales: Including Context in a Measure of Young Adult Dating Violence

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Paper Session

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Abstract
Dating violence among post-secondary students is common and comes with potentially devastating consequences. To facilitate prevention and intervention initiatives it is important to understand the scope of the problem and factors that contribute to relationship violence. Dating violence is most often measured using scales that count abusive acts but omit the context of the abuse. The Dating Relationship Scales were created in response to a lack of measures that adequately describe the experience of violence in young adult dating relationships. In addition to standard demographic information, the scales asked respondents to report:

- victimization in current and previous dating relationships;
- attitudes towards relationships, conflict, and abuse;
- consequences and impact of abuse; and
- childhood experiences and exposure to abuse and violence.

Focus groups with post-secondary students, expert review, and a convenience sample contributed to the development of the scales. Recommendations for future research and implications for social work practice will be discussed.
Whether handwashing with soap may reduce the incidence of respiratory and gastrointestinal contagious diseases in children — a systemic literature review

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Abstract

Background

In recent years, many deadly contagious diseases are coming back worldwide. In addition to known enterovirus, dengue fever, tuberculosis, AIDS and severe acute respiratory syndrome, there are many emerging contagious diseases that are threatening us. There are various contagious diseases including acute contagious diseases, chronic and non-seasonal contagious diseases (Hsu, 2005). Schools are the most important and most efficient learning places for children of school ages. School-age children have weaker resistances to diseases. As contagious diseases invade campus, the clustering contagious diseases will be easily initiated and will cause great threats on children’s health. If the respiratory and gastrointestinal infections can be prevented by handwashing which is a
simple and cost-effective way, the treats of diseases will be reduced significantly.

**Purpose of study**

The purpose of this study is to verify whether handwashing with soap may reduce the incidence of respiratory and gastrointestinal contagious diseases in children.

**Methods**

In June 2011, literature reviews were searched within electronic databases, such as Cochrane Library, EBSCOhost Web (CINAHL Plus with Full Text +MEDLINE), PubMed, and Web of Science, and full texts of the conformed titles were assessed by two reviewers to conduct the qualitative review in methodology.

**Results**

By systemic paper review, Ejemot and the colleagues confirmed that the intervention of handwashing effectively reduced the incidence of diarrhea by one-third (Ejemot *et. al.*, 2009). Through systemic paper review, Jefferson and the colleagues (Jefferson *et. al.*, 2010) verified that the class skipping rate resulted from influenza were decreased by handwashing education. It was also proved that “sickness” was diminished by 34% (Ladegaard, 1999). Studies have indicated that handwashing successfully prevented the spread of gastrointestinal tract diseases and the acute upper respiratory tract infections (Master, 1997).

Numerous studies have shown that physical interventions interrupted and diminished effectively the spread of acute respiratory tract infections. It was also effective that handwashing with soap prevented and lowered the incidence of respiratory and gastrointestinal tract contagious diseases.
Stephen *et. al.*(2011) have shown in their study that intervention measures adopted in schools reduced significantly the absence due to diarrhea of children in the developing countries. After the intervention of school education, the usages of soap at home were increased significantly, the hand washing behaviors of students and their parents were increased a lot and the absence rates of students were decreased by 35%. The study of Nandrup-Bus I(2009) indicated that measures for handwashing proceeded in the elementary schools effectively reduced the absence of children due to infectious diseases. Luby and the colleagues(2005) have shown the results that handwashing with ordinary soap lowered the incidence of pneumonia more than 50% in the group of children under age 5 compared to the control group. Besides, the children under 15 years old in the baseline group whose families used ordinary soap had less than 53% diarrhea incidence in comparison with the control group. From the results of Bowen and the colleagues, the incidence of diseases, the occurrence of days and the incidence of similar diseases with the intervention of schools were reduced by 42%, 54% and 71%, respectively (Bowen *et. al.*, 2007).

**Conclusion**

Various systemic review articles and randomized controlled trials verified that intervention measures of handwashing with soap may reduce the incidence of respiratory and gastrointestinal contagious diseases in children and the absence of school children resulting from contagious diseases. Furthermore, the results of Luby *et. al.*(2005) indicated that the both disease incidences of handwashing using either ordinary or antibacterial soaps showed no significant differences.

**Suggestions**
Based on the evidences that handwashing may reduce the respiratory and gastrointestinal tract contagious diseases and decrease the absence due to contagious disease of children. It is a simple, cost-effective and essential way to prevent contagious diseases by handwashing. During the outbreak of new H1N1 influenza in 2010, incoming letters from related institutions stipulated for students to wash hands regularly four times a day in schools. It is, therefore, suggested that the same pattern may be adopted as in the period of new H1N1 influenza as in the pandemic periods of respiratory and gastrointestinal contagious diseases of enterovirus and influenza in the future. Requirements may be set by individual school and should follow the pattern of regular handwashing four times daily. In order to prevent the spread of contagious diseases and safeguard the health of school children, students should wash their hands when arriving at school, before the third class section, before lunch and before leaving school.

**Keywords:** Handwashing with soap, Respiratory and gastrointestinal contagious diseases
Project for Improving Interpersonal Interaction of People with Chronic Mental Disorder at a Community Rehabilitation Center with Group Therapy

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Abstract

Impairment in social interaction is a common interpersonal problem among people with chronic mental disorder. Usual causes include emotional withdrawal, lack of motivation, reduced learning ability, lack of communication and expression skills, which lead to self-closure, immersion in one own’s world, and hence difficulty in interacting with others. In this community rehabilitation center, since there is a lack of systematic and integrative group therapy design and arrangement, low participation in activities among students and lack of opportunities for interaction with others are resulted, because students’ initiative in participation is respected and the environmental stimulation is insufficient. Therefore, students have poor interpersonal interaction. After the author confirmed the problem through assessment, observation, interviews and data collection, a group therapy program was planned, designed and executed. Moreover, group therapy was conducted during the usual activity time of students to increase students’ participation. As a result,
the number of items scoring 25 in the “Social Skills Self Evaluation Scale” and 35 in the “Social Skills Training Scale” by the students reduced to two, and the average rate of activity participation reached 96.88%. Both results fulfilled the project’s target of improving interpersonal interaction of people with chronic mental disorder at the community rehabilitation center. As the number of people with chronic mental disorder increases year by year, and a fair proportion of them are repeatedly hospitalized, studies are done to show that improved social skills of patients will enhance their living quality, and on the contrary, reduce the probability of repeated hospitalization. Therefore, apart from providing occupational training for people with mental disorder, the community rehabilitation centers should also design group therapy in relation to social skills and interpersonal interaction to help the mentally impaired to improve their interaction with others, open up their interpersonal relationship, and achieve a better living quality.

**Keywords:** Group therapy, community rehabilitation, people with chronic mental disorder, social skill.
The Project of Improving Depression for The Elder via Group Nostalgic Activities

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Abstract

Because of depression as the most common health issue in the elderly of nursing homes, this improvement project is designed to cope with the negative influences on older people, including quality of life, life-threatening risks and impacts as well as burdens on families, society and health care system. Group reminiscence therapy can not only help the elderly find themselves from past events, boost self-esteem and self-value but also enhance their life satisfaction and socialization so as to further diminish the feelings of isolation, sadness and depression. Therefore, it has become one of treatments against elderly depression. This project objective is to perceive nursing home residents’ daily living functions and activities. After analyzing on the status quo, the issues uncovered are: (1) Institutes fail to arrange appropriate activities to meet residents’ needs. (2) Activity arrangement is based on the staff convenience. (3) Activity design fails to evaluate residents’ benefits. A practical resolution is to evaluate residents’ actual demands and execute the optional group
reminiscence therapy with the staff’s motivation and willingness, aiming to reduce residents’ depression and improve overall caring quality.

The project time duration was from Sep. to Nov., 2011 and the activity intervention period was from Sep. 9 to Oct. 3, 2011. The result showed that with the institute staff’s and interns’ lead in activities, under purposive sampling, 16 older people with Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) > 6 were selected; among them, 8 elders of the experimental group received a consecutive group reminiscence treatment twice a week for 8 times during one month. On the other hand, the other 8 people in the contrast group participated in regular activities. Through measurement of the Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS), we realized whether the group reminiscence therapy works or not. And the scale indicated that there was an average improvement of 3.375 points after taking the treatment while the contrast group only gained an average 0.25 depressive points. With content analysis and qualitative evaluation on group interaction, we found that the elderly restarted reflection, retrieved life experiences and memories in the past and obviously increased the oral expression and interpersonal interaction among group members. Consequently, the group reminiscence therapy is effective in improving depression. This experience pushes nursing institutes to strengthen competencies in organizing residents’ activity programs and promote team work in order to upgrade caring quality and lower the elder depression rate.

**Keywords:** Group Nostalgic Activities, The Elder, Depression
Exploring Improvement Effect of Physical Activity on Lowering Senior Citizens’ Melancholy by Systematic Literature Review Method

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Abstract

Nowadays, aging of population has become a global issue. In the process of aging, the situations that accompany people are the decline of body functions and health, and poor ability to control one’s emotion and behavior; even though melancholy is not a normal phenomenon of aging, it’s a problem that widely exists among people of old age group. In recent years, many scholars have advanced in the research literature that regular exercise not only can maintain and improve senior citizens’ body functions, but also can improve their melancholy, and thus promote senior citizens’ psychological and social functions. Hence, the research aimed to search the two database of CINAHL (EBSCO) and PubMed between 1985 and 2011 by systematic literature review method, and explore the clinical experimental research that took physical activity as the major intervention. In the aforesaid review, the two reviewers did the qualitative review of the methodology, instead of quantitative analysis, because heterogeneity of intervention, control group, research group, research design, and evaluation of results existed in the research. Among them, five researches were of Randomized Control Trial (RCT). After collecting and organizing the data, the researcher discovered that the intervention effect of three research articles achieved positive results, while two research articles did not have significant effect of intervention because the participation rate of the sports course during the research period was low. By means of this article, the research expected to help clinical medical staff to have further understanding on the effect of providing physical activity on lowering senior citizens’ melancholy.
(as a caring method), and thus promote the medical care quality, as well as offer as the reference for future research design and direction.

Keywords: Physical activity, melancholy, senior citizens.
**Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences**

**Title of presentation:** The Socio-Cultural and Leadership Experiences of Latina Four-Year College and University Presidents: A Través De Sus Voces (Through Their Voices)

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**Topic area(s):** Cross-disciplinary (Education, Ethnic Studies, Women’s Studies)

**Presentation format:** Workshop (discussing research project)

**Abstract of presentation:**

The Latina population in the United States is one of the largest of all racial and ethnic groups, and it is expected to grow exponentially within the next forty years. Despite these large numbers of Latinas in the U.S., there is a disparity with this population who are leading our nation’s four-year colleges and universities. A reason for this may be what some education researchers call a “broken pipeline,” where many Latinas reside in poorly-funded k-12 schools and are inappropriately tracked out of college preparatory classes and programs. Many Latinas are also tracked into trade or two-year community colleges where their opportunities for advanced degrees are delayed if not limited.

However, those Latinas who successfully transfer from community colleges to four-year colleges and universities, as well as those who begin their baccalaureate programs in a four-year institution, are sometimes met with cultural, racial, and gender bias which can discourage their future professional leadership aspirations.
This study, “The Socio-cultural and Leadership Experiences of Latina Four-year College and University Presidents: A Traves de sus Voces (Through their Voices)” considers the framework of intersectionality, where race, ethnicity, gender and socio-economic issues may contribute to the overall recruitment and retention of Latinas into presidential positions of four-year colleges and universities. Additionally, this study explores the notion of leadership from a Latina perspective, which often emphasizes themes such as character, competence, compassion, community servant hood and role modeling received by elder Latinas.

As noted in this study, it is important for members of this population to have Latinas in positions of leadership in their respective institutions. The Latina leaders featured in this study have built community by providing influence to their faculty and staff and have advocated for the equitable recruitment, retention, and advancement of women of color in academia. Their stories and experiences depicting resilience, valor, and compassion could be used as lessons for other women in academia, especially women of color, as they aspire to become leaders in our nation’s colleges and universities. Additionally, the goal of this study is to highlight the stories from this marginal population and also provide their much-needed credible narratives to academic research.
Abstract

Social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and others have been growing at a tremendous velocity. The adoption rate of such media has been skyrocketing which, in turn, has delivered astronomical numbers of users in less than 10 years. For example, Americans spent over 53 billion total minutes on Facebook alone during May 2011 based on Nielsen Wire (September, 2011). In 2011, Twitter had reached 200 million registered accounts (Forbes, January 2011). Meanwhile, YouTube reached over 700 billion playbacks in 2010 (YouTube Statistics, October 2011). As a consequence of this astounding phenomenon involving both the rapid emergence of this cutting-edge technology and its adoption, social media have become an integral part of the contemporary classroom, of advertising and public relations industries, of political campaigning, and of numerous other aspects of our daily existence.

The incorporation of this massive media upsurge brings with it challenges and opportunities that need to be analyzed by scholarly research. Thus, this paper provides a comprehensive and scholarly analysis of the usage and impact of social media in educational settings, in advertising, in public relations, in politics, as well as in legal and ethical issues. This analysis is based in part on the book "Social Media: Usage and Impact" for which I was the co-editor and that was published by Lexington Books (November 2011).
11TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SCIENCES,
HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.

AUTHOR: DR. ALBERT ANTWI BOASIAKO

TOPIC: HOW TRANSLATION MIRRORS PUSHKINS DEEP IN SIBERIA MINES (POEM)

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INTRODUCTION

Linguistics analysis of Poems or linguistics study of Poetry has become an important aspect of language study. Though the study of language precedes the study of literature, the relation between language and literature are intertwined. The paper attempts to objectively expose some significant development in Poetry and translation. The poem for our analysis is ‘Deep in Siberia Mines’ written by AS Puskin. An abstract has been provided which gives sufficient opening to the paper.
1.1 POETIC LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE OF DAILY CONVERSATION AND THE MASS MEDIA

The Language of Poetry and the two other types of languages, daily conversation and the media are all intertwined. The sub-topic does not attempt to create new language entirely for poetry. There are intersections between all these types of languages. Poetic language is peculiar to the other languages because it is enshrouded in figures of speech, such as metaphors, simile, personification etc. etc. The language of poetry is a philosophical reasoning expressed through verses. Meanings are hidden sometimes and in most cases needs a deeper intellectual thinking that calls for philosophizing. The language springs from somebody’s intelligent appreciation of an event, life etc. etc.

The lexical choices differ from the other types of languages which have been mentioned. Poetic language sometimes defy the logic of grammar, in other words it sometimes defy grammatical norms. This character makes translation of poetry difficult as well. For example it is very easy to translate “strategic offensive arms in English to Russia “Strategiechecky nastupateln Sredstv”. The word strategic” is universal and an international lexis but the Russian “Ite npenagem bur……Tpyg” is going to give translators a different task. It is clear for instance that one is talking or writing about arms, “strategic offensive arms,” the translation does not demand a lot of thinking, it does not need to be explained through any philosophical reasoning. It is worth mentioning that speeches by renowned figures are occasionally interspersed with idioms, metaphors, similes and other figure of speech, language used in mass communication especially official languages are strict and does not defy grammatical norms. Critical thinking may
not be required in analyzing some of these speeches, in most cases the language of
everyday conversation is trace and though metaphors are also used, the language is more
transparent. For instance, a statement by John Major a former Prime Minister of Great
Britain “People who need peace don’t need guns” differs from a poetic language. It is
clear that the former Prime Minister was taking about peace; it is all about peace making.
There could be further interpretation and evaluation of the statement but they cannot fall
outside the periphery of the concept of peace making. This statement does not present any
ambiguous and uncertain picture for the translator, it is clear that translators differ in their
style but will have a common communicative agenda. In poetic language there is the
tendency to reconceptualise and thereby damaging the intended idea of the original writer
of the poem. It does not suggest however that translation as a process should not be
encouraged. It acts as a bridge between two cultures; the only important thing is that the
transmission process should produce results that coincides with the motive of the writer.
The translator of the poetic language refines the language of the original writer; but there
are traditional demarcation lines. For instance the form of composition and expression in
the source language can never be the same as that of the receptor language.

(Russia) Храните ваше гордое терпение
(English) “hold your proud endurance high”

The two players, the writer and the translator have their own modes of constructing their
sentences to meet the two language realities. Indeed this conception applies to all the three
types.
Pushkin wrote the poem at a period where Russia was being ruled by a monarchy. There were a group of people, revolutionary-spirited who rose against the dictatorial regime of the Tsar. This group of revolutionalista was called “Decabristis”

The poem “Deep in Siberia Mines” was written by A.S. Pushkin who was on exile but at the Tsars request returned to St. Petersburg. When he got to Peterburg he was informed about the Decabritis revolution and how the revolt was mercilessly suppressed by Tsar. Nicolae I suppressed the rebellion, five people were hanged and hundred and twenty people were sent to exile. “Deep in Siberia Mines” was written and sent to the exiled revolutionists and its main motive was to express solidarity and encourage the revolutionists. These motives are expressed through the choice of idioms in the poem. The first line of the poem encourages the exiled “to hold their proud endurance high”. This is to convey to them that they should not give up on the fight for a free Russia.

The poet also expresses a contrasting relationship between misfortune and hope, and urges them to preserve the spirit of fighting even in their moments of distress. He uses this expression “hope lurks in the dark”. The poet further expresses the Russians’ urge for freedom and hence gives the assurance that the revolutionist in exile are not the only one’s who are eager for a free Russia but the majority of the Russians.
In this extract from the Poem “Sombre shacked gates” the vet creates a picture of the conditions in which the revolutionists in exile are being kept. This makes the reader to develop an image in his mind.

The choice of words and expressions in the Poem indicates that the period between 1800 and 1825 marked a myriad of revolutionary events. One of the most remarkable events beginning the 19th century was the great Patriotic war of 1812 and the rebellion of the Decabruists in 1825. In 1812 Russia liberated her people from invasion of the French Army led by Napoleon. In order to understand and appreciate the words and expressions used by writers of certain poems in the second half of the 19th century Russian literature, there is the need to understand the history of the time.

Most of these writers who lived in this period manifested in their stories hatred for autocracy and these sentiments were reflected through their writings.

For instance Pushkin writes this phrase

“Your prison will collapse

As my free voice comes to you”

The word “freedom” has always been at the centre of all revolutionists. It is evident that the style and the lexical choice of the writer, Pushkin who has been in exile before will definitely be paraded by freedom living words that expresses optimism and hope. “Your prison will collapse”. Prison contrasts freedom. The writer’s disposition to choose phrases that expresses, encouragement, dismay, and optimism cannot be cancel.
1.3 STANZA I

Two English translations are being considered in this paper. In the first line the Poet brings us closer to Siberia. The language of the originator or the source language is semantically and lexically compatible. There are two English translations

“Deep in Siberia’s Mines, let naught, subdue your proud and patient spirit”

The second translation reads

“Deep in Siberia Mines

hold your proud endurance high

Looking at the Russian verse

“Во глубине Сибирских Руд

Храните ваше гордое терпение

Precisely speaking the source language maps the translated text exactly. This underpins Bussnett – McGuire position that the art of translation is a subsidiary art and derivative, and that the translated text has never been granted the dignity of original work.

( )

The two translators have commended the exiled in their views, by stating that “they should hold their proud endurance high”. Let naught subdue your proud spirit.

The latter translations conveys to the reader that they should maintain their proud spirit indicating that they should sustain it and make sure it does not fall or depreciate.
The two translators have expression of encouragements while the first translator mentions “high” the source language does not mention high. It simply mentions “XpaHuTe” in an imperative form.

The two languages “Храните” and “hold” and “let naught subdue” are sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same language reality. Translators, especially of Poems live in different world and have different perspectives. This however does not negate the fact that translation of any text could be considered as just adequate and sometimes even detrimental to the source language. Translators deals with the source text or passage and not the writers. There are possibilities that some translators could consult the original writers but that could just be by the way. It is scientifically not significant to translation theory. In any inter lingual translation; there are two sectors the source language and the translated text. In the translation of poems where the translators deals with figures of speech, there is the likelihood that the translator may depart from the original concept or meaning. While it is not even easy for intra-lingual translators in this perspective, it could be more complicated to the inter-lingual translator.

Semantically, “let naught subdue”… don’t allow somebody or the system suppress your enthusiasm, your spirit to conquer and subdue oppression or the autocratic regime is related to “hold your proud endurance high”. The lexical choices are different but the semantic structures could be inter-sected in some way. For both translators, the language targeted to be translated is the Russian language. The differences in translation are based on competence and perception of the two translators. “Храните” in Russia is to “preserve”
that is the first semantic meaning, while the two translators attempted to give precise
translations to the verse, the other alternative could be to use the word “preserve”, that is
“preserve your proud endurance”. This could probably be seen as a direct equivalent to
“Храните ваше гордое терпение”. Хранице illustrates a complex set of semantic
relation. For it is to have the required poetic coat “keep your proud endurance” may not
have the same poetic impact as “preserve your proud endurance” or “let naught subdue
your proud and patient spirit”. There is a set of semantic relationship between keep,
preserve and hold. The meaning of the verse has not been confused by these three choices.
There is the need to concern oneself with the context and how it relates to the source
language in the overall textual context.

“Siberia” is geographically limited to Russia. It has no equivalent in the English language.
As a geographical term, it is the name of a city in the Russia Federation. Universally it is a
name on the world map. The Poet was not talking about any metaphorical Siberia but
Siberia as a city in Russia. The two translations agree, as both state “Deep in Siberia
mines”, which is a direct equivalent to «Во Глубине Сибирских Руд». By the mention of
«Руд» what comes to mind is “mines”.

According to S.O. Oyegov, the author of Russian Dictionary “Slava Ruskava Yazika”
1986) «Руд», also includes other precious and simple things (not metallic) (Page 596).
This confirms the fact that the two translators were accurate in their translation. The
Russian English Dictionary edited by O.S. Akhmanova and Elizabeth Wilson confirms on
page 404 that «Руд» means ore in the English language, whether the poet has associated
ideas by referring to the Siberia Mines, the paper is more concerned with translation as a linguistic concept.

In the third and forth verses there seem to be some differences in the translation from the source language.

“Your woe filled work will not be lost (1st Translation)”

“Your crushing toil and lofty thought shall not be wasted” (2nd Translation)

«Не пропадет ваш скорбный труд» “skorbnii” has been explained as mournful, sorrowful,


The two verses especially with “crushing toil” and woeful work” are stylistically different. The lexical structure and the semantic structure are more prominent in this verse. Semantically “crushing” and woeful” are at par, they are semantically distanced but for the purpose of poetic language they are being considered for similarity. Semantically it seems “Your woeful work” is more closer to the Russian «Скорбый» «Скорбый труд» hence truly synonymous to mourn or “mournful” and sorrowful. Your “crushing” toil” is not cohesive with the original language. Probably the second translator was trying to be more poetic and more sophisticated, but the assignment of this paper is to be more semantic. The translated text sprung from the Russian language (S.C) and therefore the receptors language must have some semantic resemblance.
This is not to overlook the second translation which used “Crushing” which could be interpreted as “not comfortable work” not comfortable toil. A toil that is being crushed a toil that is being impeded or suppressed. The two verses are gearing towards the same communicative goal in the poetic sense but the first translation could be more closer semantically.

1.4 STANZA II

1st translation
Misfortune stalwart sister
Hope; lurks in dungeon gloon

2nd Translation
“Misfortunes” sister, hope sublime
From sombre dungeon pain will banish

Unless translation of any particular text is accomplished by a team of translators there will definitely be different approach to the translation task.

«Несчастью Верная Сестра
Надежня в Мрачном Подземенье»

In translation one “stalwart” is used where as this word is not used in translation two.

Stalwart, according to the Cambridge International Dictionary of English means loyalty especially for a very long period of time (1709)

The second translator omitted “stalwart” in his translation.
The first translation coincides with the source language, “loyal sister”, or stalwart sister. They answer the same communicative purpose. Textually and semantically the verse agrees with each other. It is obvious that «Верная» has been used and the translator can make a choice, a choice between stalwart, sincere, faithful and loyal. It is obvious that meaning is possible only when a translator could choose to say or write something else.

The purpose of the Poet is to exhibit some level of accuracy, clearness and naturalness. But it is not easy to communicate this intended naturalness as the source language depicts. The Poem was intended for a particular audience, Russians, Russians as the indigenous represents the source language, and the source audience, here in this poem, we have two different group of audience in the receptor’s language.

Even though the first semantic meaning is mentioned and other synonyms enumerated. «Верная» is also related to purity; Russians sometimes refer to virgins as «Верная» «Верная Девушка» «Она Чистая» is also sometimes mentioned in Russia. The second translation did not mention «Верная» or “loyal”. It just mentions “misfortune’s sister” and this gives room to a disposition to assert that the first translation communicates the original message to that group of receptors. The only way now is to map the verse (SL) to the verse in the receptor language (R.L) and measure the accuracy through comparative analysis.

The attention of the Poet is to make sure that the original intentions are preserved and so clearly he stands in a different language terrain and does not care much whatever happens
after this curtain, a translation is a secondary process intended to communicate the original meaning to others who are non-native speakers of Russia.

According to Lawrence Venuti, (In Rethinking Translation) the original work, the source language remains eternal. The idea and the philosophical motive of the Poet and for that matter the originator of the source language remains unchanged, not under any circumstantial consideration, he categorically states that “the original” is an unchanging monument of the human imagination (genius) transcending the linguistic, cultural and social changes of which the translation is a determinant effect”. (Lawrence Venuti 1992).

A word like Vernaya «Верная» could be associated by various improper translations, that is mistranslation it could also be deleted from the translation process, but it will remain static and stagnant in the poets (Pushkins) imagination. All the other words suggested as synonymous such as loyal, sincere, stalwart, and reliable are derivative from the original meaning «Верная».

In the second line of the second (2) stanza the first translation states

(a) Hope lurks in dungeon gloom
(b) Hope sublime, from somber dungeon

Russian version

«Надежная в мрачно подземье,»
The two translators agree on the use of ‘dungeon’. Both have perfectly translated the Russian word «подземье» which means “dungeon”. Though dungeon has been used for the Russian case it applies to all situations. People have experienced “dungeon” in Africa and elsewhere where therefore the translation in both cases brings or paints a vivid picture for the receptor who see the word as part of their language culture. The meaning has been expressed in a natural way, dungeon could be seen as a poetic language, but to the translator it is a direct equivalent to the Russian verse. Dungeon is a concrete place or a designed for a particular purpose in the two language realities.

One could also attempt to translate the Russian word as “underground”. Dungeon according to Cambridge International Dictionary of English is an underground prison, especially in a castle. “Throw him into the dungeon and leave him there.”

This translation brings to mind that the textuality of the Russian verse and the English verse are consonant in terms of semantics, but the interesting aspect is that “Castle” connotes government or governance in Ghana, Castle is the seat of government in Ghana which implies the negative connotation of a castle according to the definition. The implication is that though “Castle” in Ghana assumes a different semantic meaning etymologically it relates to dungeon and contrasts the Russian version «Мрачном Подземье”. The two translations have not departed from the Russian verse except that they differ in their style of translation. This underpins the position of Lawrence Venuti that “the original is a form of self expression appropriate to the author, a copy true to his personality or intention, an image endowed with resemblance, where as the translation can
be no more than a copy of a copy, derivative, simulacral, false an image without resemblance. The translator is not the creator, he is a second player in this process. The position of Lawrence is tough and can apply to

1st Translation
She’ll waken and you’ll jump for joy,
So know the wished – for day will come (Alfia Wallace)

2nd Translation
Joy will awake and sorrow vanish
T, will come the promised,
Long - for time.

Russian Version
«Разбудит бодрость, а весель»
The Russian word «бодрость» means cheerfulness, the infinity «Бодрствовать»
Means awake, watch. «Бодрый» means “cheerful”, “robust”

(Russian English Dictionary)

The two verses of the two translations are transparent and do not block or cover the original meaning of the original language.

It is clear that the Russian word to awaken, to arouse was properly used, it is well placed in this poem, the dictionary explanation underpins the precision in its contextual use. In the
second translation, it is observed that “joy” has been personified, “sorrow” as well, “sorrow vanishes” which seems like a being that vanishes.

The infinity means awake, watch, “joy will awake” coincides with the meaning of the infinity. The Russian verse deepens the conditions; it makes the situation clearer, two words have been used which is synonymous. «Бодрость» in Russia means cheerful, the other side goes as awake, watch which distinguishes it from ordinary cheerful. “Веселье” (Visieole) means cheerfulness and the two words have been used simultaneously, does it sound intelligible should one say “To awake cheerfulness and cheerful”. The use of the two words indicates the mood of the poet, his level of optimism is clearly manifested. His good wishing or well-wishing has been proliferated.

Alfia Wallace in the first translation uses “the wished – for day will come” while the second translation uses “T will come, the promised long – for time.”

The two ideas are the same, but the presentation lies in the style. The form differs from each other. The meaning conveyed by the dictionary on “day” will differ from “time”. But we are also reminded that meaning is not just an inaccessible mass. It can be analysed and represented in ways that are useful to the translator” (Mildren C. Larson, p.29).

The translator can exercise choice over “time” and “day” but it does not imply that all have the same semantic meaning. Sometimes meaning could be possible when there are alternatives. For the receptor in the English Language the meaning “Yelannaya Para” «Желанная Пора» translated into “the promised, long – for time” and “wished – for day
will come” clearly communicates the intended meaning of the Poet to them. To the receptor he first has to know the idea before choice of words becomes a bone of contention. Poetic language should not be treated as any ordinary language such as the newspaper language or the language of the mass media. The receptor will need a transcendental understanding. In the translation of poetry there is the need for the receptor to combine lexical choices of the translator or the (TL) with imaginations and great thinking. So it can be perceived for example that the receptor is engaged in intra-lingual translation, that is re-wording.

Based on the source language there could have been a third translation, “the desired for day” or “the desired for time will come”.

Love and friendship will overrun you through the sombre, Shacked gates,

(Alfia Wallace)

The heavy locks will burst - rejoice
And love and friendship thought will reach you in your grim seclusion.

Russian Version,

«Любовь и дружество до вас
Дойдут сквозь мрачные затворы.»

“Love and friendship will overrun you.” The word “over run you” means abundance, means more than needed, it does not actually correspond to the Russian version “do vac”.
There is a boundary, the person whom this comporting message is reaching is the last point. The Russian verb of movement “go” is definite, it tells of a starting point of a movement and then end point. The second translation brings out “reach you” which is cohesive to the Russian verse “do vac”, syntactically there is some deficiency in the Russian verse, if it is to be looked through the prism of everyday speech. This indicates that in a poetic language, grammatical norms and other rules regulating the construction of sentences are side stepped. Any attempt to judge the correctness of a poem by its grammatical accuracy and lexical choices is therefore not only quixotic but impossible.

Translation of the source language can be approached from different angles or different perspectives. The Russian English Dictionary (P.137) defines «затвор» as bolt, block, break piece. The infinity is «Затворить».

The Cambridge International Dictionary of English (P.1374) defines sombre as serious and without humor or amusement”.

The Russian English Dictionary defines «Сквозить» as “drought”

(1) Show through

(2) The second definition is drought «Здесь сквозит» means there is drought here.

A picture of the situation has been vividly presented by the original language source. The Alfia translation “Sombre shacked gates” is more cohesive to the Russian verse, even if it were to be matched word for word, in the lexico-semantic context, there is some form of parallelism. The other translation “will reach you in grim seclusion” seeks to
summarize the situation. It is giving us a picture of their seclusion and has given us an assignment to identify the ingredients made up of this seclusion. Since our assignment is to analyse the quality or nature of the translation, we are inclined to conclude that the second translation was not as vivid as the Alfia translation. In any case by “grim seclusion” he painted a vivid picture of the situation through our imagination. The severity of the situation has been clearly painted. The other definition of the Russian word “Skvos” or Сквозь which mention drought may not apply to the context, in any case if we are to think metaphorically the second meaning could have a bearing on the situation, but since we are dealing with a phenomenon, we shall be more concerned with the situation. The words used in the two verses in both translated texts and the original language give us a new picture of the scene. Alfia Wallace translation could be said to be more idiomatic according to the classification of Mildred, in that the Wallace variant is more closer to the original text. The two of them however have extracted what they perceive as the essential core of the source text.

Translation I (Alfia Wallace)

As may free voice now comes to you
Through these craggy grates

2\textsuperscript{nd} Translation

Will reach you in your grim seclusion
As does my freedom loving voice
The Russian English Dictionary page 270 defines «Оковать» as strap with metals, (Okovat)
«оковы́й»’ is defined as (Okovi) fetters.

The Russian English Dictionary page 468 defines «тяжёлые» (Tyakie)
As (1) heavy (2) serious (3) painful

Page 319 of the Cambridge International Dictionary of the English Language defines crag as high rough mass of rock which sticks out from the land around it. Craggy is further explained will an example. The foot path climbed towards the craggy skyline.

Page 620 of the same English Dictionary gives four meanings to the word “grate”. The one suitable for the purpose of this poem is defined as (Rub together) of two hard objects, to rub together sometimes making a sharp unpleasant sound «каторга» (katopga)
«Каторга» is defined by the Russian English Dictionary page 163 as penal servitude, hard labour.

The same Russian Dictionary on page 250 defines «Нора» (Hora) as hole, burrow; lair
«Картошные норы» (Kartoshnie Nori)
Vividly describes the situation, a gloomy picture of their situation is presented.

It is important to note that original text of the poem does not change since its composition and writing, translators may change their style but the source remains stagnant. Elements in the text that have evolved since the creation of the text cannot be avoided once the text
belongs to a cultural system. In translation it is observed that there is a considerable shift from the original language, but Alfia Wallace’s translation attempts to give a higher level of adequacy in the translation “craggy grates” and the Russian verse are all descriptive language painting the picture of the enormity of the seclusion and the conditions attached to this situation. The translation reflects the understanding of the condition in the two language cultures.

Anne Cluysenaar, believes that the translator should not dwell on general precepts as a basis to determine what to preserve from the source language text but should work on each individual structure. She opines that each structure stresses on certain linguistic features and not others. Every dominant structure of the individual work to be translated must be vividly described (Anne Cluysenaar 1976).

Alfia’s variant of the 1976 translations falls within the Anne Philosophy to a larger extent. For instance “Free voice” and “free loving voice” are never the same. The “free voice” is actually coherent to the Russian verse.

**STANZA III**

Your leader chain’s fall to the floor,

Your prison will collapse (Alfia Wallace)

2nd Translation II

The prison walls will crash- content,

At door will freedom wait to meet you.
Russian Language

«Оковы тяжкие падут,
темницы рухнут – и свобода.»

Also has already been mentioned «Оковать» (okovat) in Russian, means strap, in this context it means to be strapped with metal, «оковы» (okovi) will therefore mean fetters.

The Cambridge International Dictionary of English page 804 describes lead as a metal, a very dense, soft dark-grey, metallic element which is used on roofs and for protection against radiation. It is also poisonous.

The fact that “lead” has been described as poisonous already gives a picture of the situation. The English translation by Wallace maps the Russian version, the other translation though gives a poetic translation, and in the lexico-semantic sense, there is some cohesion, all the same it is not as closer to the source language as the Wallace variant. Then we see generalization and specification, in “your prison” and “the prison” the Wallace version demonstrates a relationship between the exiled and the prison. In any case they both share one crucial characteristics, that a period of doom will end, the prison for them will disappear with these severe conditions. It is important therefore to note why Wallace used “your” pertaining to a particular condition for particular people that was a
deep thinking practically. Both translations have the function of binding the text together by creating diverse approach to reach the receptor.

Translation one

As freedom greets you at the door
Your brothers hand you a sword
(Wallace)

Translation two

Your brothers, hastening to greet you
To you the sword will glad present

Russian Version

Вас примёт радостно у входа и братья меч вам отдадут»

«Темница» is defined by the Russian English Dictionary as “dungeon” (Page 435)

The Russian version, by the use of «радостно» (Padostna) gives a picture of freedom but does not mention freedom, he is referring to a state or condition they will find themselves in the near future, but semantically, it is not freedom but related. He starts with “freedom” though «свобода» the text says «Вас примет радостно».

Even “hastening” used in the second translation is a description of happiness, relief but does not reflect lexically in the Russian verse.
“Your brothers hand you a sword” could be said to be a direct equivalent to the Russian version.

«и братья меч вам отдадут»

“To you the sword will glad present” differs in style and is a little removed from the source language text, the import of “glad” in relation to the source text is a little bit questionable.

**HOW TRANSLATION MIRRORS THE POEM**

Translation is the change of one state to another, in linguistic sense translation is the change of one form of a language to another form without changing the meaning. The mirror in this paper talks about precision, adequacy, and lexical choices. It is a stark reality that any translator attempts to provide a copy of the original text within the frame work of semantics. With regards to the translation of poetry, there are other factors that needs to be considered; and they are how the figures of speech have been translated, the the endings of the various poems, do they agree to each other in general. Coherence and adherence, is it a true model of the original source text, the quality of the translation, ability of the translator or the translated text to express the real motives and ideas of the poet in his original language are all to be considered.

And the Lefevere enumerates seven different (strategies) methods which becomes the basis for analyzing the mirroring phenomenon; he mentions phonemic translation, literal translation, metrical translation, poetry into Prose, Rhymed translation, and interpretation.
For the purpose of our mirroring process, we will use some of his ideas which of course is universal within the framework of the study of Poetry. The mirroring process though will entail what has been enumerated on the basis of Lefe Vere’s study this paper will start the mirroring process from the semantic point of view. Since the precise import of every translator is to convey the meaning of the source language to the receptor’s language all attempts will be made to explain the meaning to the receptor to the best of his ability. We relate this idea to the concept of interpretation. In the translation of the poem, even though the first two verses in Russia corresponds to the English verse, the mirroring has depended on two sources, the Alfia Wallace translation and the other translation. The semantics correlates but the stylistics differs. The substance of the source (SL) text is retained and basically there is no departure from the source language. “Siberia” is in-translatable, it has no equivalent in the English language, the name is directly related to a geographical position in Russia. The receptor imagines “Siberia” in his reading, the many readers in the English language including Russian speakers not only have an intimate dialogue as to what “Siberia” is.

while languages are different from each other, having different codes and rules regulating the construction of grammatical structures, forms and different meanings “Siberia” which has no equivalent in the English language has a different form only in the way we write it..

“Dungeon” is a universal concept or phenomenon. It does not represent any thing else in the English language, neither does it replace another linguistic concept in the English language. The meaning of “Mine” or «Руд» (Rud) coincides totally with each other.
A mirror is supposed to produce one image but in this context the images could be two since we are dealing with two translations. The image will depend on lexical choice, semantics, stylistics or the style of translating. There can be coherence in ideas, and therefore could be said that the ideas mirrors each other. It is realized that “hold your proud endurance differs from “subdue your proud and patient spirit”. The form in the receptor’s language changes giving two meanings to the source language. This is not to suggest that they contrast totally in semantics, however the words chosen are not the same, the contrast is rather in form. Should some one picture «Храните» in his mind or should the source language speaker imagine «Храните» as preserving something, adding the presentation of goods in a freezer then it will not mirror, a phrase like “hold your proud and patience endurance”, precisely, “to hold” is not commensurate with «Храните» in meaning. So also “subdue your proud and patient endurance” does not also mirror «Храните» though holding something could also be termed as “preserve”. “Preserve” indeed mirrors properly «Храните». The two other lines “Your woe filled work will not be lost.” “the striving of your mind”. The source language is equivalent to the receptor’s language to a larger extent. Our concept of mirroring should not be seen as word-for-word, phrase for phrase, and sentence for translation sentence. Our concept at this point deals with lexis and semantics
other points will follow. A mirroring process that seeks to have word-to-word etc. etc. for phrase for phrase and sentence for sentence cannot be natural. The two languages are different and they are different in form and have distinct codes and rules regulating the construction of each sentence. It is not possible to have that copy, any attempt to force out a copy that will precisely mirror the original can lead to literal translation. Even though idiomatic translation which is supposed to be the best type of translation according to Mildred ( ) is supposed to mirror the original but this mirroring process should take into accounts, scholastic translation, in order words the translation must be intellectually presented. The receptors should not be taken for granted. The other side of the curtains expects some standards to be met in the process of transferring the meaning to them. Current thinking among many translation theorists emphasis on the inherent impossibility
of preserving the original, they opine that the translated text is a new creation deriving from a close and careful analysis, and reconstruction of the original text into a second language and that the translated text should not be seen as a copy. So my concept mirroring does not presuppose that there must be precision in the translation process. This paper presents the hows of translation, the paper agitates for a natural process where the receptor, or anybody who reads the receptor’s language sees the poem to be carrying a message, a translated text that does not distort facts, it should be a translated text that possess communicative value. It is observed that for instance the two translators maintain certain register which coincides with the original text.

“through the sombre, shakled gates” (Alfia Wallace)

2nd Translation

“From sombre dungeon pain will banish”

The two texts exhibit relevance to the original text. The information structure of the individual translator differs but they retain the original definition as obtained in the original text. This makes the poem readable and interesting. Ahead of translation, there are certain interpretations one anticipates in the receptor’s language.

For instance

“And my free voice comes to you
Through these craggy gates

2nd Translation

“Will reach you in your grim seclusion
As does my freedom loving voice
Russia

«Как в ваши каторшные норы
Доходит мой свободный глас»

Douglas Robinson writes that for some translators the entire purpose of translation is achieving equivalence. He maintains that the target text must match the source text as fully as possible (Douglas Robinson 2003, p.73).

This position is laudable but in the translation of poetry we expect some level of adequacy in the translation. We mention adequacy because it is the translation of ideas which belongs to someone. There are certain phrases that are predictable and certain phrases that are not predictable in the receptor’s language. In the two translations “my free voice” and my “freedom loving voice”. It means that there must be a principle to regulate the choice of words by the translator. It is observed that the two verses in the English verses are informative enough to match the Russian version.

A mirroring process which means dividing the poem into original and the receptor’s language should take into consideration, the fact that choice must fall within a range of probability. The mirroring should not be seen to refer to an absolute symmetrical relationship between words in the original text and words in the translated text. The mirroring process in the poem “Deep in Siberia Mines” portrays a sufficient relationship between the two texts, the original and the translated text. It is obvious that there is no full equivalence between the code units and the meaning components nevertheless the two
translations brings a higher degree of clarity in the receptor’s language which does not depart from the original text.

Andre Lefevere catalogues and specify seven different strategies on the basis of the translation of the Catullus Poem (Susan Bassnett – McGurie 1980)

On the basis of these strategies I will analyze how these points will project the concept of mirroring. There is no way that the principle of phonemic translation can be applied to the poem “Deep in Siberia Mines”. It is impossible to produce the sound of the source language in Translated text (TL). There are two languages and these languages have different ways of writing their alphabets and pronunciation differ. It could only be coincidental that the sound of one word or phrase or sentence can be the same as the translated text. For instance “mines” and the Russian «Руд» have completely different sounds. A phonemic translation will just be out of sense and misplaced.

There is the need to make sure the poetic translation is idiomatic the translator should give a natural touch to the translation. A literal translation will take away the poetic sense of the original text. It will also distort the syntactic sense of the poem. For instance “Deep in Siberia Mines” as the first verse of the poem tallies with the Russian verse “Боглубине Сибирских руд». In the second stanza “Know the wished for day will come” and the Russian verse «Желанная пора» is adequately translated and is semantically equivalent. The poem does not strictly adhere to metrical translation which could also lead to literal translation. The syntactic structures of the source language and the translated text
differ, this is underpinned by the fact that meaning components in both languages are packaged differently and this affects the volume of the translated text (T.L).

The poem has two translations in the English language. In most cases they have different words ending all the verses of the two translated texts and the source language. The source language and the translated text (R.L) cannot be the same. Any attempt to form a rhymed translation which normally goes with metric translation will destroy the import of the poem. Once we are dealing with two translated texts then it does not even pay to talk about rhymed translation.

Even though the two translators of the source language are restricted in a way on the choice of their structures, they have a level of freedom but a greater accuracy and higher degree of literalness is expected from the two translations. For instance “sublime your proud and patient spirit” and “hold your proud endurance high” though differ stylistically both have a common semantic direction. “Sublime” and “hold” could mean something similar depending on the contextual environment which the word finds itself. The Russian word «Храните» (hranite) is something. One important concept to measure how translation mirrors the poem is through the concept of equivalent. It is evident that the translator is looking for lexical equivalents in both languages, the source and the to-be translated text. The translation of poetic language is a very complicated process, complicated in the sense that even for the speakers of the original language the poem may not seem to be simple. Should we apply Intra-lingual translation which is rewording we shall get diverse forms of translation let alone the transfer of the meaning of almost a
hidden idea to another language. The culture of the indigenous people who speak the
source language differ from the culture of the indigenous of the receptor language.
Automatically the lexicon of the two languages will not be useful to the extent that we
expect.

CONCLUSION
The stated goal of translation is the transformation of a text in one language, scientifically
accepted as the source language into another language accepted linguistically as the
receptor’s language with the purpose or aim that the text in the receptor’s language is
equivalent to the original text. The translated text must preserve the content of the
message including the functional features and roles of the original text (Roger T. Bell,

The source language text and the translated text of the poem is partially equivalent in some
verses, fully equivalent in some verses. There are two translations and the two translators
have different levels of presentation. In the two translated texts there are equivalent in
respect of content that is the semantics. Grammatically most poems defy grammatical
rules, so that if for instance the original text does not conform to grammatical norms,
automatically it will affect the translated text. The lexical choices of the two translated
texts also differs to some degree.

Translating one verse of the poem to another verse in the receptor language means altering
the form, for instance «темницы» is defined by a Russian Dictionary as a dungeon but the
two translators mentions “Prison” and not dungeon. The two languages which contrast each other convey meanings which fail to coincide with each other totally.

“there is no absolute synonymy between words in the same languages, so why should any one be surprised to discover a lack of synonymy between languages” (Roger T. Bell, 1991, p.6).

The translators of the poetic text have only attempted to make a copy of the original text. This assertion underpins the position of British and American law which defines translation “as a second-order product, an ‘adaptation’ or derivative work based on an original work of authorship, whose copy right, including the exclusive right to prepare derivative works or adaptations, is vested in the author”. (Kelly 1971 quoted by Lawrence Venuti, 1991).

The author is the originator of the poem, but the translator is just a “second hand” author or an imitator of the author. What is interesting is that the two imitators even don’t agree on lexical choices, semantic and syntactic structures. The language used in the writing of the poem differs from the language in a newspaper. All attempts have been made by the two translators to express the real motives and ideas of the poet in his original language. The mirroring process is implanted in their bid to design a copy of the poem through their own interpretations. The mirroring depends on two sources of translation. In certain instances the semantics correlates but the style of approach differ. The substance of the source text is retained and basically there is no departure from the source language.
There are certain phrases which are predictable in the two translated texts and there are others that are not syntactic. It means that there should be a principle that must regulate the translator’s choice of words. The mirroring process should not be seen to refer to an absolute symmetrical relationship between words in the original text and words in the translated text.

The poem does not conform to the principle of phonemic translation. This is based on the fact that the sound of the source language text differs from the sound of the translated text. There could be coincidences in sounds of the original text and the translated text. The poem does not strictly adhere to metrical.

The poetic sense has been maintained by the two translators. Despite the fact that they have different approach to the translation task, the sense in the original text has been preserved.

The translated texts have a higher degree of literalness, despite the fact that they have a level of freedom in their choice of words.

The translation of any poem including the poem in question (Deep in Siberia Mines) is a little bit complicated. The poem may not seem so simple for even the indigenous of the original language. It becomes a bit complicated for a translator who is not an indigenous speaker, even if the translator is an indigenous, an interpretation to a second language
becomes a bit complex, an attempt in any case to translate a hidden idea of a poet is not easy.

In spite of these difficulties and some measure of successes in the translation of the poem, the two translations mirrors the original through a considerable degree of textual equivalence.
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We would like to thank all those who attended the 2012 Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences. We look forward to seeing you at the 12th Annual Conference to be held in 2013. Please check the website this July for dates and further details.

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