# THE HISTORY OF UTAH'S JUVENILE JUSTICE REFORM

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Thirty years ago Utah's Juvenile Justice System underwent a major reform, as it evolved from an institutional system to a rehabilitative approach. It is imperative that we understand the impetus for this reform and the dynamics that helped maintain the systemic changes. We can attempt to ensure that history will not be repeated through gaining an understanding of the circumstances that led up to the reform. There is currently limited research conducted on this subject, therefore making it crucial to conduct now, while we still have access to key players who were involved in the reform and have institutional memory. This history is largely unknown to many current judges, social workers, and policy makers working in the juvenile justice arena. We addressed the lack of documentation by conducting qualitative interviews with key players who had pivotal roles in the reform. These interviews provided factual data concerning the reform, but more importantly they identified the overall dynamics that perpetuated abuse and therefore could identify dangerous patterns of dealing with juveniles in custody in the future. This information and education is needed for professionals to better serve the youth whom are currently part of the Juvenile Justice System.

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## DANCE EDUCATION RESEARCH

This study examines the community partnership between Tanner Dance and Granite and Salt Lake City School Districts.  The Side By Side (SBS) Program uses movement specialists who teach students and train teachers as outlined by the Utah State Dance Core Curriculum and National Standards in Dance.  This study is an interdisciplinary project supported by faculty in the College of Social Work and the Department of Modern Dance at the University of Utah.

Previous research studies support the use of movement and dance in emotional and intellectual learning for children.  However, dance education in schools is an under-researched method of teaching. This research sought to investigate how teachers taught dance not only as a pure art form, but also used dance as a method to teach other core subjects.

In collaboration with Dr. Davis, the primary investigator, we compiled a set of questions and topics to guide motivational, qualitative interviews with teachers that were conducted in fall 2008.  These interviews were recorded and transcribed, and reviewed for results regarding the use of dance in education. Analysis of the interviews has shown a range of impact on classroom learning dependant on the individual teachers and the school environment. Consistent and encouraging patterns emerged in our findings. The study was designed to recognize strengths and weaknesses of the program, and compare different schools' and individual teachers' styles of implementation.  Preliminary interpretation of the data analysis has identified the extent

to which; dance is a useful tool for teachers, a beneficial learning style for students, a vehicle for cognitive and emotional development and an effective tool in building classroom milieu.  As this project was supported by seed grant funding, results will be used to apply for additional funding for continuation of research on dance in education.

# Prominent psychosocial difficulties that parents of young children with severe disabilities may cope with during their child's early years.

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## Introduction:

Being a parent has never been easy. Parenting is the job with no preparations and vacations. Senel and Akkok (1996) reported that children with disabilities have special needs that require more attention, greater vigilance and effort from parents than non-disabled children. Chronic illness in childhood has massive physical, social and psychological effects on families who are expected to raise the social adaptive child with special needs. Psychosocial (how parents and children mentally adapt to social situations) issues of parents and children with disabilities can be very traumatic for most parents. Psychosocial aspects, influences, parents and family factors all contribute to a healthy child with special needs.

When a child is born, family life changes forever. If that child has special needs, the changes can be overwhelming. (Naseef, R.A., 2001). Raising a child with special needs to achieve his full potential is hard work. Actually, there isn't an easy way to raise the child with a disability. The parents of the child with disability need to be stronger, adaptive, and optimistic, and have a huge sense of humor. They have to be "special" for the special child. Children with disabilities are often unfairly viewed by society as being unruly children, the result of nothing more than bad parenting or lack of discipline.

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Many studies draw on Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) model of stress and coping in family (Knudson & Coyle, 2002; Sloper, 2002; Taanila, Syrjaelae, Kokkonen, & Jaervelin, 2002). The parents with children with special needs show a variety of psychosocial problems including depression, anxiety and angry behavior. Every parent with a special child has to become more educated and empowered; has to learn how to love unconditionally and redefine perfection and disability; understand fully the sacred and tremendous responsibility of being a child's parent. Only the happy and healthy parents can teach the child to live in society fully. The children are learning general activities, behaviors and specific skills from the parents. Parents of children with special needs must view their children as children first, not as disabilities. First of all, the parents have to understand feelings such as denial, anxiety, fear, guilt, shame, depression, anger and hope, and have to deal with all of those feelings.

**Psycho-social difficulties of parents:**

Throughout the child's life, the parents may have to grieve the loss of some big and some small parenting dreams as they incorporate new dreams and expectations. The parents of children with special needs can see that the grief is often part of the lifelong, shorting out process. After words, the parents can learn to recognize and anticipate such grief stages as they approach, allowing them to better address them and then move forward into the uncertain territory that lies ahead. The sense of loss that comes with special needs parenting is very real. Farber (1975) indicated several adaptations that families develop when having a child with a disability. Murray (1980) indicated similar adaptations as well. The families of children with disabilities are faced with a variety of feelings, reactions, and responses which could to change their life. They have to shoulder

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the heavy responsibility of leading this child into life, and love him as though he embodied all their dreams.

Turnbull and Turnbull's (2001) framework for understanding the emotions, dynamics, and elements of family systems has allowed professionals to work more effectively with those families. The four elements of this framework are: family resources; daily interactions among family members; different individual family needs; changes that occur over time which affect family members (Turnbull&Turnbull, 2001).

The parents are going through the many stages of understanding and accepting their child's disability. First of all, there are the expectations. The parent's world has been severely shaken. Finding out that the child has special needs is an emotional earthquake. Everything seems broken, turned upside down. The parents stop trusting even the most mundane things. Families caring for and bringing up a child with a disability can include strained family relationships, social isolation due to the child's limited mobility or behavior problems, and parents grieving process through which parents grieve for the loss of the healthy child they had expected (McCubbin, Caublc, & Pattcrson, 1982). The grieving is uncomfortable, but it serves an important purpose. The anguish and stress are often tremendous, and each family member learns to cope with a mechanism that is frequently quite efficient in carrying other family members through the substantial turmoil. The family often draws closer as they depend on one another. The several positive outcomes of having the child with a disability are that the parents focus on the positive aspects of the child and the improved family dynamics. (Olsen, G., Fuller, M.L., 2007, pp. 160-161).

Back in 1969, Elisabeth Kubler-Ross identified five stages of grieving. (Lavin J.L. Special kids need special parents, 2001). Since than, others have refined her model. Grieving just happens. It's a temporary state that comes and goes by itself. The parents who stop themselves from grieving have more difficulty coping and helping their child and their families. The first stage is usually **denial**. Parents try to refuse to fully accept what's happening. The denial buys the time to assess a new situation in small pieces. Staying in denial can be a way of avoiding responsibility, and the consequences can be devastating. **Anxiety** is another grief state. The anxiety and the pain it often elicits warns the parents that they are going to experience change. Next is **guilt**. Most parents **blame** themselves. It begins with the question "Why me?" Guilt can be paralyzing, but it can motivate parents to find a new understanding of the situation. The **anger** stage can run the gamut from fighting and yelling to not responding at all. Anger is a form of hurt and sometimes it can help the parents create change or motivate them to seek justice. **Depression** occurs when the parents experience profound sadness. Depression is anger turned inward. It signals the beginning of **acknowledgment** of the situation. Acknowledgment occurs when the parents are finally aware of how they feel about their loss. It means that the parents respect the circumstances as reality. It's during this time that people move forward. They form new ideas and take greater responsibility for what needs to be done despite their pain.

### Coping strategies:

Parents of children with developmental disorders encounter a variety of severe hardships in caring for themselves and their children's needs and coping with the challenge. Research by Dr. Tali Heiman (2004), of the Department of Education and

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Psychology, sheds light on the nature of their personal hardship and explores the coping mechanisms parents call upon to deal with their children's everyday functioning. The majority of parents, despite their initial perception of a personal tragedy, expressed a strong belief in the child and in his or her future, an optimistic outlook and realistic view and acceptance of the disability. There are three sources of support and central factors which affect the parents' ability to cope and to reduce feeling of hardship and stress and contribute to strengthening parental functioning. There is a positive bond between parents; cooperation, discussion and consultation of parents with family; and using the available services for diagnostic treatment counseling and training for the child and the family. It is very important to use effective intervention programs for parents. The parents have to be in a good support group from special organizations and from other parents who have the similar situations to cope with problems. Families have also learned to effectively implement strategies and techniques that best fit their families' goals and objectives. (Olsen, G., Fuller, M.L., 2007, p. 167).

Psychosocial impact of disabilities put increased stress on the child and the child's parents and siblings. The parents with children with disabilities are going through many stages. The parents may be going through the marital conflicts, emotional imbalance and self-recrimination. Many parents have reacted to the disability with adaptive fear for their own children's futures. Children with any disabled condition have twice the risk of developing mental health disorders compared to healthy children, and three times the risk if they have an accompanying disability. For all children with disabilities, limitations to schooling, mobility and communication constitute the most significant restrictions of daily activities. Parents have to remember that they shouldn't be afraid of the child or the

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disability of the child. Effective parents then are likely to be aware of the feeling of pity (Barton, 1996). They view their role as helping the child to become a worthwhile member of the community and expect a child to learn appropriate social rules of behavior. These parents need support in achieving more positive ways of thinking about the child, the parenting rules and the belief in the disability not being a tragedy.

The family improvement occurs whether or not the standard intervention was enhanced with additional parent support and coping skills programs. As well as the general effect on oppositional behavior, Bor, Sanders, and Markie-Dadds (2003) proposed that improving consistent parenting skills can help children to control their impulsivity through learning to inhibit immediate responses. The child must feel secure to explore the world. Parents have to teach the child to "fit" in the social world. The social rules include being friendly, looking people in the eyes when you talk or listen to them, or verbally responding so others know you're listening. These actions are translated into having good social skills. This is work for the parents. The parents could do all of that only after they cope with the problems in their families' lives.

The two types of coping for parents are differentiated by intention. First, there is helping individuals to deal with their problems through cognitive or motivational changes, such as learning the new skills. Second, emotion-focused coping is directed at modifying one's own emotional response to a problem and includes such strategies as seeking emotional support, wresting value from negative situations, distractions, and minimization (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Special needs parenting needs superhuman patience, energy, communication skills, sense of humor, a positive attitude in a different situations, and huge commitment to seeing a child's potential as well.

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The parental coping divides into <u>three patterns</u>: **maintaining family integration**, **cooperation**, and **optimistic definition of the situation**; **maintaining social support, self-esteem, and psychological stability**; **understanding the medical situation** through communication with other parents and the medical staff. Parents of children with disabilities often need additional support.

The study of coping with family has drawn heavily from cognitive psychology (e.g., Lazarus, 1976; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) as well as sociology (e.g., Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). Cognitive coping strategies refer to the way in which individual members alter their subjective perceptions of the situation. Sociological theories of coping emphasize a wide variety of actions directed at changing the situation by manipulating the social environment (McCubin et al., 1980). The family coping responses are variables and are used in many combinations depending upon individual growth and development.

**Coping Strategies:**

<u>Foundation Coping Strategies</u>. 1. Explanatory work is the seeking information and advice about disability. 2. Finding out about the child. Parents tried to learn as much as possible. 3. Evaluating past strategies. Parents looked back at the strategies they had used in the past and evaluated the impact of their actions. 4. Comparing and integrating information. Parents compared the information with their knowledge of their child.

<u>Thinking Work Strategy</u>. Parents consciously attempted to regulate their ways of thinking with regard to their child disability to maintain helpful feelings and attitudes. 1. Separating disability from a child. 2. Thinking positively. Parents made an effort to think positively about their own coping abilities. 3. Maintaining a helpful focus. This meant concentrating on "one day at a time". 4. Keeping expectations realistic.

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Capacity Work Strategy. 1. Managing other activities. 2. Skill learning. 3. Working together. 4. Using social support.

All those strategies are working in the right **combinations** and on the basis of **individuality** of every family with a child with disabilities. Coping style adds to prediction of adjustment (marital happiness, family adaptability, family cohesion and self-esteem). Families have also learned to effectively implement strategies and techniques that best fit their families' goals and objectives. (Olsen, G., Fuller, M. L., 2007, p.167). All the work is not about fixing children with disabilities; it is all about changing the situation for those children and for society. A social learning model focuses on the family as a system with patterns of family interactions being viewed as maladaptive or adaptive (Grusec, 1992).

**Suggested recommendations or Conclusion:**

The child is seen as learning appropriate behavior within a social environment. Behavior is learned through observation, modeling, shaping and reinforcement. The children are learning all of that from the parents. It is suggested that the child's observations lead to the formation of concepts about possible behaviors which then guide future actions. As the child acts and responds to these concepts behavior will be modified or strengthened (Patterson, 1982). These are used to assess and enhance the parents' and children's emotional, cognitive and social functioning. The parents are encouraged to reinforce their child's appropriate behaviour through praise and attention.

Many difficulties compound the development of behavioral problems through several reinforcing systems, for example, by challenging parenting skills from a young age, and developing additional scholastic and peer relationship difficulties, which may contribute

to their sense of isolation and poor self-esteem. The parenting intervention is providing the concept of adequate parenting: 1. Parenting behaviors are related to child behaviors; 2. Inadequate parenting is identifiable; 3. Parenting behaviors can be changed with an associated improvement in child behaviors and adjustment; 4. Behavior is best understood and changed within a behaviorist model. The psychosocial growth interweaves with stages in physical growth. As the brain and body matures, the child develops new abilities on how to handle different problems. The same growth, however, also introduces new problems. The children with special needs may have trouble with some or all stages of psychosocial development. Depending on the disability, a child with special needs usually has uneven emotional development. Teaching a child to act appropriately is a primary part of parenting.

Problems that parents of children with disabilities have every day very different: child development, behavior, nutrition and feeding, medications, therapies, education and early intervention, legal rights and benefits, and counseling. Their children and children's health, social life and future depend from how the parents deal with those problems and how they are coping with them in the family and in their life. The parents with children with disabilities have to remember that child's life shouldn't be considered less valuable because they have special needs.

Many early intervention programs have recognized the role of parents in their children's development, but firstly parents have to focus on coping problems. Parents can not focus too closely on the child problems without taking account of parental and family problems.

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The study of the impact of infants and young children with spatial needs on the family is an opportunity to consider how children provide a stimulus for adult development. This process is the reciprocal of Vygotsky's (1978) concept of the zone of proximal development. Vygotsky emphasized the natural process through which children learn and develop by interacting with more skilled parents. For adults who are enacting the parent role with energy and commitment, interacting with infants and young children brings new opportunities for problem solving and self-insight. The affection that children express toward their parents can be a tremendous incentive for parents to want to optimize the relationship and promote the child's well-being.

The Laura E. Berk, in the Awaking children's minds, shows us the sociocultural theory of Lev Vygotsky. The Vygotsky's theory provides a convincing rationale for parents and teachers to form strong, supportive, trustful relationships with disabled children; to work with them in creative collaboration; to be generous with time and involvement; and to be open to new ways of surmounting difficulties. Under these conditions, rearing and teaching children with disabilities is challenging, but it is also satisfying and rewarding.

Parents of children with disabilities always try to learn more new things to apply them for their own coping parental strategy. The social ideas have many capacities. The parents and children engage in such seemingly mundane pursuits as conversation, a pretend-play episode, a bedtime story, a homework assignment, or a shopping excursion. Through these activities, children acquire wide-ranging knowledge about their physical and social worlds, ways of relating to other people, strategies for surmounting challenges, a sense of family and community belonging, and a personal history imbued with cultural

beliefs and values. They also become adept at using powerful symbolic tools for communicating and thinking. (Berk, L.E., 2001, p. 246).

Families of children with disabilities, like families of all other children, want to have meaningful, enjoyable, and successful lives. All family members are providing moral support, comfort, and the needs of the child with disability (Olsen, G., Fuller, M. L., 2007, p.159). Parents protect children; try to make their social life more independent. The success of intervention depends upon their own views about disability, social views, family and society behaviors and their own feelings. The positive moment for children occurs when parents are able to help their children to live a better life as socialized people.

We know now that is doesn't take a special person to teach children with disabilities. It simply takes a special person to be a good teacher. (Statum, 1995, p. 66). Can we use the same words for the parents also?

The parents can help themselves and their children realize their potential by making a long-term commitment to sensitivity, consistency, and richness of interaction, not by offering brief bursts of attention interspersed with little involvement. This means that good parenting is possible only through great investments of time.

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# AN ETHNOORNITHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO HUMAN-BIRD RELATIONS AMONG THE MOPAN MAYA OF BELIZE

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## Abstract

The Mopan and Q'eqchi' Maya of southern Belize share more than a geographic location and a parallel migration history. Both groups interact within their native environment is remarkably similar ways in their understanding of birds and their function in nature. In this paper, based on several seasons of fieldwork among the Mopan and Q'eqchi' Maya, we will investigate the role of birds in these communities through an ethnoornithological perspective. We will argue that birds play a central role in prognostication and understanding the processes of cause and effect in the daily life of the Maya in this area. In addition, we show how specific birdcalls are powerful indictors of future events, dangers, good luck, witchcraft, visitors, rain, etc. Finally, by examining many of the oral traditions of these cultures, we show how bird-human relations have their prototypes in such myths and how these conceptual associations are reified with each retelling.

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## Introduction

Since migrating to Belize from Guatemala in the late 19$^{th}$ century, the Mopan Maya have successfully settled numerous communities in the Toledo, Stann Creek, and Cayo districts. Today, the largest Mopan settlement in Belize is San Antonio, with over 2,000 Mopan speakers. Some settlements in these regions have animals and birds that differ from those of their earlier home in the Petén of Guatemala. In this study, we investigate human-bird relations among Mopan Maya of Belize. Our data gathered in the field show an intimate connection between prognostication and birds for the Mopan and further detail specific beliefs associated with individual types of birds. We describe how birds provide signs and signals related to rain, visitors, time, sickness, death, good and bad

luck, and sorcery and magic. In addition, we discuss the practical role birds play in the lives of the Mopan, specifically in terms of aids to hunting.

**The Mopan Maya of Belize**

Mopan Mayan, a member of the Yukatekan branch of Mayan languages, is a severely endangered language spoken in the eastern Petén, Guatemala, and in southern Belize. According to recent census data (2000) by UNESCO, there are roughly 9,000 Mopan speakers in Belize today (UNESCO, n.d.).[1] Both Q'eqchi' and Mopan Maya live in many neighboring communities in southern Belize and live together in at least six villages. The Toledo District, for example, has roughly 36 different villages—4 Q'eqchi', 6 Mopan, and another six with mixed population (Toledo Maya Cultural Council, Toledo Alcaldes association [1997:14]). Bilingualism between Q'eqchi' and Mopan is not uncommon, and local traditions and linguistic features are often shared between them.

The data presented in this study were gathered in the communities of Blue Creek, San José, San Antonio, and Big Falls in September 2008. We conducted ethnoornithological research on both Mopan and Q'eqchi' in an effort to document bird names in these Mayan languages; to investigate the role birds play in these respective societies; and to record oral traditions relating to birds. While the present study focuses primarily on the Mopan's relationship to birds, certain relevant Q'eqchi' data are also included periodically for comparative purposes.

**The Birds of Belize**

With 8,867 square miles of cloud forest, tropical broadleaf forests, submontane pine woodlands, pine savannahs, mangrove and littoral forests, and with numerous bays, plentiful cayes, and the rich aquatic environment of the Carribean coast, Belize boasts nearly 600 species of birds (Jones 2004:4; Lutz and Lutz 2005:74). Mopan Maya in Toledo District are familiar with over 120 species, and easily note specific aspects of their behavior, ecology, and distribution, including their response to agricultural practices and habitat change. For instance, after Hurricane Iris hit Belize on October 8, 2001, several Mopan and Q'eqchi' reported to us that a number of bird species have not been seen since, including some migratory birds.

**Birds in Mopan Society: Hunting**

Hunting and trapping game are traditional male activities and responsibilities in Mopan society. However, among the Mopan Maya of Guatemala, hunting has been considerably reduced in the last generation due to slash-and-burn cultivation methods. Deforestation around San Luis, Guatemala has caused game animals, including birds, to move elsewhere. The problem is so severe that knowledge of flora and fauna nomenclature is in steep decline (Andrew Hofling, pers. comm. to Kerry Hull, 2008). Hunting has concomitantly played a lesser role in daily life as the preference for agriculture has increased.

The Mopan of Belize have also experienced a decline in hunting in recent years, though not nearly to the extent of the Mopan in Guatemala. The abundant

Belizean forests (especially compared to the bordering lands of Guatemala)

harbor several important game animals, though even there locating game has

become progressively more difficult in recent times. As early as the late 1920s,

Thompson reported that "Game is now growing somewhat scarce in the vicinity

of the villages, and it is often necessary to make journeys of some length to

obtain a good bag" (1930:87). In Thompson's day, the Mopan reportedly hunted

parrot, wild turkey, qualm, partridge, chachalaca or pheasant, curassow, cacique

or grupendula, and the toucan or *pito real* (1930:87).

Today the Mopan of Belize still commonly trap birds through a variety of

means—mainly through dead fall traps, which Thompson described as follows

(1930:87):

> A type of dead fall trap (*petz'*) [orthography altered] is also employed. This
> is open at both ends, the sides consisting of a series of stakes. The roof
> consists of three sticks running lengthways, on top of which are placed
> heavy stones and rubble. The trap is sprung by the animal running against
> a stick in the center of the runway. This topples over another stick against
> which it leans, and which in turn allows a third stick to fall to the ground.
> This third stick supports the weight of the roof and on its collapse the
> whole roof falls to the ground imprisoning the animal.

Snares are also used to catch game animals and birds. Thompson's (1930:87)

description in the late 1920s corresponds precisely to the method still in use

today (Figure…):

> A strong sapling is planted firmly in the ground, and the end is bent down
> and held down by a piece of liana lightly attached to a piece of wood on
> the ground, thus forming a noose. These snares are placed on the runs of
> wild game. As soon as an animal by running his head into the noose
> moves it slightly, it is released and flies upward with the force of the
> sapling to which it is attached.

Today, the sapling used in such traps is usually about 2-3 feet high. The smallest movement will cause the trigger (*uyal peetz'*) to release. When birds are the target, seeds from the *we'te'* plant, a favorite of many different birds, are often used as bait.

Two of the main animals hunted by the Mopan of Belize are *ek'enche'*, or warree pigs (White-lipped Peccary, *Tayassu pecari*) and gibnuts (Lowland Paca, *Cuniculus paca*, *jale'* in Mopan). The Mopan have developed a unique relationship with certain birds for locating such game. For example, the Rufous Piha (*Lipaugus unirufus*), which are common in higher forest regions, are said to always travel with warree pigs. Therefore, hunters are encouraged by seeing them in flight since it is a good sign that a warree pig is nearby. Rufous Pihas follow warree pigs, they say, in order to eat the worms found on their bodies. Similarly, the sight of a Rufous Mourner (*Rhytipterna holerythra,* no Mopan name), a bird that only sings in the dry season, is welcomed by hunters since it too follows the warree pig wherever it goes.

The Crested Guan (*Penelope purpurascens)* is also used by hunters in the in hunting warree pigs. In fact, its name in Mopan is *uch'iich'il ek'enche'*, lit. 'bird of the wild pig'. For the Q'eqchi' of Belize, the Roufus Piha is similarly a hunter's "friend." When a hunter hears its cry, it means a peccary is near. The Rufous Piha sings even more when it hears a noise, helping to direct hunters to the right spot where game is moving. Again, the name of the Rufous Piha in Q'eqchi' (*tz'ik ul chakow / tz'ikuleb chakow*) reflects the special relationship this bird has for the Maya of Belize since *chakow* means 'wild pig'. Thus, this unique facet of human-

bird relationships is said to be one of the most effective means of locating the warree pig among both the Mopan and Q'eqchi'.

While the Great Horned Owl (*Bubo virginianus*) is generally thought to be a bird that will bring you bad luck, it is a good sign for hunters. Among the Mopan, the presence of this owl during a hunt is said to signal the presence of game, but that the hunter must move quickly in order to shoot it. The Q'eqchi' of Belize also say that for hunters the cry of the *kwarom*, or Great Horned Owl, is a sign to hunters that a gibnut is nearby.

The Mopan claim that the often seen *pa'ap*, or Brown Jay (*Cyanocorax morio*) can be useful for hunters since it cries out when it sees a game animal; however, it if cries too loudly, it can scare the game away. The Q'eqchi' of Belize have the same tradition of using this bird while hunting.[2] The role of the Brown Jay in hunting is made clear in one of the most important and sacred narratives of the Mopan Maya, the story Thompson (1930: 121) entitled, "The Legend of the Sun, the Moon, and Venus." In 2008 when we recorded a version of this story in San José, Belize, the ritual priest who recounted it for us would not do so before first praying for permission because of its sacred nature. In Thompson's version of this myth, the role of birds in the hunting process is made quite explicit. At one point in this story, hunters dug a pit lined with sharpened sticks to catch game. Thompson's version of the story records what happens next:

> When all was ready, they spoke to the thrush (*Tšiqwam*), asking him to sing to them if the monster came along and fell into the trap. The bird agreed to do so, but when he sang and the boys came running up, there was no monster in the trap nor sign of him. Then they asked the Singing Thrush (Maya *P'itš;* Spanish *Tordo Cantor*) to give them warning. He

called out, but again it was a false alarm. They then asked the Magpie (*Paap*) to warn them.

It is always birds who are asked to signal when game has been caught, though the Brown Jay is the only bird who was able to fulfill its duty, warning the hunters when something fell into the trap.

Not all birds are welcomed by hunters. For example, according to the Mopan, when the *(aj)ch'a'kwa*, or Spotted-wood Quail (*Odontophorus guttatus*), sings in the morning, its song is innocuous; however, for hunters, its song is a bad sign, indicating they will not locate any game that day.

**Prognostication of Rain**

Birds play a key role in Mopan society by foretelling the rain. Either through their physical actions or their calls, a number of birds can signal the coming of the rains. For example, the call of the Chachalaca (*Ortalis vetula*) is said to indicate it will rain soon. Similarly, the *tijera nej*, or Lesser Swallow-tailed Swift (*Panyptila cayennensis*) (or some other varieties of swifts), fly together low to the ground, it means a light rain will be coming soon. The song of the *k'ok'ota'*, or Clay-colored Robin (*Turdus grayi*) when heard in the morning is a sign that the *milpa* (corn field) is flowering. However, if it is sitting in a tree when it sings, it means rain is forthcoming. Also, the song of the Wood Stork (*Mycteria americana*) is a welcomed sound since it likewise foretells the rains. The Q'eqchi' of Belize have a similar tradition for the Clay-colored Robin, or *k'ook'ob*, which is said to have four different calls. The Q'eqchi' say it is first bird to wake up and starts singing at

4:00 a.m. with one particular call. Later in the day if it sings with a different call, it means that it is time to cut the milpa and start planting. However, at night it has yet another call, '*eewooj*,' which means it getting dark. Finally, the fourth of its calls is an indicator that it will rain the following day.

In some cases, the Mopan view birds as representing negative auguries of calamities such as droughts. For example, when the *utatil ch'om*, or King Vulture (*Sarcoramphus papa*), which is known by Mopan as the "the parent of all vultures," flies high then dives straight down "like a jet," it is a bad sign that a current drought will not ease up any time soon.

**Indicating Visitors**

Several birds can also signal the proximate arrival of visitors to a home. If a hummingbird (all varieties known as *tz'unu'un* in Mopan) flies into the house it is said to be a good sign that a visitor is on the way. The Q'eqchi' of Belize believe that it may be a sign that someone is coming to ask for your daughter in marriage. While a home visitation is considered something of considerable joy for the Mopan and quite anticipated, the one exception is the visit of a salesperson. In fact, the Mopan believe that if a Pale-billed Woodpecker (*Campephilus guatemalensis*) sings near a person's house, it means a salesperson is on their way to visit. On the other hand, the Q'eqchi' of Cobán say when the *tzenterej*, the Pale-billed Woodpecker (or several other woodpeckers) sings near someone's house, it is a sign that something good is going to happen.

**Time Indications**

Until recently when many Mopan began using wristwatches, birds played a crucial role in marking time. Even today when watches are more commonly seen, many birds are still a valued resource for knowing the time of day. For example, the Yellow-billed Casique (*Amblycercus holosericeus*) (known as *otz, otz otz,* or *ootz ootz*) is said to sing every hour on the hour—a fact regularly pointed out to us while in the field. The Q'eqchi' of Belize had precisely the same tradition, for which it is equally famous.

The songs of the *jutjut*, or Blue-crowned Motmot (*Momotus momota*), a bird commonly found around sinkholes, is said to mean it is time to rest from what one's activities, especially for those laboring in their fields. Similarly, when the *säqpol p'ili'*, or White-crowned Parrot (*Pionus senilis*), a bird who "knows the time," sings around 3:00 or 4:00 in the afternoon, it is telling those working in the corn field that it is time to return home.

The Q'eqchi' of Belize have a similar tradition concerning the *xulul*, or Little Tinamou (*Crypturellus soui*), who cries out late in the afternoon in the corn fields to tell workers it is quitting time.

Also, the song of the *pujuyero*, or Pauraque (*Nyctidromus albicollis*), is commonly heard at night, especially during the dry season in April. This song is said to be a sign that it is time to harvest the beans.

Finally, when the *kuxkuxkapi*, or Black-hawk Eagle (*Spizaetus tyrannus*) sings between 10:00 and 11:00 a.m., the Mopan say it is a signal that its boss, Satan, is having lunch.

### Death and Sickness

Certain birds are greatly feared as negative auguries of dangerous events that are soon to come to pass. This is especially true in the case of death and sickness—two areas in Mopan daily life where birds can foretell looming disaster. Perhaps no birds in all of Mesoamerica are more loathed as a sign of death and illness that different varieties of owls. Among the Mopan, the call of the Vermiculated Screech Owl (*Megascops vermiculatus*), or *t'ulul*, is a sign that children in a neighboring house will surely get sick and/or die. Their calls are especially common from January to May in the dry season.

If a Great Horned Owl (*Bubo virginianus*), or *buuj*, flies into a person's house, it is sign that someone in that house will fall ill.

The *baak baak*, or Laughing Falcon (*Herpetotheres cachinnans*), is a highly auspicious bird that can have numerous harmful effects. Its cry anytime is considered a bad sign. More specifically, when the Laughing Falcon is heard singing in the moonlight, it is a sure sign that someone nearby will die. Furthermore, if a person imitates its cry, the Mopan say this will cause a putrid stink to come into the person's mouth as a punishment.

Imitating the *uy uy*, or Uniform Crake (*Amaurolimnas concolor*), can be even more dangerous. If a person tries to mimic a Uniform Crake's call at night when they appear, the Mopan say a little man will come out to meet them, at home or in the forests, and may kill that person.

The *ajsooch',* or Northern Potoo (*Nyctibius jamaicensis*), is a nocturnal bird seen between 10:00 p.m. and midnight that is said to go into caves and the holes of trees. The Mopan believe that if these birds pass several times over a person's house at night, it means someone will die in that family. In order to prevent this, the Mopan use lighted firewood sticks that have been quickly blessed 22 times to chase them away. The hot embers of such blessed sticks are said to repel the Northern Potoo, thereby saving the members of that family.

**Sorcery and Magic**

Some birds are thought to possess supernatural powers. The *sorokocho',* or Masked Tityra (*Tityra semifasciata*), is said to have specific healing abilities. For example, to cure warts somewhere on one's body, that person must find a group of these Marsked Tityra singing in a tree. By dancing enthusiastically along with the displaying birds, this will excite the birds to sing and move even more, thus causing one's warts to disappear within a few weeks. This is a common tradition among numerous Maya groups. (We have documented this same tradition with the Ch'orti', the Q'eqchi' or Belize and Guatemala, and the Tz'utujil, though different groups utilize different local birds for this cure).

At other times, birds have a darker role involving sorcery. In fact, sorcerers are said to use some birds as tools to target certain individuals to be killed. For instance, the *jooch',* a kind of "bird" simply described as a "spirit," is said to only come out at night and whistle between 10:00 p.m. and 1:00 a.m. They say this "bird" knows when someone will die since it is acquainted with the spirits of the

dead. If it flies over someone's house whistling at night, the Mopan say it intends to carry away someone's spirit and their bones, i.e., someone will die. Sorcerers can also work together with this "bird" to kill someone.

Finally, according to the Mopan, the *pujuyero*, or Common Pauraque (*Nyctidromus albicollis*), never sleeps and can be heard singing all night long. Sorcerers are said to be capable of "borrowing their sacredness" in sorcery rites in order to kill someone. In addition, Pauraques can also be used for healing. *Curanderos*, or traditional healers, use their hearts in certain curing rites.

**Negative and Positive Omens**

Several birds can have more general negative associations. Two woodpeckers fall into this category. For example, when the *pich* (a term that can apply to a number of different bird species), in this case the Smoky Brown Woodpecker (*Veniliornis fumigatus*), cries thee times in a row, it is a sign that something bad is going to happen. Similarly, the *tze'rej*, a term that applies to a number of bigger woodpeckers, cries "*wek wek*," it is a sign that something bad will soon happen. This is a cognate form of *tzen tze're'*, *tzen tze'rej*, or *tzentzerej* in Q'eqchi', a broad term used for several different woodpeckers (Black-cheeked Woodpecker, Smoky-brown Woodpecker, Golden-olive Woodpecker, Pale-billed Woodpecker) (cf. Jones 2004:148, 151, 315). Conversely, the Lineated Woodpecker (*Dryocopus lineatus*), or *kolonte'*, is considered by some to be a good sign when it cries "*wek wek.*"

**Multi-associational Birds**

Some birds give a variety of different signals in Mopan society, incorporating many of the associations in the subcategories detailed above. In certain situations, if the *(aj)ch'ix*,[3] or Squirrel Cuckoo (*Piaya cayana*), cries with a long "*piiiiiich*"[4] call, it is a sign that it will rain soon. In some cases its call can be a good sign for hunters that they will soon encounter and kill game. In non-hunting contexts, the Mopan interpret its call both positively or negatively depending on the situation. If the Squirrel Cuckoo crosses back and forth over one's house and then again from another angle, it is a well-known sign that something very dangerous will happen to that person that day such as seeing a jaguar or a snake right on the trail. Similarly, if it cries two or three times, it also signals just such a danger is coming for someone on a trail. In addition, the hearts of the Squirrel Cukoo are employed by traditional healers (*ilmaj*) in curing ceremonies. It is also significant to note that both the Mopan and the Q'eqchi' Maya of Belize share each of these associations with the Squirrel Cuckoo.

**Conclusion**

For the Mopan Maya of Belize, birds are an integral part of making sense of the world around them. From the practical perspective of signaling the presence of game animals to the mythological realm of predicting sickness and death, the Mopan Maya and birds are in a continual state of interaction and communication. The role of birds as guides and messengers is foremost among the Mopan and numerous other Maya groups—a fact also reflected throughout the oral traditions

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of the Mopan. This complex relationship between birds and the Mopan elevates

birds to a position of respect, being ones who instruct, caution, and foretell.

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[1] An estimate by Nations (2006:235) placing the number of Mopan Maya living in southern Belize at around 3,000 is far too conservative.

[2] When not hunting, however, the Mopan say the Brown Jay is a pest since it eats corn from the fields.

[3] Jones records the name as *chi'ix peech* in Mopan (2004:119).

[4] The name of the Squirrel Cuckoo in Q'eqchi', *piich* (or *pich'* according to Jones [2004:119]), is onomatopoetic based on its call. The Mopan also use the term *pich* for this bird.

# COVER PAGE FOR SUBMISSION

# HIC #116

1. Title of Submission

Evaluation of a Contemplative Psychosocial Learning Curriculum for Higher Education: Mentoring Spiritual Maturation and Multifaith Community — Building Skills for Health, Justice, and Peace

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Evaluation of a Contemplative Psychosocial Learning Curriculum for Higher Education: Mentoring Spiritual Maturation and Multifaith Community — Building Skills for Health, Justice, and Peace[1]

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Higher Education bears a responsibility to train citizens and future leaders with psychosocial skills that promote a culture of health, justice, and peace (Alexander, 2001; Astin, 1993; Boyer, 1990; Chickering, 1993; Kass & Douglas, 2000; Kazanjian & Laurence, 2000; Keeling, 2004; Miller & Ryan, 2001; Noddings, 2005; Palmer, 1998; Parks, 1986, 2000; Porpora, 2001).  However, few attempts have been made to develop a comprehensive academic curriculum to address these issues pro-actively.  This paper will suggest that a curriculum which teaches the principles and practices of spiritual maturation can help university students acquire these psychosocial skills.

Spiritual maturation is a self-reflective, individual-specific, multidimensional learning process (Kass & Lennox, 2005).  It helps individuals understand the impact of humanity's *chain of pain* on their worldview and actions (Kass, 2007b).  It enables them to interrupt this self-reinforcing pattern through the development of health-promoting, justice-promoting, and peace-promoting attitudes and behaviors.  From this functional perspective, the process of spiritual maturation may include, but is not restricted to, participation in an organized religion (Kass, 1995, 2007b).

*Know Your Self* is a contemplative psychosocial learning curriculum that Kass has been teaching and refining since 1987 (Kass, 2001; Kass & Lennox, 2005).  It teaches the emotional, social, and psychospiritual competencies of spiritual maturation.  Students from diverse religious and cultural backgrounds, with a variety of belief systems, including atheism, learn together.  The core of the curriculum is a structured self-inquiry project, reinforced by written self-inquiry essays.  Experiential learning utilizes contemplative practices from diverse spiritual traditions with complementary modes of introspection and learning from counseling psychology.  The contemplative psychosocial learning classroom becomes an interactive "multifaith learning community" in which students develop and consolidate skills that promote cultures of health, justice, and peace.  The interpersonal focus of this learning environment prepares students to practice these skills in the settings where they work and live.

The *Know Your Self* curriculum has two underlying objectives:

1. *To provide an experiential introduction to the process of spiritual maturation.*  This introduction enables students to assess the potential value of this developmental process for their personal and professional lives.  In addition, it empowers them to begin to participate intentionally in this process.

2. *To promote interfaith dialogue and understanding.*  The curriculum provides a psychoeducational introduction to the shared maturational goals and contemplative practices of the spiritual traditions.  Within the context of a multifaith learning community, the curriculum helps students learn more about a spiritual tradition with which they identify, and learn about traditions which have had a history of conflict with their religions of birth.

This paper will report results from a qualitative study of the efficacy of the curriculum. The analysis utilized narrative data from student self-inquiry essays. The paper will conclude by advocating a broader role for counselor educators in higher education: to teach university students from a wide range of academic and professional disciplines how to develop contemplative psychosocial skills that promote cultures of health, justice, and peace.

**Are Students Motivated to Participate in Contemplative Psychosocial Learning?**
University faculty sometimes doubt that students will be motivated to engage in the depth of self-inquiry necessary for spiritual maturation. However, research conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI), using a national, multi-site sample, concluded that a large proportion of young adults hope that university education will contribute to the development of personal wisdom (Astin & Astin, 2004). The narrative data from this current study support the HERI conclusions in two ways. First, the narratives expressed a high degree of student motivation to participate in a self-inquiry project. Second, student narratives suggested three specific themes which motivated students to undertake this learning process:

  a. Need to explore "The Big Existential Questions" in a serious, sustained manner
  b. Difficulty regulating health-compromising behaviors and attitudes
  c. Quest for a personally-meaningful approach to spirituality

The student narratives often specifically reflected disappointment that previous educational experiences had not helped them address these issues. Their essays articulated a desire for structured opportunities to address the psychosocial and spiritual dimensions of their lives.

**Defining Spiritual Maturation: Operational and Developmental Frameworks**

**1. Operational Definition**
Kass has suggested that the process of spiritual maturation has five dimensions (Kass & Lennox, 2005):

1) <u>Behavioral</u>: Increased capacity for behavioral self-regulation that promotes health, justice, and peace
2) <u>Cognitive</u>: Maturation of intellectual processes that shape spiritual / philosophical understanding of life events
3) <u>Emotional</u>: Maturation of the images and emotional constellations through which "the Spirit of Life" and self are experienced and portrayed
4) <u>Contemplative</u>: Increased capacity for "connective awareness" and core spiritual experience (Kass, 2001; Kass & Lennox, 2005)
5) <u>Resilience</u>: Participation in the developmental challenges of life as vehicles for spiritual growth

This definition draws on previous research in the psychology of spirituality and religion. It integrates work from the following areas:

A: <u>Behavioral and neuropsychological studies in health-behavior, pro-social behavior, and spirituality</u> (Adams, 1999; Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, & Levinson, 1950; Allport, 1979; Andersen, Kiecolt-Glaser, & Glaser, 1994; Antonovsky, 1979; Batson, Naifeh, & Pate, 1978; Benson, 1975; Bergin, Masters, & Richards, 1987; Berkowitz, 1994; Blascovich & Katkin, 1993; Boulding, 1990, 2000; Brannon & Feist, 1997; Burhoe, 1986; Burton, 1997; Chirot & Seligman, 2001; Coppola, 2000; Davidson, Kabat-Zinn, Schumacher, Rosenkranz, Muller, Santorelli, Urbanowski, Harrington, Bonus, & Sheridan, 2003; Durkheim, 1912, 1995; Gartner, 1996; Gorsuch, 1995; Herman, 1997; Hoshmand & Kass, 2003; Joseph, 1993; Kelman, 1997; Kim & Seidlitz, 2002; Larson & Larson, 1991; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Marlatt & Marques, 1977; Marty, 1990; Pennebaker, 2002; Straub & Perlman, 2001; Taylor, 1986; UNESCO, 1994; Worthington, 1998);

B: <u>Structural models of faith development and religious maturation</u> (Allport, 1950; Arasteh, 1965; Benson, Donahue, & Erickson, 1993; Cook-Greuter, 1994; Ellison, 1999; Fowler, 1981; Kegan, 1982; Kegan, 1980; Oser & Gmunder, 1991; Pruyser, 1991);

C: <u>Psychological mechanisms shaping images of God</u> (Billingsley, 1992; Clinebell, 1984; Hegy, 2007; Kass, 2007a; Katz, 1992; Poloma, 1995; Proudfoot, 1985; Rizzuto, 1979; Spero, 1992; Spretnak, 1991);

D: <u>Religious experience</u> (Batson & Ventis, 1982; Hill & Hood, 1999; Hood, 1975, 1995; James, 1902/1986; Kass, 1995; Kass et al., 1991; Katz, 1983; Newberg & D'Aquili, 2001; Newberg, Alavi, Baime, & D'Aquili, 1997; Persinger, 1987; Poloma & Gallup, 1991; Stace, 1960);

E: <u>Developmental life span perspectives on spiritual and religious coping</u> (Erikson, 1950, 1963; Frankl, 1959; Helminiak, 1987; Koenig, 1994; Loder, 1998; Meissner, 1987; Moberg, 2001; Pargament, 1997; Worthington, 1989).

Kass' multi-dimensional definition suggests the integrative process through which spiritual maturation takes place. Holistic learning is required, engaging the behavioral, cognitive, emotional, and contemplative components of self, ultimately producing a resilient coping style. This conceptual approach views spiritual maturation as an individual-specific, life-long learning process, rather than as a prescriptive template of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors which apply indiscriminately to all individuals. In addition, this functional definition identifies learning processes that are shared by diverse spiritual traditions because it focuses on underlying psychospiritual structures and developmental capacities.

## 2. Developmental Framework

From a developmental perspective, spiritual maturation can be described as movement towards "secure existential attachment" (Kass, 2007b). This term refers to the formation of sustained and sustaining connections to core self, community, and cosmos. Erikson identified two significant roles for spirituality in the the human life cycle (Erikson, 1950, 1963). In Stage 1, a parent's spirituality can help a child experience life as trustworthy. In Stage 7, spirituality can help elders experience "integrity." However, this term does not encompass the existential dimension of life with sufficient depth. It does not explain how an individual can successfully confront "ontological insecurity," the profound anxiety that Tillich described as the central problem of modern life and an underlying source of disordered behavior (Tillich, 1952). Tillich proposed the spiritual quest, and a radical re-connection with life's Ground of Being, as a necessary step. We can understand this re-connective process through Ainsworth's work on attachment theory (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). The "trust" that Erikson describes in Stage 1 can be sustained through secure attachment to parents. Similarly, in late adulthood, individuals can experience a more expanded sense of trust when they experience secure attachments to community and cosmos.

In Table 1, we view the human life span as a progression of ever-widening matrices of relationship, each of which has the potential for an increased sense of attachment. We can distill these matrices into three units:

  a.  The first unit is the family of origin. Here is where the child forms a basic sense of trust through secure attachments with parental figures. Through these attachments, a child can develop a congruent self-structure, rather than an adaptive, "false-self" system (Winnicott, 1971). By young adulthood, as this current study will suggest, a congruent self-structure enables another developmental potential: introspective contact with core aspects of self.

  b.  The second unit, designated "Community" in Table 1, constitutes the relationships we form as adults, in our families, worksites, and affiliation networks. This matrix holds the potential to repair impaired childhood attachments, particularly when a young adult engages intentionally in a process of emotional growth and spiritual maturation that

corrects relationship-impairing emotions and cognitions.  Through such maturational growth, the second matrix holds the potential for secure attachment with community.

c. The third unit constitutes our relationship with the cosmos.  Here, in Tillich's framework, individuals can learn to experience their embeddedness in the cosmos, through contemplative awareness of their relationship with the Ground of Being (Kass, 1991; Tillich, 1952).

From this perspective, as a developmental whole, life offers the potential for sustained and sustaining connections with core self, community, and cosmos.  However, this developmental potential is rarely attained without intentional efforts to participate in a maturational learning process.  Traditionally, the role of the spiritual traditions has been to teach about the process of spiritual maturation through which secure existential attachment can be experienced.  Young adulthood is not the only period when the process of spiritual maturation can be initiated. However, it is an ideal period for this intentional process to begin because self-structures remain malleable and responsive to new learning.

**Table 1: Secure Existential Attachment — A Developmental Potential**

**Developmental Concepts**
Erikson:     Trust … Integrity
Tillich:      Ontological Insecurity (Adult)
Ainsworth:  Secure Attachment (Child)

**Community**
Family, Work, Affiliation Networks
Potential: Secure Attachments to Community

**Matrices of Attachment**

Family of Origin
Potential: Secure Attachment / Congruent Self Structure
Access to Core Self During Later Developmental Stages

**Young Adulthood**

Cosmos
Natural World, Ground of Being
Potential: Ontological Coherence,
Secure Attachment to Cosmos

**Young Adulthood**:
Potential for an Intentional, Life-Long Process of Spiritual Maturation,
Movement toward SEA

**Secure Existential Attachment  (SEA)**
**sustained and sustaining connections
to core self, community, and cosmos**

(Adapted from Kass, 2007)

**Objective of Research Project:**
In summary, this research evaluated the efficacy of the *Know Your Self* curriculum as a contemplative psychosocial learning pedagogy to promote cultures of health, justice, and peace by teaching university students the principles and practices of spiritual maturation.

**Research Methods**
To investigate a developmental learning process, it is useful to employ qualitative methods that generate rich descriptions of the lived experience of participants (Polkinghorne, 1983).  This study incorporated phenomenological, naturalistic-ethnographic, and hermeneutic methods for data

collection and analysis (Hoshmand, 1989; Polkinghorne, 1983). Students wrote weekly self-inquiry essays that provided primary phenomenological data (Polkinghorne, 1988). The assignments for these essays were consistent across the participant sample. As a result, the essays provided extensive data about behavioral, cognitive, emotional, and spiritual learning processes that could be compared within and across participant cohorts.

Grounded Theory, an empirical approach to narrative data analysis, served as the primary qualitative methodology. Proceeding inductively, it begins with a careful reading of narrative descriptions of phenomena, organizes them into meaningful categories and themes, and proceeds to develop theoretical constructs that explain how change takes place (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This approach is particularly useful when seeking to identify the dynamics of change within individuals (Chamberlain, 1999; Strauss, 1987).

*Data Collection*: Data was collected from students attending a course which used the *Know Your Self* curriculum. The study was explained to students at the first class meeting through a verbal discussion and written document. The document described the purpose of the study in general terms; explained that participation was voluntary; discussed the emotional and personal aspects of a self-inquiry process; explained potential dangers of participation (possible increases in anxiety during self-inquiry); provided assurance of anonymity during research reports; and clarified that students had the right to withdraw from the study at any point. Students were not asked to sign their names to the document. Voluntary submission of their self-inquiry essays to the research folder was considered their informed consent to participate. This document and research project were approved by Lesley University's Institutional Review Board.

Students wrote a 3-5 page self-inquiry essay following each class session, as an assigned part of the class. These essays provided phenomenological data documenting individualized processes of spiritual maturation and behavioral change. Each student generated 40-60 pages of narrative.

Students who decided to participate in the study submitted copies of their self-inquiry essays anonymously. A "blind" submission procedure prevented the instructor from identifying participants until 3 months after the class had been completed. Students submitting data constituted 78% of class participants. Of the 22% who did not submit data, 96% made this decision prior to initial data collection. Five students (4%) withdrew from the study after submitting data. The full data set from participating students comprised approximately 6,100 pages of written narrative material.

*Sample*: The sample was composed of 122 graduate and undergraduate students from 7 separate cohorts. Participants were largely female (91%) and Caucasian (93%). Birth religions were Protestant (41%), Catholic (39%), Jewish (16%), Muslim (2%), and other (2%).

*Analytic Procedures*: Grounded Theory was applied through a multi-step analytic process.

Step #1**:** Each student's series of self-inquiry essays was reviewed, using open coding, by two professionals working independently (principal investigator and trained research assistant). Differences in coding were discussed and resolved. Coding categories developed by the two readers were consolidated. Each student file was then read a second time. A memo was written about each student summarizing his or her process of developmental changes, and providing relevant theoretical reflections.

Step #2: Thirty five students, who demonstrated notable spiritual and psychological growth, were selected for an initial round of comparative analysis. Their narratives were read a third time by the principal investigator, using line-by-line, close textual analysis. Open coding (to identify additional conceptual categories) and axial coding (to identify linked sub-categories organized around central themes) produced a more fine-grained understanding of the narratives, resulting in a preliminary conceptual model of the learning process.

Step #3**:**  To test the theoretical clarity of the preliminary conceptual model, the remaining 87 student narratives were read by the principal investigator for a third time.  This reading used open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (to integrate and connect categories).  Narratives were compared within and across cohorts to identify the range of variations within categories and sub-categories.  Ultimately, a point of theoretical saturation was reached where no new properties emerged, and where the range of variability within categories had been identified.  This analytic stage produced revisions in the conceptual model of the learning process, identifying two central components in the curriculum.

Step #4:  Through further content analysis, the two main components of the curriculum were sub-divided into ten discrete areas of self-inquiry.  These ten areas were identified as the structural building blocks of the curriculum.  Each new area of self-inquiry was observed to build upon antecedent learning.  As a result, a conditional / consequential matrix began to emerge. This matrix contributed to the development of a path analysis, described in Step #10.

Step #5:  Content analysis was employed to identify narrative evidence of spiritual growth and learning.  As this data was being reviewed, it became evident that the five dimensions of spiritual maturation (identified in previous research by Kass) provided a final level of theoretical cohesion for organizing and understanding this material.

Step #6: During this analysis, evidence of increased capacity for behavioral self-regulation was reviewed.  Fine-grained textual analysis was employed with particular care because "improvement in behavior" was an overt goal of the curriculum.  Consequently, self-reports of progress were examined critically.  Rather than taking these reports at face value, the analysis sought corroborative accounts within antecedent portions of the narratives.  When corroboration was lacking, positive behavioral change was presumed to be negligible.

Step #7:  Twelve in-depth case studies were written to illustrate the individual process of spiritual maturation.  To select representative cases, three criteria were applied:
- Each case showed evidence of growth in 4-5 components of spiritual maturation, including increased capacity for behavioral self-regulation.
- The case studies portrayed young adults at various stages of sophistication in the process of contemplative psychosocial learning, including novices.
- The case studies portrayed a range of belief systems and religious backgrounds including atheist, agnostic, Protestant, Catholic, Muslim, and Jewish.

Step #8:  Within each cohort of students, the formative process of the multifaith learning community was examined.  The analysis identified five sequential steps of learning-in-community.  A group case study was developed to illustrate this formative process and its contributions to the development of pro-social behaviors and spiritual maturation.

Step #9:  Evidence of growth in the five dimensions of spiritual maturation was quantified for each student and each dimension.  The number and proportion of students showing evidence of growth in each specific dimension was calculated.  In addition, the following parameters were calculated: students who demonstrated no evidence of growth, students who demonstrated growth in at least one dimension; and students who demonstrated growth in 3-5 dimensions (designated as the criterion of "substantive spiritual maturation").

Step #10:  A path analysis was created to refine a conceptual model of the learning process, and to illustrate functional and directional relationships between the components of the curriculum.

In summary, this multi-stage analytic procedure generated the following results: a structural map of the curriculum, including its sequential development; narrative evidence demonstrating growth in five components of spiritual maturation, including changes in targeted behaviors and attitudes; twelve case studies illustrating the process of spiritual maturation in individual students; a group case study illustrating the development of pro-social behaviors during the formative process of

the multifaith learning communities; a quantified summary of growth in the five components of spiritual maturation; a path analysis describing the functional relationships and reciprocal learning among the central components of the curriculum.

**Results, Part I: Structural Map of the *Know Your Self* Curriculum**
The analysis of student narratives identified two main components in the learning process. These components included ten structured steps of self-inquiry:

Component #1 – *Writing a Spiritual Autobiography with Psychosocial Dimensions: Helping Students Identify their Current Psychospiritual Worldview*

Students strengthened self-reflective critical analysis skills by writing a structured spiritual autobiography with psychosocial dimensions.

This multi-session, in-depth life review helped them identify and examine their current psychospiritual worldview. It enabled them to recognize formative events, cultural forces, and specific links in their own *chain of pain* which had shaped their worldview and behaviors.

The spiritual autobiography included five structured steps of self-inquiry:

1) Exploration of motivation to engage in psychospiritual self-inquiry, and assessment of readiness to participate in this learning process

2) Selection of a personal learning goal: a behavior or attitude that affects the well-being of self or others for improvement during the self-inquiry project

3) Life review of spiritual development: exploration of religious upbringing and images of God developed during childhood; examination of formative life experiences, relationships, and cultural forces that have affected philosophical / spiritual meaning system, self-image, and behavior

4) Examination of personal stress responses in order to identify negative aspects of students' psychospiritual worldviews (cognitive schema about self, others, and life)

5) Articulation of the positive psychospiritual worldviews that students would like to experience by examining the psychological benefits they may derive from their health-compromising behaviors

Component #2 – *Contemplative Practice: Individual Work Modifying Psychospiritual Worldview and Behavior*

Students developed contemplative introspection skills through a structured, multi-session learning process. Their experiential learning was consolidated through written self-inquiry essays.

The structured process introduced students to the psychospiritual terrain of the inner self. This learning process enabled them to locate an internal architecture through which contemplative awareness can initiate transformative change in psychospiritual worldview and behavior.

This component included five structured steps of self-inquiry:

6) Dr. Viktor Frankl's model of psychospiritual resilience is introduced as a gateway to contemplation (Frankl, 1959). Through access to intuitive imagery, students locate a contemplative sanctuary and an inner mentor to generate resilient responses to life events

7) Exploration of the architecture of the inner self: the reservoir of memories, sense impressions, and worldview shaped by the *chain of pain*; and an unwounded core dimension of self

8) Contemplative dialogues between the psychological (wounded) and spiritual (unwounded) dimensions of self: creating a nourishing environment for the repair of destructive emotions and distorted cognitive schema

9) Learning to anchor daily awareness in resilient attitudes, constructive behavior, and core spiritual experience through the development of a regular practice of meditation or contemplative prayer

10) Consolidation of learning through exploration of current responses to specific links in student's personal *chain of pain*.

In addition to exploring the potential benefits of contemplative introspection (e.g., emotional self-regulation, etc.), this component also examines potential dangers of contemplative practice. Didactic materials discuss the need for critical self-reflection and supervision to protect against destructive interpretations of contemplative experience. Interfaith dialogue is recommended as a protective mechanism against group distortions in the interpretation of these experiences, by providing corrective perspectives from outside a group's norm-setting social structure.

Summary: This section of the analysis created a conceptual map of the *Know Your Self* curriculum. It identified a sequential logic through which the 10 steps in the self inquiry process were organized, with each new step building upon previous steps. It further suggested that the growth and learning that took place during the first component contributed to the depth and clarity of learning during the second component.

Individual students often returned to previous self-inquiry questions as their projects developed. These variations suggested ways in which individuals shaped and modified their specific projects.

**Results, Part II: Growth in Five Dimensions of Spiritual Maturation**
Student narratives were analyzed for evidence of growth in the five dimensions of spiritual maturation. The following discussion summarizes types of growth that were observed.

1. *Behavioral: Increased capacity for behavioral self-regulation that promotes health, justice, and peace.* Growth included:
   - Awareness of psychological and social mechanisms that trigger destructive emotions and behavior
   - Repair of destructive emotions and distorted cognitive schema
   - Enhanced stress-coping skills
   - Enhanced interpersonal skills, including capacity for empathic listening
   - Enhanced pro-social skills, including conflict resolution through restorative dialogue

2. *Cognitive: Maturation of intellectual processes that shape spiritual / philosophical understanding of life events.* Growth included:
   - Enhanced critical analysis skills and intellectual autonomy
   - Evaluation of religious concepts learned during childhood
   - Development of an internal locus of spiritual / philosophical meaning-making
   - Increased ability to transcend learned prejudices about other spiritual traditions

3. *Emotional: Maturation of the images and emotional constellations through which "the Spirit of Life" and self are experienced and portrayed.* Growth included:

- Ability to think reflectively and critically about "God images" and "self-image" learned during childhood
- Ability to understand the life events, cultural forces, and personal links in the *chain of pain* which shaped negative aspects of these images
- Modification of distorted perceptions of self and "the Spirit of Life" through repair of emotional constellations shaped by the *chain of pain*

4. *Contemplative: Increased capacity for "connective awareness" and core spiritual experience.* Growth included:
    - Ability to focus mental attention inwardly
    - Ability to witness and process anxiety-provoking thoughts, emotions, and memories gradually reducing their intrusive, emotional charge
    - Experience of inner calm and peace, including location of an *inner contemplative sanctuary*
    - Intuitive imagery and insights, including location of an *inner mentor*
    - Identification of a core dimension of self that is unwounded by the *chain of pain*
    - Increased sense of connection between self and "the Spirit of Life"
    - Enhanced pro-social perceptions: Increased sense of connection, respect, and compassion for others

5. *Resilience: Participation in the developmental challenges of life as vehicles for spiritual growth.* Growth included:
    - Learning to draw upon inner spiritual resources as an anchor and guide when facing developmental challenges, life crises, and conflict
    - Learning to understand crises and conflict as maturational challenges with an optimistic recognition that these problems can produce new forms of knowledge, cooperation, and spiritual understanding

**Results, Part III: Case Studies of Spiritual Maturation**
Twelve in-depth case studies were developed to illustrate the process of spiritual maturation, and the types of growth observed in this sample.

The cases were chosen to portray learning by students from diverse belief systems, including Protestant, Muslim, Jewish, Catholic, Agnostic, and Atheist. These case studies call particular attention to the complex interplay that developed between the psychological and spiritual dimensions of self, as students progressed in this contemplative, self-reflective process.

1. Strengthening Religious Commitment and Finding Personal Voice
    Hasna, a 27 year old, Algerian-American undergraduate; Muslim (observant)

2. Modifying Unhealthy Diet and Exploring Social Isolation
    Deanna, a 34 year old, Jamaican-American undergraduate; Baptist (non-practicing)

3. Confronting Sexual Promiscuity
    Alexander, a 25 year old graduate student; Atheist

4. Coping with the Psychospiritual Impact of Chronic Illness
    Anna, a 24 year old graduate student; Protestant (observant)

5. Overcoming Social Anxiety and Fear of Intimate Relationships
    Mike, a 30 year old graduate student; Roman Catholic (observant)

6. Overcoming Social Isolation
    Rachel, a 25 year old graduate student; Agnostic

7. Overcoming Internalized Self-Hatred
Sonya, a 33 year old graduate student; Jewish (non-practicing)

8. Why Can't I Break the Habit?  Examining an Addiction to Cigarettes
Jessica, a 21 year old undergraduate; Protestant (non-practicing)

9. Confronting Alcohol Addiction
Erin, a 25 year old graduate student; Agnostic

10. Reducing Academic Anxiety and Somatic Stress
Kim, a 23 year old graduate student; Roman Catholic (non-practicing)

11. Overcoming Procrastination and Self-Doubt
Mary Ann, a 25 year old undergraduate; Roman Catholic (observant)

12. Overcoming Depression and Negative Body Image
Karen, a 26 year old graduate student; Baptist (non-practicing)

**Results, Part IV: Participation in Multifaith Learning Community: Group Work Contributing to Formation of Pro-Social Behaviors and Attitudes**

In each of the seven cohorts, student narratives reflected the formation of a multifaith learning community which contributed to the development of pro-social behaviors and attitudes.  Students from diverse belief systems learned to understand each other as fellow human beings, accept differences and / or resolve conflicts in constructive ways, and develop bonds of compassion, mutual respect, and friendship.

Community-building took place in two venues: small-group discussions and a large-group "community circle."  Students discussed readings; shared spiritual autobiographies and self-inquiry explorations; practiced yoga; listened to music from diverse spiritual traditions; and participated in expressive arts activities.  Readings included an assignment to learn more about a spiritual tradition with which students felt a sense of identification, and to learn about a spiritual tradition that has been in conflict with their religion of birth.  These activities generated a dynamic process of bonding and self-reflection, in which students learned a great deal about each other. In addition, they learned about their personal styles of building relationships with peers and with the group.

A group case study, with representative student narratives, was developed to conceptualize and illustrate this formative process.  Five stages of learning-in-community were identified:

1) Focus on self-identity / awareness of differences
2) Movement into empathic awareness
3) Emergence of interpersonal conflict
4) Restorative dialogue informed by self-reflection
5) Bonds of compassion, mutual respect, and friendship

Two common forms of conflict, and their resolution, were highlighted in this group case study.

- Example #1: "Speaking Truth to Power" – This example explores the power dynamic between student (subordinate) and teacher (authority) in the development of a culture of peace.  It illustrates that many forms of conflict must be understood as the need for individuals in subordinate roles to assure group norms of fairness, freedom of expression, and safety by confronting procedures they perceive to be unfair.  It illustrates that anger can be healthy and empowering, requiring non-defensive responses from authority figures.

- Example #2: "Displaced Anger" – This example explores a destructive interpersonal dynamic, in which one person inappropriately hurts another person.  It illustrates the need for individuals to examine their anger using critical self-reflection in order to prevent perpetuation of the *chain of pain*.

The group case study illustrates learning about the potential for conflict to generate compassionate understanding and shared spiritual maturation.  From this perspective, conflict can be understood as a predictable maturational process in group development and interpersonal relationships.  The case study illustrated a formative process through which multifaith learning communities can become a vehicle for individuals to develop self-reflective, contemplative skills that promote cultures of peace.

**Results, Part V: Quantified Summary: Growth in Five Dimensions of Spiritual Maturation**
Evidence of growth in spiritual maturation was quantified across the sample by participant and component.  Overall, 93% of participants demonstrated growth in at least one dimension of spiritual maturation; 7% showed no concrete evidence of growth.  Evidence of growth in specific components is summarized below:

A. Behavioral: Increased capacity for behavioral self-regulation that promotes health, justice, and peace (68% of sample)

B. Cognitive: Maturation of intellectual processes that shape spiritual / philosophical understanding of life events (51%)

C. Emotional: Maturation of the images and emotional constellations through which "the Spirit of Life" and self are experienced and portrayed (53%)

D. Contemplative: Increased capacity for "connective awareness" and core spiritual experience (48%)

E. Resilience: Participation in the developmental challenges of life as vehicles for spiritual growth (57%)
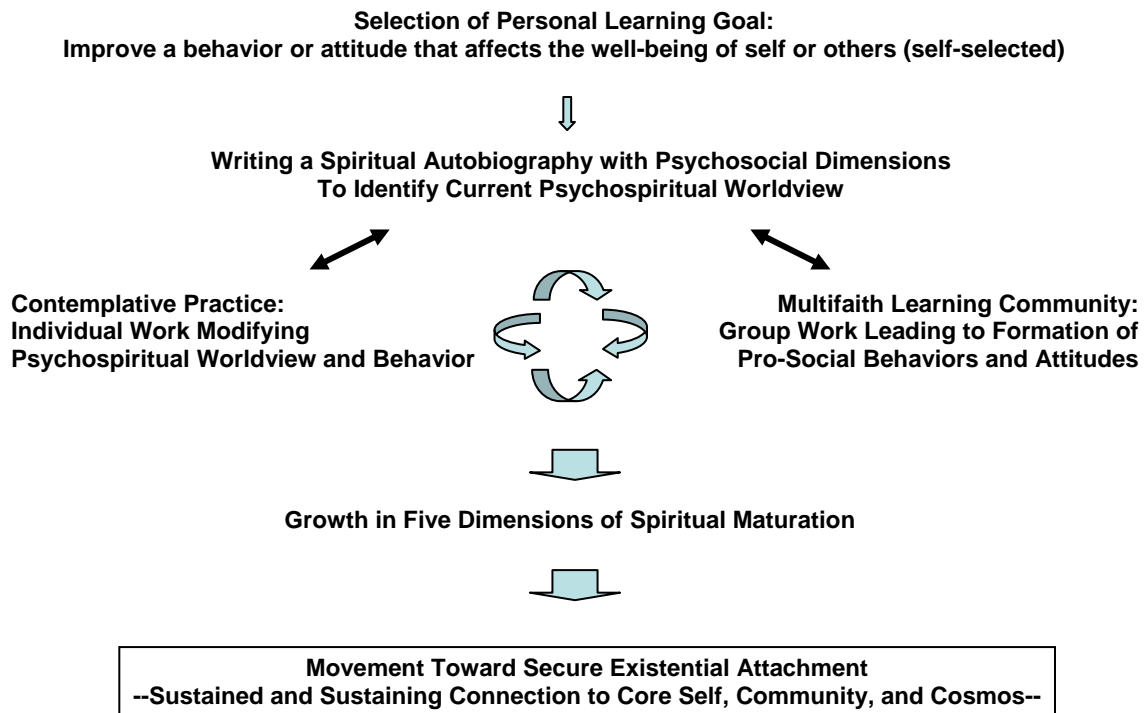
As an indication of significant spiritual maturation, 60% of participants demonstrated growth in 3-5 components.

**Results, Part VI: Path Analysis of the Developmental Learning Process**
To distill the conceptual framework that emerged from the study, a path analysis was developed which illustrated functional relationships among the components of the curriculum and the emergent community learning process (see Table 2, following page).

The path analysis shows how the interplay between critical analysis, contemplative introspection, and interpersonal learning generated through this curriculum provides a robust matrix for spiritual maturation.  As the individual and group case studies suggest, this matrix generated unique resonances and outcomes for each student.  At the same time, it facilitated generic movement toward a greater degree of *secure existential attachment* (enhanced sense of connection to core self, community, and cosmos).

**Table 2: Developmental Learning Process in *Know Your Self* Curriculum: Path Analysis**

**Selection of Personal Learning Goal:**
**Improve a behavior or attitude that affects the well-being of self or others (self-selected)**

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**Writing a Spiritual Autobiography with Psychosocial Dimensions**
**To Identify Current Psychospiritual Worldview**

**Contemplative Practice:**
**Individual Work Modifying**
**Psychospiritual Worldview and Behavior**

**Multifaith Learning Community:**
**Group Work Leading to Formation of**
**Pro-Social Behaviors and Attitudes**

**Growth in Five Dimensions of Spiritual Maturation**

**Movement Toward Secure Existential Attachment**
**--Sustained and Sustaining Connection to Core Self, Community, and Cosmos--**

**Discussion:**

This study demonstrates that the *Know Your Self Curriculum* is an effective vehicle for introducing young adults to the process of spiritual maturation, and helping them build psychosocial skills that promote health, justice, and peace. The narrative data captures them in the process of self-reflection, contemplative introspection, worldview transformation, and behavioral change.

*Limitations to the study*: There were two significant limitations to this study. First, the sample lacked sufficient cultural diversity. Although the case studies demonstrate the responsiveness of this curriculum to diverse populations, the sample was primarily Caucasian and female. Further testing of this curriculum, and potential refinements, are necessary.

Second, this project did not assess long-term gains for the students. Due to resource limitations, longitudinal data was not collected. Ideally, the next evaluation of this curriculum will include follow-up data.

It is also important to note that the principal investigator did not hypothesize that this curriculum, presented as a one-semester intervention, would be sufficient for students to achieve long-term change. Many students were in early stages of self-knowledge, spiritual maturation, and behavior change. While this study demonstrates that they benefited from the curriculum, it was also clear that many would require a more extensive period of contemplative psychosocial learning to consolidate their gains. Thus, an effective program of contemplative psychosocial learning will require a more sustained approach than a one-semester course.

Despite these limitations, this project was successful as a pilot demonstration of the feasibility, and potential benefits, of contemplative psychosocial learning. Students demonstrated an aptitude for, and a strong commitment to, this self-inquiry project, suggesting that it focused on areas they are keen to address.

This pilot project also demonstrates that the process of spiritual maturation can be taught within a university setting in a responsible and inclusive manner, preserving academic and individual freedoms.  While this pedagogical approach must be introduced thoughtfully, its potential value is evident.

Finally, this project suggests a broader role that counselor educators can play in higher education.  In addition to training mental health professionals, counselor educators can mentor and teach this self-reflective, community-building, maturational process to university students from a wide range of academic and professional disciplines.

**Conclusion and Recommendations:**
Higher education should play a more active role training future citizens and leaders to promote a sustainable culture of health, justice, and peace.  Incorporating contemplative psychosocial learning into the academic curriculum can provide concrete mechanisms to support the spiritual maturation of our increasingly diverse and fragmented society.  It is time for the field of higher education, particularly faculty in the social sciences and humanities, to recognize our responsibility to address these pressing issues more pro-actively and effectively.

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# Why have Home Detention Based Sanctions failed to become widely utilised alternatives to prison?

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## Abstract

In the early 1980s in the United States Home Detention Based Sanctions (HDBS), which utilise electronic monitoring technology, became actual sentences of the court applicable to ordinary citizens. Viewed as a modern solution to the growingly unsustainable cost and prison overcrowding crisis the implementation of these sanctions legislatively expanded rapidly across the United States. Since the 1990s however the growth of offenders who are placed onto HDBS has periodically slowed down, currently representing only a few percent of the 'potential offender market'. This has occurred despite the fact that increasingly cheaper, reliable and practical technological developments such as radio-frequency and global positioning systems are allowing the imposition and monitoring of diverse and restrictive conditions and even the sentencing of relatively serious offenders onto these sanctions.

It is argued in this paper, on the basis of a qualitative content analysis of US studies, that there are two main reasons behind the unanticipated slow uptake of HDBS. The first is that the community has not supported these sanctions. This is due to the widely held belief that any sanction outside of prison is a slap on the wrist punishment and that the community is not adequately protected when offenders are placed onto these sanctions. The second is that surveillance and punishment oriented HDBS generally lacking treatment and services have been implemented. This was the result of inadequate financial support, which was caused by the unprecedented pressure to reduce the rising cost of corrections, and the policy makers' attempt to appease the fearful and punitively oriented public. The introduction of HDBS, which lacked necessary support and appropriate structure, has had virtually no effect on escalating prison numbers and rising correctional outlays. This paper concludes by providing strategies on how to improve the current operation of HDBS thereby increasing their likelihood of community support as well as utilisation as alternatives to imprisonment.

## The birth and application of HDBS

The first time home detention based sanctions (HDBS) were used as properly administered sanctions was in the United States in St Louis in 1971. This very first small scale attempt to incarcerate offenders within the confines of their homes was limited to juvenile offenders (Ball, Huff & Lilly, 1988). Despite this initial trial in the 1970s, it was not until the early 1980s when the unsustainable cost and prison overcrowding crisis resulted in HDBS becoming actual court sentences for adult offenders (Doherty, 1995:129; Renzema 1992:47; Walker, 1990; Whitfield, 2001; Whitfield, 1997).

Florida was the first state to implement a state-wide adult HDBS in 1983. It was developed as a front-end[1] initiative aimed at diverting offenders from prison by imposing on them a variety of stringent order conditions coupled with around-the-clock surveillance. HDBS' target population was non-violent felons who would not normally qualify for probation due to their criminal history and current offence (United States General Accounting Office, 1990). The length of the order was determined by the court, with a maximum term of two years on the sanction (Blomberg, Waldo & Burcroff, 1987; United States General Accounting Office, 1990). The Florida HDBS subsequently became one of the best known and largest in the United States, and therefore, the model for other states (Ball, Huff & Lilly, 1988; Blomberg, Bales & Reed, 1993; United States General Accounting Office, 1990).

Hailed as a modern solution to ongoing complex correctional problems, the introduction of HDBS expanded rapidly across the United States (Payne & Gainey, 1999). The foremost important factor that contributed to HDBS' popularity was the widespread use of electronic monitoring via radio frequency (RF)[2] mechanisms which substantially enhanced offender control (Ball, Huff & Lilly, 1988). For example, in 1986, in the United States only 95 offenders were subject to electronic monitoring (Friel, Vaughn & del Carmen, 1987), this number rose to 12,000 in 1990 (Baumer and Mendelsohn, 1992), and to a daily count of 30,000 to 50,000 in 1992 and 1993 (Lilly, 1993). By October 1990 HDBS coupled with electronic monitoring existed in all fifty states throughout the United States (Renzema, 1992). The largest state users continually include Florida and Texas (Whitfield, 2001).

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[1] HDBS generally operate as front-end or back-end alternatives to imprisonment (Tonry, 1998:86). Offenders are placed onto front-end HDBS by having their sentences of imprisonment fully suspended and being sentenced to instead serve their time on a HDBS. Alternatively only offenders who had been incarcerated are able to be released early and placed onto a back-end HDBS (Tonry, 1998:86-87).

[2] RF electronic monitoring technology informs the authorities whether the offender is present or absent at a location where he/she is supposed to be (Mair, 2006:57).

The most sophisticated electronic monitoring technology Global Positing Systems (GPS)[3] entered the United States criminal justice in Florida in 1997. It has predominantly been used to track dangerous sex offenders released early from prisons who are willing to have their movements in specified inclusion and exclusion zones tracked. Since its inception, about 20,000 offenders had been monitored throughout the United States (Lilly, 2006; Nellis, 2005).

> "Petersilia noted in 2003 that Florida, New Jersey and Michigan were using this method, and that one of the most important benefits of satellite tracking is the increased protection it offers victims because its use permitted specifying and monitoring zones of exclusion, and it could also use pager or text messages to notify victims when offenders broke perimeter boundaries. RF technology cannot do this" (cited in Lilly, 2006:94).

The cost of GPS monitoring is about $8.50-$9.00 per offender per day compared with about $2.00 for RF monitoring per offender per day (Jannetta, 2006; Padgett, Bales & Blomberg, 2006).

As HDBS aim to ease prison crowding, they specify the 'prison bound offender population' as their target group (Renzema, 1992). HDBS mostly focus on general offender populations, and are seldom limited to particular groups of offenders, such as drink-drivers (Schmidt, 1998). The review of research has generally indicated that, up until the introduction of GPS technology, most HDBS were focused upon non-violent offenders (Baumer & Mendelsohn, 1990; Lilly, Ball, Curry & Smith, 1992; Maxfield & Baumer, 1990; Schulz, 1995; Rackmill, 1994). For example, the Probation Department of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York (1985:2) defines the following general criteria for the selection of offenders for HDBS:

> House detention should be used very selectively. It should never be used for defendants involved in crimes of violence or crimes using firearms. It would not be suitable for defendants with a history of current heroin or cocaine usage. It would be inappropriate for drug sellers. In general, house detention should not be used with any defendant who could be considered a danger to the community, i.e., one offering a substantial risk of further criminal activity.

However, the introduction of GPS tracking technology in late 1990s has made the unimaginable possible – that is placing higher risk offenders such as sex offenders and perpetrators of domestic violence on home detention. This is because the main benefit of satellite tracking is that it increases victim protection as it enables offenders to be tracked 24 hours per day in real time, and if they break the perimeter boundaries by entering an exclusion zone, victims are

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[3] GPS electronic monitoring technology can be used to restrict the offender from certain individuals and locations by tracking his/her movements via satellites and pinpointing his/her actual location (Mair, 2006:57).

immediately notified and corrections officers together with the local law enforcement follow up offender's movements (Nellis, 2005).

Whilst there is no generic HDBS in the United States, there are certain core conditions common to most sanctions (Rackmill, 1994). Most notably, offenders must reside in a suitable residence which is subject to being searched at any time and their co-residents must sign a contact allowing them to serve their order in that dwelling. Offenders are usually required to remain confined to their residence at all times except when they are performing pre-approved activities. Their compliance with this condition is enhanced by electronic monitoring mostly using RF and in some instances GPS technology (Carlson, Hess & Orthmann, 1999). It is also often compulsory for them to engage in employment, community work and treatment, and to remain drug and alcohol free (Ansay & Benveneste, 1999; Champion, 1996; Schulz, 1995; Rackmill, 1994; United States General Accounting Office, 1990). Finally, home detainees are usually required to pay part of their own supervision cost, drug testing and/or victim restitution (Baumer & Mendelsohn, 1990; Blomberg Bales & Reed, 1993; Fulton & Stone, 1992; Whitfield, 1997).

Consequently, HDBS generally impose a multitude of stringent conditions on detainees. The severity of control that is imposed however declines gradually. It is dependent upon detainee's satisfactory progress with the order's conditions as HDBS generally operate in a few phases (Deschenes, Turner & Petersilia, 1995; Fox, 1987; Schulz, 1995; Whitfield, 1997). Offenders can be sentenced to these sanctions for periods of up two years (Henderson, 2006; Whitfield, 1997).

HDBS which utilises GPS technology were expected to exceed the rate of HDBS which utilises RF technology (Jannetta, 2006; Lilly, 2006). This is because GPS tracking technology had become cheaper per unit per day for tracking larger offender cohorts, it had become more compact (now the size of the unit is a little larger than computer mouse), and it enables authorities to see where the offender is and where he/she has been (making it possible for them to note unusual or suspicious patterns of movement) (Jannetta, 2006). It seemed probable that as HDBS with electronic monitoring utilising RF technology rapidly increased the number of non-serious and non-violent offenders confined to these sanctions in 1990s, that HDBS with electronic monitoring using GPS technology would enhance the number of serious and violent offenders on HDBS (particularly back-end) in the 21st century.

Despite legislators believing that HDBS would be applied widely, to this day sentencers have been very cautious in applying these sanctions. Although United States is the largest user of HDBS, with 2,500 electronically monitored programs

operating with almost 150,000 offenders on these sanctions daily in 2006, this is only a few percent of the 'potential market'[4] (Champion, 2008; Welch, 2004).

## The reasons behind the slow up-take of HDBS

Relatively small numbers of offenders have been placed onto HDBS due to two reasons (Whitfield, 2001). The first is that the community has not supported these sanctions. Despite the fact that HDBS impose numerous restrictions and obligations on detainees,[5] many members of the general public, together with some legislators, academics, and criminal justice practitioners regard HDBS as a mere 'slap on the wrist' when compared to traditional punishment (Payne & Gainey, 1998; Larivee, 1993). The punitive character and the deprivations associated with these sanctions are often overlooked by the community because these sanctions are not seen to be as effective as imprisonment in deterring offenders, they do not incapacitate, and that they are not in line with a policy of just deserts. In addition, HDBS are "often depicted as permissive, uncaring about crime victims and committed to a rehabilitative ideal that ignores the reality of violent, predatory criminals" (Petersilia, 1997:150).

Public's intense criticisms have been fueled by the media's sensationalised reports of HDBS' seemingly lenient conditions and their lack of potential deterrence. The media often prints stories about wealthy home detainees who are confined to their luxurious homes where they have access to recreational facilities and maid services whilst being able to maintain family ties and employment (Cheever, 1990:31 cited in Payne & Gainey, 1999; Rackmill, 1994). Despite the fact that in reality these cases are isolated, the members of the community see them as 'the image of HDBS' and compare them with the 'obvious' and widely publicised deprivations of imprisonment, thus perceiving HDBS as 'soft on crime' (Von Hirsch, 1990). As a result, these sanctions have traditionally maintained little support from the wider community (Petersilia, 1998).

The second is that surveillance and punishment oriented HDBS generally lacking treatment and services have been implemented. This was the result of inadequate financial support, which was caused by the unprecedented pressure to reduce the rising cost of corrections, and the policy makers' attempt to appease the fearful and punitively oriented public. As Petersilia (1995 cited in Petersilia, 1997:150) indicated:

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[4] Whitfield (2001:61) 'defined the [potential] market as the sum of the prison and supervised populations – a very crude approach indeed, but with the sole virtue that it makes international comparison more realistic and achievable.'

[5] Ample research has found that being confined to one's home where amongst ordinary life-stresses a number of strict conditions of HDBS translate into substantial restrictions, obligations and their combined effects may not necessarily be less punitive than incarceration, particularly if the sanction is six months or longer in duration (Rackmill, 1994; Van Ness, 1992; Whitfield, 2001).

> [HDBS's] poor (and some believe misunderstood) public image leaves agencies unable to compete effectively for scarce public funds. [They] receive less than 10 percent of state and local government corrections funding, even though they supervise two out of three correctional clients.

The introduction of HDBS, which lacked necessary support and appropriate structure, has had virtually no effect on escalating prison numbers and rising correctional outlays (Ryan, 1997). This is because HDBS have a high breach rate[6] and sentencers have been quick to re-incarcerate offenders who fail to comply with their strict requirements (Alarid, Cromwell & del Carmen, 2008; Clear, Cole & Reisig, 2006; Nellis, 2004; Ryan, 1997). This inadvertently means that those who were diverted from prisons onto HDBS and violated their order conditions ended up doing more prison time overall than those who were sentenced straight to prison (Clear, 2007). The prison consequently became a 'backup sanction' (Clear, 2007), or the 'revolving door' (Petersilia & Turner, 1990), when detainees were unable to abide by the stringent HDBS requirements. Consequently, the mere existence of HDBS has actually added to the cost of corrections (Clear et al, 2006; Palumbo Clifford & Snyder-Joy 1992; Petersilia & Turner 1990; Ryan 1997).

The practice that most who breach the conditions of HDBS are sentenced to incarceration is extremely expensive and ineffective (Alarid et al, 2008). For example, whilst the cost of incarceration in the United States is reported to be between $25,000 and $30,000 per offender per year (Clear & Dammer, 2003:222), it must also be taken into account that:

> the cost of building a prison runs upward of $100,000 per cell, excluding financing. Each personnel position represents expenditures equal to twice his/her annual salary when fringe benefits, retirement costs and office supplies are taken into consideration. The processing of an offender through the corrections system can run as high as $20,000 in direct costs an nearly half that much again in indirect costs (such as defaulted debts, welfare to families, and lost wages and taxes) (Clear et al 2006:550).

Even more problematic is the fact that increasing percentages of the prison population are made up of non-violent offenders who become institutionalized (Alarid et al, 2008; Burke 1997 cited in Alarid et al, 2008; Clear et al, 2006). Hence today, particularly due to the global financial crisis, it has become obvious that "corrections must not be about punishing harder but punishing smarter" (Whitman, 1998:70).

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[6] Offenders can breach HDBS by further offending and/or committing technical violations which means repeatedly violating one or more non-criminal conditions of HDBS (Cromwell, Alarid & del Carmen, 2005; Champion, 2008; Clear & Byrne, 1992). The majority of all formal violations are technical violations (Alarid et al, 2008; Nellis, 2004).

### Strategies to improve the operation and increase the utilisation of HDBS

While many strategies can be suggested to improve the operation and increase the utilisation of HDBS, the following are regarded as essential:

- The main political parties should establish bipartisan support for HDBS so that they can work alongside each other on improving the operation of these sanctions. In order for this politically nurturing environment to be established the concerns raised from both the hardliners and the softliners on the question of punishment need to be considered (Walker, 1990:18). The bipartisan support would allow for long term planning as change of government would not alter the overall course of sanction operation. In addition, the media would lose its power to create fear as no political party would be interested in sabotaging HDBS due to sensationalised news reports such as an offender reoffending. As not all of the media is sensationalistic entertainment, political parties could work with it so that their reports are informative, educational and seek to improve society.

- Correctional policy makers, criminal justice administrators and criminologists should systematically re-design the operation of HDBS. This is important in order to ensure that HDBS are structured more appropriately (that is, they are not programmed to fail by being only focused on surveillance and punishment), sufficiently funded, and that their scope of application is expanded. Independent ongoing in-depth evaluations should also be put in place, thus continually increasing the proficiency of these sanctions and minimizing their negative potentials. It is essential that this takes place without the fear of political upset or the negative impact of a sensationalised story in the media.

- Resources should also be made available for the necessary training of criminal justice professionals to understand the operation of HDBS and eventually become its advocates. This would probably result in HDBS attaining real prominence and subsequent greater utilisation and community acceptance.

- Correctional policy makers, criminal justice administrators and criminologists should become active in creating public understanding about and support for HDBS. This is because greater use of HDBS requires wide public support, or at the very least an absence of vocal opposition. The public should be educated about the fact that HDBS can be very effective in controlling and preventing crime as they have punitive, controlling and deterrent aspects which generally come at a lower price tag than incarceration. Simultaneously, the inappropriateness of

imprisonment for the majority of offenders needs to be explained as well as the multifaceted direct and indirect problems faced by and in prisons, the dangers of the uncontrolled use of imprisonment, and its human and financial costs. Plentiful research has indicated that a public that has been educated on potential benefits of correctional innovations is likely to support such initiatives (Brown & Elrod, 1995; Payne & Gainey, 1999).

## Conclusion

Bipartisan political support for HDBS, systematic re-design the operation of HDBS, training of criminal justice professionals, and education of the public would undoubtedly improve the operation and increase the utilisation of HDBS. These sanctions can therefore be created in a way that is punitive, useful for offenders, supported by criminal justice professionals, and accepted by the community" (Gainey Payne & O'Toole, 2000:750).

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**Facilitating deep student understanding through collaborative international student projects**

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## Abstract

Lecturers from the United States (William Paterson University) and Australia (RMIT University) supplemented their conventional teaching programs by creating collaborative online groups in which their criminology student cohorts participated. A free service from Google (Google-groups) was used to create student projects about various criminal justice related topics. The topics for the group projects were 'stimulating' criminal justice issues, relevant to the course content, which promoted high-order thinking leading to critical reflection by the students. The pedagogical goal of this trial was to simultaneously engage the two student cohorts in active learning through a critical and reflective discourse. So, the innovative teaching approach was based on the notion of constructivism where learning is viewed as a process of personal interpretive understanding related to context and practice. In order to assess the value of this educational experience, and improve it in future with the aim of establishing a valuable pedagogical tool for instructors in social sciences, two student focus groups were conducted once the projects were completed. This paper provides a preliminary report of these findings which indicated that students generally felt comfortable with the online interaction and creation of websites and that during this process they deepened their knowledge on criminological issues and learnt valuable skills.

## Background to the project

Two lecturers, one from the William Paterson University (United States) and one from RMIT University (Australia), met at the Annual conference of the American Society of Criminology in Atlanta in 2007. After consultation with respective Discipline leaders, it was decided that an international collaboration between our students (William Paterson's 'Sociology of Deviance' students and RMIT's 'Foundations of Criminology' students) would help students get a better understanding of criminal justice issues. This would also provide them with technological and teamwork skills that are important in the present job market. Consequently, we supplemented our conventional teaching programs with collaborative online groups in which our both student cohorts participated. A free service from Google (Google-groups) was used to create

discussions and eventually projects about criminological topics. The participation in these joint online communications and subsequently the projects formed 25% of the students' final grade in the two subjects.

## Project objectives

The pedagogical goal of the international collaboration was to simultaneously engage the two student cohorts in active learning through a critical and reflective discourse. The specific objectives of the online communication and projects were for students to learn to:

- look for quality information on Crime and criminal justice issues online and in the process internalize the information;
- undertake a critical comparison of how criminal justice issues differ between Australia & USA;
- collaborate in an online environment;
- work both independently and as a team towards group objectives; and
- present information creatively using mixed media.

## Theoretical underpinnings

This approach was based on the notion of constructivism where learning is viewed as a process of personal interpretive understanding related to context and practice. The key difference between the constructionist view and the traditional view is that "knowledge is not what individuals believe, but rather what social groups, or knowledge communities, believe" (Warmoth, 1998:2).

The social construction of social reality has been defined by a relatively new model for education - 'collaborative learning' - which is essentially based on adapting education to contemporary social reality (Warmoth, 1998). According to Warmoth, (1998:9) collaborative learning is defined as "any approach to education in which students work together in small groups to solve problems". Here, the primary role of the lecturer shifts from the traditional 'source of information and insight' to being the 'group facilitator'. The degree of overall control that the lecturer retains varies greatly depending on the purpose of the collaborative learning exercise and the preference and the style of the lecturer (Warmoth, 1998).

In this project students were empowered to 'be creative' and 'learn together' with lecturers' support which served as a 'platform/container' for students to build on. What eventually emerged out of the collaborative learning (i.e. what the web page layout will be like and the exact information that the web page will contain) was not anticipated by the lecturers. Whilst the students were excited by this freedom, they were also somewhat anxious about 'creating' the 'unknown'. It is under these conditions that true 'independent learning' occurs and students are taught to turn 'anxiety' into 'creativity.' These skills are critical in criminal justice professions as the clientele most often has complex issues that need to be tackled by a team of experts and the professionals require the skills of 'creativity' and 'inspiration'.

**How the project worked**

1. Equal numbers of Australian and American students were assigned to a Google-group which was titled with a criminological topic such as terrorism, stalking, intimate partner violence and homicide.
2. In the first week the students in each group were given detailed instructions on how Google-groups operate. The students exchanged introductions with their team members and made reasonable offers of contribution to the group work.
3. The students in each group collaboratively divided the work based on each individual's requests. They posted the final division of labor list to their Google-group for all to see.
4. The students had two weeks to complete a first draft of individual work towards the project.
5. The lecturers provided feedback to each group on how to improve the work on each individual page.
6. The students had an additional two weeks to finalize their pages and complete their work on Google-groups.
7. Each group presented their Google-group website to the rest of the class.
8. Individual grades were assigned based on the contribution to the group project in terms of content design and presentation.
9. Completion certificates were awarded.

**Evaluation of the project**

In order to assess the value of the international collaboration and to find out if the project objectives were met, both student cohorts filled out an IRB approved questionnaire about their expectations prior to the collaborative process as well as their experiences post the group project. The questionnaire included scaled measures and open-ended responses. In addition, two student focus groups were conducted once the projects were completed.

The focus groups revealed that most of the students felt that they learnt a lot about the field of criminology as they researched their respective group topics. They also felt that they learnt about communicating effectively in the online environment through undertaking leadership initiatives and working as a team. Some students reported problems such as time zone differences, lack of ongoing interaction from some group members, and a few had issues with editing the pages and freezing of the website. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the students recommended that future criminology students participate in collaborative international projects.

**Conclusion**

The main finding of the international collaboration was that students generally felt comfortable with the online interaction and creation of websites and that during this process they deepened their knowledge on criminological issues and learnt valuable skills. The main benefit of this trial was that it innovatively taught students the technological and teamwork skills that are important in the

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present job market. However, it did so whilst allowing the students and lecturers to keep some human relationships at the centre of the educational process (Warmoth, 1998).

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# Submission ID: 125

**Title of submission:**

## SOCIAL ORGANISATION
## OF THE CHAM IN MALAYSIA

**Topic Area**:  ANTHROPOLOGY

**Presentation forma**t: Paper Session

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**Number of submission**:  ONE paper.

# SOCIAL ORGANISATION
# OF THE CHAM IN MALAYSIA[1]

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## Abstract

The political upheaval in Indochina in the 1960's and 1970's had caused many to flee their beloved homeland. Among them were the Cham who took refuge in many countries in the world including Malaysia, which is popular among them. This paper highlights some aspects of the findings of our on-going research on Socio-Economic of the Cham in Malaysia, which started in 2008 an expected to end by late this year. It tries to bring to the fore issues related to their social institution and organisation especially those related to economic activities and family lives and the process of their integration in the new society. Data will be based on the findings of a case study on the Cham in the state of Kelantan, Malaysia. This paper also discusses the effects of their presence on the livelihood of the local people and vice versa. This paper touches also on their political inclination and participation in the political system of Malaysa, especially in the 2008 election.

## 1      Introduction

The Malay-Cham[2] community found in Malaysia has become now a new component of the multi ethnic society of Malaysia. The existence of the Cham in Malaysia is not a new phenomenon as it has been found arriving since some few hundred years ago[3]. They continued to come

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[1]      Paper presented at the 8th Annual Hawaii International Conference On Social Sciences, June 4-7, 2009, Honolulu, Hawaii. These discussion was made possible by a UKM research grant GUP-TKS-08-12-272.

[2]      The term refers to both the Malay and the Cham people in Indochina. They form a unique community, because of their religion, Islam, but are part and parcel of the national community which is predominently Buddhist society.

[3]      See *Le Campa et le monde malais* (1991); Ismail Hussein, P-B. Lafont dan Po Dharma (ed.) (1995).

over to the Malay Peninsula, especially Kelantan as some had blood relation.[4] Besides Kelantan is considered as Mecca for them to learn Islam.

The latest group who arrived in Malaysia was a direct consequence of the taking over ofCambodia, Vietnam and Laos by the communist regimes in 1975. It is to be noted too that not only the Cham[5] have fled Indochina but also other ethnic groups of various beliefs and religions. They have since been accepted mainly by the United States, France and Australia.

For some thirty four years in Malaysia, many of them have earned their places in the Malaysian society. We shall discuss mainly in this paper issues pertaining to their social institution and organisation, especially those related to family lives, and the process of their integration in the new society. After some long years stay in the country, some of them have been granted their Malaysian citizenship. They could participate in every aspect of their life including involving in the political process by casting their vote during Malaysian elections to chose their representatives in the state and the nation parliaments. We shall discuss more in details in this paper, as the title suggests, thechanges of their social structure, education if it has brought some social changes to the community.

By social organisation, we mean to discuss both at micro and macro levels of the relationship among members of the Cham society. In so doing we shall give a background of their social structure before coming to Malaysia. We believe there was not much change of their social structure in Cambodia in the 1960s, before the Khmer Rouge regime, and after 1990 when the present Cambodian regime started to be once again part of the international community, with a huge help of the United Nations. We had an opportunity to study the life of the Malay-Cham in some villages around the Lake Tonle Sap in November 2008.

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[4]    See Nik Mohamed Nik Mohd Salleh (2009).

[5]    The Cham are descendents of the kingdom of Champa, which is known to exist in the center part of present day Vietnam, from 192 til 1835. The studies done by Po Dharma (Po Dharma 1987 vol. 1) showed that Champa was wiped out of the wolrd map in 1832 by Minh Menh but survived another three years or so as two resistences lead respectively by Katip Sumat (1833-34) and Ja Thak Va (1834-1835) fought the Vietnamese conquerer to claim their national identity. They both failed. The struggle for the independence of Champa contiuned in the 1960s throuh 1970s by FULRO (Front Unifié de Luttes des Races Opprimées). See also Po Dharma 2006. *Du FLM au FULRO…*, Mohamad Zain bin Musa and Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman (2006).

## 2      Social Structure of the Cham in Cambodia

The Cham who now live in Cambodia are descendents of the once famous kingdom of Champa. They migrated in big numbers to Cambodia, and some other parts of Southeast Asia over a priod of some 500 years, since the capital of Vijaya was run over by the Viet in 1471. This date was believed to be the end of the Kingdom of Champa, but later research has found that the southernmost state of the kingdom, Panduranga, remained untill early 19th century.[6]

Though they believed that they are not allowed to leave their ancestors lands and stay other's land, the politcal situations of Champa have forced them to go to foreign lands and remain there as they had no way to go back to their beloved homeland.[7] Since then some of them have adopted Cambodia, and some others now adopted Malaysia as their new found homelands.

We shall discuss here only their social structure in Cambodia, as most of those who live now in Malaysia were from there.In Cambodia, although they are found in every corner ofthe country,their main concentrations are found along the Mekong river, Tonle Sap river, in districts near Phnom Penh, in the Eastern part, in the provinces of Kampot, Kratie, Prey Veng and Takeo. Our field work centered on only some Villages. They are Oudong and Chrouk Romiet in the province of Kompong Chhnang, Phum Psar and Phum Kral Krabei in the province of Pursat, Phum Norea Krom and Phum Sla Ket in the province of Battambang, Phum Stung thmei in Siemreap, Trapeang Chouk in the province of Kompong Thom, Prek Bak in the province of Kompong Cham, KM9 Chrang Chamres in Phnom Penh.

In the earlier centuries of our era, the Cham practiced Hinduism and Buddhism, and later due to interaction with the Malay Archipelago, exchanges were made through trades an Muslim missionaries, they have embraced Islam, though Islam has reached Champa as early as the ninth century.[8]

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[6]      See Po Dharma 1987 and Danny Wong Tze Ken (2007).

[7]      In Cham language they practiced what they beleived "*matai hadip dalam sang muk aki*" (live or die in the ancestors home/territories) (Mohamad Zain bin Musa 1990 p. 67).

[8]      To learn more about the early practices of the Cham, see Mohamad Zain bin Musa 2004.

In all social relation, the status and role played by members of the society define the norm of the relationship. There is also a close relationship between the economic and political institutions, family and religion. The Cham who nowadays professes the Islamic faith, which supposedly the same every where, still believes in some forms of animism, Hindu and Buddhist.

Through centuries of good relationship between them and the Khmer, from the commonners through the Khmer aristocracy, they have been appointed to various post in the civil and military administrations. They are also involved in business though the number is still small and their businesses are generally small. We found that presently a majority of them remain fishermen and farmers. The work of the latter groups of the Cham requires a lot of workforce, thus we found that the size of Cham families is generally large. In one way this will help the parents in the filed works once the children grew up and big enough to help them. Besides family planning is not really practiced by the community.

The position of women is looked upon as subordinate to their husband. The roles played by women are mor inclined to taking care of the household and bringing up their children. This is no doubt a big responsibility given to women. Sometimes, they do attend to their husband's matters. In most cases, as the economic situation requires, some women to work in order to supplement their husband meagre income. However they usually work near to their home.

As for their number, it was estimated that it is 288400 Cham in Cambodia. Some sources estmate at around 500 000. As for those in Malaysia, our 2002 estimation was some 60 000 people. Our late last year observations in Cambodia found that, along the route we followed arount the Tonle Sap Lake, the Cham are living in stilt houses of about 1.5 to 4m high (see photos). This is to avoid being inundated during monsoon. In some cases, stilt houses are useful as chickens or ducks, or even cattles can be kept under the houses. It can also be used as family and freinds rest area especially dring hot season. Some of the houses are still covered with hays; though there are many using zinc or tiles for the roofs.

There are a few partitions in fairly large houses. As usual the hall is the largest part of the house. This area is used for family gatherings or receiving guests for a feast, or for family dining. There is also a room for parents. Children usually do not have a room for themselves. In the rurals, electricity and water suply are not available. The folks use kerosin lamps to light up at nights. They dig wells for their suply of water; and for those living along the river, the Mekong or Tonle Sap rivers provide them inexhaustible suply.

Furnitures are seldom found in Cham houses in the rural areas. They receive guests sitting on mats made from straws. The present day mats are also made from plastic strands. When the mats are not used, they are rolled and placed standing against the wall. Guests are usually served with plain tea. In old traditions, respected guests and in a ceremony of sealing an alliance, betel leaf are served with areca-nut.[9]

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[9]     E. Durand 1907, p. 348-349.

As for the kitchen utensils, the Cham as well as other Cambodian populace used those made from clay. During our voyage around Tonle Sap, we met with merchands selling their wares like the one shown in the picture. In this picture we can differentiate two types of stoves: the ones on top row are meant for use with dead wood; the ones covers with zinc as seen in the bottom rows are meant to be used with charcoal.



They always consume fresh food, vegetable, fish or chicken and fruits as they buy them in small quantities. This is because they do not have refrigerator. Their good diet coupled with their works in fields or orchards give them good health even though they look rather thin.

Like many of their countrymen, the Cham are farmers. They grow paddy, fruit trees, kapok and vegetables; they breed cows, chickens and ducks too. As they live along the Tonle Sap and the Mekong river, many of them are fishermen. Thus their main staple foods are rice and fish; fish are easily available from the lake Tonle Sap and the Tonle Sap and Mekong rivers. Beef and chicken are also components of their daily diet. Generally, the Cham are butchers as the Buddhist Khmers are not allowed to slaughter any animal. Varieties of vegetables easily available are part of their dishes. As they are muslims, they do not consume

pork or alcohol. In an society where the status of a man is higher than that of a woman, usually women serve their husband first before they have their meal with their children.

The social relationship in the Cham community centers in families. Men usually get married at between 19 and 25 years of age, where as women are married of by the tender age of 16 to 22. Usually they are arranged marriages made by the families of both the future brides and bridegrooms. Before the 1970-1979 Cambodian war, some marriages ceremonies could last one whole week dependings on the status of the families. But nowaday due to economic reason, the wedding ceremonies are very simple, though they are joyfull as it the big day for the whole village. They believe that the sanctity of the marriage remains in the virginity of the young woman. It is to be noted that after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, the Muslim community took great pain during the wedding to organised religious talks. It should be noted that after the Khmer Rouge regime, religious knowledgeable people are so scarse. Thus the *Tuan*, a term in Indochina referred to a person well versed in Islamic teachings, is invited to give talks during these wedding gatherings.[10]

Within the first few years of their wedding, the couple usually stay with the bride's family. There are two reason for doing so. Firstly the young man as a husband, need to be guided until he is capable of taking care of his young wife; and secondly the couple should be given ample time to be financially sound, though it may not be necessary to have a big money to start their new life as married husband and wife.

Once they have moved out of the family – some people may call it hut – they build their new house usually with the help of the wife's family. This new house is usually not far away from the wife's family home. Even though they have been practicing Islam for centuries, the tendency of the Cham is to bequeath their heritage to the wife or mother's side.

The birth of new child is received with a lot of joy and happiness by both families and the whole community. The baby is breastfed up to two years of age. By the age of four, a child is assumed to be able to take care of himself. He/she does not need to be fed any more. And as time passes and they grow older, they will take turn to take care of their

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10      See Mohamad Zain Bin Musa & Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abdul Rahman (2006. Chapter 8).

younger siblings. They are taught to respect the elders including their parents and members of extended family.

As family members, man and woman have their own responsibilities, very well defined and accepted by members of the community. Lighter work, but some times very tedious, work such as managing house hold are given to women. As for man, he ususally does work which is considered heavy and difficult for a small size and weak woman. Working in the fields, construction and craft are the domain of man. Trading, such as selling the produces from farms, which weregathered by their husband are generally carried out by the wife. And most importantly, the early education of their offsprings is the responsibily of the mother, as the father usuallydoes works outside their home.

## 3    Social Structure of the Cham in Kelantan

The social structure of the Cham which is part and parcel of the Cham fabric described above has been brought along with them to Malaysia since 1960's and 1970's. Kelantan, a northestern state of Malaysia, has been playing an important role in the relation between both the people, the Cham and the Malay. Since the first day of their arrival, the process of their integration with the local Malay was evident. It has been observed that those who came earlier to Kelantan to pursue their Islamic education and chose to remain there after the Second World War, have been completely assimilated into the Kelantanese Malay community. In the 1980's we met with Pak Yeh (Ideris Mahmud), Pak Him (Ibrahim) both of Kota Bharu, Pak Mat (Kok Lanas) and Long Man (Abdul Rahman Ishak) of Pasir Mas. The assimilation is total as their chidren and grand children only know that their father and grand father were of Cham descendents. Now, they do not speak a word of Cham though they still keep closed relation with their father's family members who came in the 1970s or later.

As for the Cham who arrived in the 1970's and the 1980's, they have been well accepted by the local Malay and living among them. They brought along their social organisation and at the same time they have been slowly accepting the Kelantanese ways of life, as they are almost identical. In some forms of addres for example, if the Cham addresses their brothers and sisters as Cik Long, Cik Ngah, Cik Wan … their Malay counterparts address theirs as A Long, A Ngah … The Cham are so familiar with the titles of the members of the community till such a point that some of them do not even know their names.

As the Malays of Kelantan change their life style brought about by modernisation, the Cham who live in the same environment as the Malay, have to make adjustment to the new environment. Some of the Cham in Kelantan have moved about Malaysia the same way as the Kelantanese. This is due to either their studies, marriage or business reasons. When meeting with new challenges and situations, they know how to adapt themselves.

If the first batch of the Cham who came to Malaysia was the result of the second Vietnam War, the second batch who came in late 1980's and early 1990's were more for economic reason. Those who were farmers in Cambodia, could not continue their skill in farming, as Kelantan herself is limited in agricultural activities. But the main reason that they do not go into farming, was that the Cham refugees did not have time to wait for the produces from farms. Beside paid jobs were also rare in Kelantan. They needed urgently money for their daily needs. Thus they turned to petty trades which would help them to earn enough for their daily need. Thus this is the starting of their business life.

After some years, they have established themselves in business. They built up their small communities mainly in villagges near towns of Kelantan. Nowadays they can be found mainly in Kota Bharu (Bunga Emas, Penambang, Paya Rambai and Berek Dua Belas), Pasir Mas (Kampung Tendung), Tanah Merah, Pasir Putih and a very small numbers in various parts of Kelantan, depending on where they can can make a living. Their houses are built among the Malay's. This show that their settlement and relation with the Malay are very intimate.

It is so far very difficult to get the exact numbers of this community for a simple reason they are not officially classified as another race but as Malay. They are in deed belonging to the same Autronesian group. Their number was estimated at 10 000 persons in 1985,[11] and they have become part and parcel of the Kelantanese Malay community.

To build up their new settlements, normally they get together among their close family members or friends, to buy a piece of land in a Malay village. This land is then subdivided and each one build their

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[11]     Ismail Hussein, Aziz Deraman dan Abdul Rahman Al-Ahmadi (Ed.), *Tamadun Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur (1989: 1265).

houses as they like. However the construction of the house retain the triking resemblance with the ones in Cambodia, that is on stilt houses. And this served the purpose, as many part of Kelantan are flooded during the monsoon season. The design of the partitions of the house is similar to those in Cambodia, and also similar to the Malay's. The main part of the house is a large hall. It is very practical in the muslim community as it is very convenient to carry out the *doa selamat, tahlil* etc... where big crouwds are invited. In some houses, modern furnitures are still rare. They prefer to sit on the floor when receiving guests. But instead of having plastic strand mats, many of them use rug or carpet instead. Plain tea (they called it Chinese tea) is usually served. Now the local practice of serving sweet tea or coffee is adopted.

Take for example how the houses are built in Paya Rambai. The houses are built along a canal. Their owners are members of the family of a one well respected Haji Isa. A few other houses owned by the siblings of Haji Hassan's wife. The Haji Isa family was from Chrouy Changva, the promontory opposite of Phnom Penh, where as the family of Haji Hassan's wife was from Angkor Ban in the province of Kompong Cham.

This good relationship among the Cham and Malay has been translated into many mixed marriages among their children. They still practice matrilocal residence where the newly wed couple stays near to the bride's family unless the young couple or one of them work far away from the bride family's home. As an example, Haji Abdullah, son in law of Haji Isa stays with his father in law until he oassed away late last year. One of Haji Abdullah two maried children now built their own houses near to Haji Abdullah's. However the location depends on the availablity of the land. The same pattern is also found elsewhere such as in Berek Duabelas, where two main families are Haji Tayab who was formerly from Chraing Chamres (near Phnom Penh) and the family of Haji Kadir (formely form Prek Pra village near Phnom Penh). We found in Tendong, Pasir Mas, the Haji Mohamad Rashid siblings house are built close to one another.

The Cham are generally monogamous. Even though polygamy is allowed in Islam, very rarely they marry more than one wife. The practice of endogamy has become rare now among the Cham in Kelantan, and in Malaysia in general. Exogamy is however practiced among the younger generation. A few reasons have been established, being mixing around with non-members of the family, whether in schools, universities or places of work. As examples we have Haji

Ahmad Othman, married with Hajah Hassanah, a daughter of the owner of his rented house when he first arrived and later became his adopted family in Kota Bharu. Haji Al-Hawari on the other hand married his sweet heart Hajah Reena, from Segamat, Johor. They met when he worked in Segamat, and now they live in Kota Bharu where all Haji Al-Hawasri's siblings live. Within a short span of time, Hajah Reena can speak Cham fluently.

In their economic activities, the Cham of Kelantan deal in clothe tradings in a very traditionnal way. The business operation is handle mostly by women. The handlings of supplying materials are done by their husbands. They are also small time producers of some dress (*baju kurung)* and women' veils. The local people praises them for their hard working. Their diligence paid of when they can save enough money to buy houses and send their chidren to schools and universitites.

## 4.    The Cham and Political Participation

For some thirty years, all aspects of life of local people has influenced them including their poltical thinking and inclination. In Malaysia a new tendency of having only two main political groups, each formed from a number of politcal parties, has become eminent, especially in the last 2008 general election. The two groups are the registered *Barisan Nasional* (BN, National Front) composed of the three main races base political parties, namely, the Malay (UMNO), Chinese (MCA) and Indian (MIC) parties and a number of other parties especially from the Sabah and Sarawak states. The second group is a loose alliance, yet to be registered, called the *Pakatan Rakyat* (PR, People Alliance) which is an alliance of three non racial base parties, which are the Democratik Acion Party (DAP), Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) and the Parti Islam seMalaysia (PAS) which is Islamic Religion base party.

Since their arrivals in Malaysia in the early 1970's the Cham were known as *Cambodian refugees* though they were from both Cambodia or Vietnam. This is may be because the number of those who were from Vietnam was small compared to those from Cambodia. A small number of them has been now granted citizenship of Malaysia. With their partcipation in all aspects of Malaysian life, operating their own businesses, working in both private and public sectors, and coupled with their higher education both modern and religious, they understand as well as the locals the political situation of the country.

In the last 12th general election, which was held on the 8th of March 2008, Malaysia has seen a sort of political tsunami where for the first time since independence, the ruling *Barisan National* has lost its two-third majority in the parliament. At the same time, five states have fallen to the *Pakatan Rakyat*. As for Kelantan, the state was held by the PAS, an opposition party, since the 1991 election.

In this aspect, the Cham through their friendship with the Malay of both political divides, understand the need to be part of the political process. Though in a very small number, they join both parties, UMNO and PAS. Others are simply observing and supporting either on of the two. Information of the parties are easily available to them through print and electonic media, including internet. The web pages they normally refer to are mainly local such as Online newspapers, Youtube, Malaysiakini, mesra.net etc... Activities of the parties are alsokb nown to them through political talks which are held regularly by the parties; and during the campaign periods, many more organised talks were held.

As a result, we found that the inclinations of the Cham in the Malaysian 12th general election are as evident as the local people. They voted for either the BN or the PR for both the state and federal Assemblies. Eventhough PAS is not a Malay party as UMNO, the former is always seen as a Malay party for according to the Malaysian constitution, those of any race who once embrace Islam and practice the Malay culture are called Malay. It should also be noted that in reality, neither UMNO is a Malay party, but a *Bumiputra* (Sons of the land) party.

Our studies of the 2008 general election has shown that the Cham in Kelantan, though there are some who are UMNO members or supporters, has the tendency as the majority of the local to give support to PAS, a religious base party. On the other hand, the Cham in the state of Johor, as the local Malay, has the tendency to give support to a Malay race base party of UMNO. This too shows that the local political understanding has influenced them a great deal.

## 5.    Change and Continuity

Recent observations done on the Malay-Cham community in Cambodia has shown that education is very important to them. But poverty coupled with the infrastructure of the country, to a majority of them, has forced them to abandon this noble goal of giving good

education to their young children. They have to stop sending them to school at a very tender age in order for the young to help them to earn a living. Only a handful of them can afford to send their children to higher education.

Some Cham in Siemreap has another view on education. Besides sending their children to national and religious schools, some parents believe that the skill in English communication is very much needed. This is different from other places around the lake Tonle Sap, because Siemreap is big tourist city where many foreign tourists come to visit the famous temples of Angkor. Ustaz Musa who lives in Stung Thmey not far away from Angkor, send his son to learn English at a private insititution. He pays USD80 for a beginners course. The following grades cost him up to USD170 for grade twelve. Each grade is of 45 hours; one needs to pay another USD150 for final classes of 45 hours in order to obtain a Diploma which is a passport for them to earn a decent living.[12]

In Malaysia, the Cham are considerd very lucky in every aspects of life. In education, they enjoy both education, national and religious up to a high level. The Malaysian system of education allows the children to participate in both schools without any hindrance. Many of them have got degrees up to the Ph.D. and work both in public and private sectors. This has shown a great deal of social mobility among them though it is not evident for the reason mentioned above, that is their integration is total and the progressive assimilation of the community.

## 6    Conclusion

The arrival of the Cham has made Malaysia more colorful in terms of races. For whatever reason they were coming, Malaysia has become their home land. Within a short period of time of some thirty years, their social structure did not change drastically being living in a Malay home state of Kelantan. Once again religion and culture have brought this two peoples together as has been said by G. E. Marrison that the Malay and the Cham are brothers and History has brought this people together through various means.[13]

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[12] Information from brochure published by the Australian Center for Education , Siem Reap Wat Bo Village, Salakamruek Commune, Siem Reap District, House #0432, Group 12, Siem Reap, www.cambodia.Idp.com/ace. the Center is a subisdiary of IDP Australia.

[13]      G.E. Marrison (1951: 90).

The young has almost forgotten their origin. Some repondents gave us a clear impression of their feelings by stating that it never cross their mind they are diffirent from the rest of the Kelantanese or Malaysian in general. They enjoy the same rights, the right to go to school, to do business and to work any where they wish to. The term "bangsa Cam" do not exist any more in their mind. They thought that *ummah* (humanity) is at the top of their daily life. After all they are a very small part of a bigger community, the Malaysian. There is even a family we met saying that they do want to forget every thing of their past in Cambodia, not even let their children know that they were desencents of once famous kingdom of Champa.

The local community has been accepting them open heartedly. Through various organisations help which allowed them to slowly build their life up after a long Indochina war. Their relationship with the locals grow fonder as a result of being together with the local children in the same schools since younger age. Mixing around since this tender age by going to same school where the Malay language is the medium, has bound them closer. The direct contact with the local has help them to integrate faster while the young who were brouhgt up in Kelantan has forgotten their own mother tongue, the elder losing slowly their old mode de vie. There is not a small barrier that would break them apart. They have adopted the local social organisation and live hamoniously among them. However it seems that it would take a long while before one of them become directly involved in a political party.

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**Respondents:**

The number of respondents, in Cambodia and Malaysia, is too large to reproduce here.

# The ASEAN Charter: Meeting the Challenges of the future ASEAN Community

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The ASEAN Charter is at the core of ASEAN's strategy to adapt itself to a changing regional landscape and the challenges of the future. ASEAN leaders recognize that this is an opportunity to set a clear and ambitious long-term vision, of an ASEAN that is relevant and competitive, effective and credible. The Charter, which was ratified December 2008, ushers in new era for ASEAN in which the rule-based body will seek to integrate member countries and uphold democracy. The paper will examine the background, development and progress of ASEAN in the last four decades; the rationale for the signing of the ASEAN Charter; its aims, objectives, salient features and how it relates to the more established 'ASEAN Way' of doing things; The paper will also will explore the new needs and demands that have emerged in recent times as a result of internal, regional and global developments, which require new approaches to be taken by ASEAN to remain relevant. The paper concludes by offering some suggestions in areas deemed critical and important to move the organization forward to a higher level of credibility and achievements consistent with the ASEAN Vision 2020 objectives.

## Introduction

If there is one regional organization that had to go through many turbulences in managing its day-to-day problems – then it would be no other than ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). Founded on August 8, 1967 in Bangkok, ASEAN was the product of the geopolitics of the time. Shaped by the politico-security dynamics of the Cold War, driven by the nation-building impulse of newly independent states and compelled by intra and inter-regional rivalries[1], ASEAN was crafted by a generation of

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[1] Formed against the backdrop of the ending of 'Konfrontasi' between Indonesia and Malaysia, the Sabah claim between Malaysia and the Philippines, the then Cold War struggles in Indo China and unresolved inter and intra-regional conflicts, ASEAN's founding demonstrated a common political will amongst its

anti-colonialist nationalists and predicated upon commonly held region-based values, norms and practices. Established with the five original member countries comprising Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand, the entry of Brunei Darussalam (1984), Vietnam (1995), Laos and Myanmar (1997), and Cambodia (1999) as new members finally fulfilled the dream of the founding fathers of bringing the remaining Southeast Asia states into the organization thus making it ASEAN 10 (Jeannie Henderson: 1999).

 Member states' common agreement to respect region-based norms and values compelled the adoption of a consensus-based approach to decision-making, and the unconditional acceptance by member states of the 'non-interference' principle as the key guiding principles of the organization. ASEAN's four decades of existence reflects the organization's continued adherence to these principles. Despite constant pressures from the West to jettison them in the name of progressive regionalism, they have remained intact. ASEAN celebrated its 41$^{st}$ anniversary in 2007 much to the chagrin of critics which continue to doubt its relevance.

In the four decades since its establishment, major structural and organizational developments have taken place to propel the organization forward, albeit slowly, to a position of respect and acceptance among members of the regional and international community. Among the historic milestones include the establishment of the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta (1976), the signing of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (1976),

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first generation leaders to forge a politico-economic grouping to protect member states from external and inter-regional pressure and interventions

Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) (1971), Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (SEANWFZ) (1974), ASEAN-Dialogue, accords on the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) (1992), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) (1994), the ASEAN Dialogue and ASEAN +3 process, adoption of the ASEAN Vision 2020 (1997), ASEAN Community project (2003) and the ASEAN Charter (2007) – just to name a few.

ASEAN's progress, to be sure, was not without challenges. Aside from the turbulent regional political-security environment of the early decades, ASEAN's organizational competence was also severely tested by 'non-traditional' security issues such as the Asian financial crisis (1997-1998), haze crisis (1997), terrorism and pandemic in more recent times. ASEAN's less impressive handling of the Asian financial crisis in particular exposed the organization's lack of unity, organizational preparedness and competency in dealing with such non-traditional threat form.

The September 11, 2001 tragedy, in this respect, represented another major test ASEAN. The lessons learned for the financial crisis however did help the organization to deal with the challenges posed by 911 fall-outs in the ASEAN region in a better manner. ASEAN's prompt and coordinated response to the post-911 non-conventional threat spill over in the ASEAN region surprised many analysts. The quick signing of the 2001 ASEAN Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism during the 7th ASEAN Summit in November 2001 in Brunei Darussalam by all members was a clear evidence of this. (ASEAN Secretariat Document: 2003)

The new millennium has also witnessed major changes in ASEAN's domestic and external environment. The developments, however, also provided the organization with the impetus to push the 'integrative' impulse among member states to pursue the broader vision of the ASEAN Community. The endorsement of the ASEAN Vision 2020 project at the Bali II Summit in 2003 envisaged the creation of an ASEAN Community based of the three pillars of ASEAN Social Cultural Community (ASCC), ASEAN Security Community (ASC) and ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

In this connection, the November 2007 Singapore Summit represented another major historical milestone for ASEAN. The Summit saw the signing of the ASEAN Charter document by all the Summit leaders. The landmark Charter was subsequently ratified by all member states in December 2008 in Bangkok thus conferring on ASEAN, for the first time, a legal personality. With the Charter, ASEAN's has taken another important step, albeit a small one, towards becoming a rule-based entity.

The Charter notwithstanding, scholars have remained divided over the continued relevance of ASEAN. The criticism aside, it also cannot be denied that ASEAN has made significant contribution towards peace, security, stability and the development of the region. The marked absence of open military conflict amongst members and between members and extra-regional powers since 1967, despite many unresolved issues, is clear testimony of this fact.

Though real progress, measured in substantive terms at the socio-cultural, economic, security and political levels has been somewhat slow, ASEAN's over-all success, if viewed in terms of 'intangibles', has indeed been remarkable and impressive. The latter view may be justified based on a number of reasons.

Firstly, and most importantly, is the organization's continuing success at regional peace maintenance. Its impressive track records in this area, even at the height of regional turbulence, speak volumes of this. Second, the successful nurturing of a 'culture of peace' among member states, as reflected in their strong preference for dialogue, consultation and political resolution to inter and intra-regional conflicts in the interest of regional peace and stability. Third, member states serious pursuit of national development goals, the achievements of which have been quite impressive, as the primary means of ensuring national and regional peace and stability. Fourth, the common acceptance of the principle of 'mutuality of respect' among regional states of each other's diverse problems and individual needs in the context of a rapidly changing global environment. Last but not the least, ASEAN's continued acceptance and recognition as a legitimate regional body by major powers in the international community, despite predictions to the contrary by critics, attests to its remarkable capacity to adapt to change, albeit at its own pace and time, in order to remain relevant. The adoption of the Charter, it may be argued, represents the latest manifestation of this unique ASEAN ability.

The objective of the paper is to examine the significance of the Charter in the context of ASEAN's continuing evolution from a loose political-based organization to a rule-based

entity predicated on the Charter and its implications on ASEAN's ability to cope with old and new challenges of the future ASEAN community. The paper will examine the Charter's aims, objectives, salient features and how the Charter relates to the more established 'ASEAN Way' of doing things. The paper will also try to identify the new needs and challenges that emerged in recent times which require appropriate adjustments on the part of ASEAN in order to remain competitive and relevant in the future. The paper will conclude with some suggestions on what could be done post-Charter to move the organization forward to a higher level of credibility and achievements to realize the ASEAN Vision 2020 objectives.

**ASEAN at the fifth decade: the Challenge**

The last two decades have indeed witnessed dramatic changes in the regional and global environment. The ending of the Cold War, US global hegemony, the emergence of many new state and non-states actors, the events of 911, the Internet and ICT revolution, rapid globalization, the ascendancy of economics and the growth of new economic power centers in Asia have brought significant changes to the international system. The ASEAN region is not free from the effects of the phenomena. Among the more important of these would include the rise of China and India as new regional economic powers, the US post 911 'global war on terrorism', globalization and trade liberalization efforts under the WTO, the growing role of non-state actors in regional politics, issues of climate change, the environment and good governance as well as growing civil society pressures on

issues of human rights, fundamental freedom, democracy, gender equality, energy and others.

While the desire to tap into the benefits from some of the developments has led ASEAN to undertake measures to accommodate them, the potentially negative consequences of the others have prompted ASEAN to seek new ways to manage increased extra-regional pressures for ASEAN to adopt more radical reforms that could undermine long standing regional principles and norms. Mounting EU and the West's pressure on issues such as Myanmar, sustainable development, human rights, democratic freedom, good governance etc are some examples of the latter. More recently, ASEAN has also come under pressure to have a more formal dispute settlement mechanism which it could draw upon during times of internal strife and crisis within member states (Wahyudi Soeriaatmadja: 2008). Continuing pressure from the West and the EU' for ASEAN's to apply more aggressive pressure on Myanmar's military junta to in support of democratic freedom is a case in point. Because of the 'non-interference' principle, ASEAN had resisted the pressure, much to the chagrin of these powers.

In addition to these external pressures, on-going as well as new developments within the region have also added further stress on ASEAN. At the political-security level, these include the rise of 'non-traditional' security threats following 911 and the US 'global war on terrorism'; unresolved intra-regional land and maritime territorial disputes which remained the region's potential flash-points; increase in organized trans-boundary crime; the conflicts between the demand for human rights and civil, political, economic, social

and cultural rights; increased pressures for democratization, good governance from civil society grouping and mounting external pressures on ASEAN's to abandon its 'non-interference' principles in the interest of progressive regionalism.

At the economic-developmental level, issues of development, equity and wealth distribution, development gap among member states; poverty eradication, illiteracy, pandemics, the environment, funding, energy and food security, resource and technology constraints and the challenge of globalization have remained equally daunting. Within the socio-cultural dimension, the passage of time has also witnessed significant changes in generational and leadership values in the region. The emergence of a new generation with little historical memory of the past poses a special challenge to ASEAN's present leadership. Given that the group will form the core of the future people-oriented ASEAN community, their different needs and values have to be addressed if ASEAN's vision of a dynamic, relevant and vibrant regional community is to be realized.

**Meeting the Challenge: The ASEAN Charter**

Against the backdrop of its successful adaptation to change during the first four decades, the new challenges have again placed ASEAN at another important crossroads. Failure to accommodate the new developments would risks ASEAN becoming irrelevant. Yet the complexity of the new challenges also requires genuine willingness on the part of ASEAN to explore bold new approaches to manage or resolve them. The adoption of the Charter is a clear manifestation of this impulse.

Adopted at the 13th ASEAN Summit in November 2007, the Charter forms the constitution of ASEAN. The intention to draft the document was formally tabled at the 11th ASEAN Summit held in December 2005 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Subsequently an Eminent Person Group (EPG) comprising one high level eminent representative from each member state was set up to make recommendations to the draft Charter (Wayne Arnold: 2007)**.** At the 12th ASEAN Summit held in January 2007 in Cebu, the Philippines, Summit leaders agreed for the setting up of a "high level task force on the drafting of the ASEAN Charter" composed of 10 high level government officials from ten member countries. The Charter was signed at the Summit in Singapore in November 2007 and subsequently came into force in December 2008, thirty days after Thailand's delivery of the final instrument of ratification. The $14^{th}$ ASEAN Summit held in February 2009 in Thailand was thus the first Summit after the coming into force of the landmark Charter (Nehginpao Kigpen: 2009).

**Aims and objectives**

The Charter accords a legal identity to ASEAN for the purpose of ASEAN's institutional involvements in future international negotiations and transactions. It also sets out a common set of rules for trade, investment, environment and other fields to help facilitate ASEAN's future interaction with the rest of the world (Wahyudi Soeriaatmadja: 2008).

The ASEAN charter also creates permanent representation for members at the Secretariat in Jakarta and commits ASEAN heads of States and Governments to meet twice a year (, Wayne Arnold: 2007).

The Charter aims at enhancing regional resilience by promoting greater political, security, economic and socio-cultural cooperation among members in the pursuit of peace, security, poverty alleviation, narrowing the development gap and creating a single market and production base that is stable, prosperous and highly competitive within the region. It also seeks to promote sustainable development, strengthen democracy and enhance good governance and respect for the rule of law among member states. In addition, the Charter also seeks to promote an ASEAN identity and a people-oriented ASEAN, enhance the well-being and livelihood of the ASEAN peoples through human resources development and empowerment and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms (Wahyudi Soeriaatmadja: 2008). The Charter will also seek to infuse ASEAN with a renewed sense of purpose so that ASEAN can retain its role as a driving force in regional dialogue and cooperation. (Rodolfo Severino: 2005).

**Salient features of the Charter**

- To maintain and enhance peace and security in the region, and to preserve South-east Asia as a nuclear weapons-free zone and free of all other weapons of mass destruction.

- To create a single market and production base which is highly competitive and economically integrated and has free flow of goods, services and investment, with facilitated movement of labor and freer flow of capital.

- To strengthen democracy, enhance good governance and the rule of law, and to promote human rights. ASEAN shall establish a human rights body, with terms to be decided by foreign ministers.

- To respond effectively to all forms of threats, transnational crimes and trans-boundary challenges.

- To alleviate poverty and narrow the development gap within ASEAN.

- To promote sustainable development to protect the environment, natural resources and cultural heritage.

- To develop human resources and well-being through cooperation on education, equitable access to development opportunities, social welfare and justice.

- To promote an ASEAN identity through awareness of culture.

(Reuters, Associated Press: 2008)

**The 'ASEAN Way' and the Charter**

For the past 40 years, ASEAN as an organization has operated without a formal charter. By preference, it has managed its affairs with a minimum of formality, with few legally binding arrangements and with relatively weak regional institutions (Rodolfo Severino: 2005). The great diversity of the countries of Southeast Asia, their widely different historical legacies, their divergent strategic outlooks, the diverse compositions of their populations, the uneasy nature of their recent relations, and the lack of a regional identity among their peoples have led their governments to prefer informal processes, weak regional institutions, and decisions by consensus (Rodolfo Severino: 2005). This loose, informal arrangement has been popularly described as the "ASEAN Way" of doing things.

Defined loosely, the 'ASEAN Way' is a product of years of socializing between the member states of ASEAN. It is based on co-operation and consensus where informality, courtesy and politeness are the order of the day (Business Times: 1997). Since ASEAN's inception in 1967, the ASEAN Way norms and principles have been used by its members as a guiding behavior and modes of interaction. They have been observed at all levels, ranging from the meetings of the heads of government down to ministerial and official meetings. The ASEAN Way derived not only from the experience of dealing with challenges that the Association faced in its early years, but has also evolved its own distinctive security culture and operational principles in managing more contemporary issues.

The ASEAN Way approach involves a high degree of discretion, informality, pragmatism, consensus building and non-confrontational bargaining styles (Amitav Archarya: 1996). Among the key features of the ASEAN Way are first, *consensus and consultation*, second, *conflict management* rather than conflict resolution, third, *non interference policy*, forth, preference for *informal bilateral arrangements* and the avoidance of excessive institutionalization and finally, is the *avoidance of formal multilateral security arrangements*.

In terms of application, the last four decades have witnessed ASEAN's loyal adherence to the approach in its day-to-day management and handling of the region's security, political, economic and other issues. The successes achieved by the approach as enumerated in the preceding pages, have also help to gain extra-regional recognition of ASEAN as a successful regional entity. The approach has, at another level, also served as a useful rhetorical instrument mainly for domestic and regional consumption. However, given that the inexorable trends towards globalization and regionalism in many part of the world as well as the rise of new regional challenges, there is a real need for greater cohesion among members to undertake more rapid coordinated responses to these trends in the interest of regional peace and stability.

There is no guarantee of course that members could still use the traditional 'ASEAN Way' to handle the new needs and demands. ASEAN members realized that to remain relevant and respond more effectively towards these developments, there is a real need

for a single authoritative document in the form of a formal Charter to help the organization and its members to deal with the challenges in a more systematic, organized and legal manner.

The final ratification of the Charter in December 2008 was received with mixed feelings by officials and critics alike. Member states' officials generally hailed the Charter as a landmark development for the regional groupings (Wahyudi Soeriaatmadja: 2008). While Malaysia's Foreign Minister, Dr Rais Yatim for instance perceive the document as giving further legal impetus to the dispute settlement process among member states. Dr Surin Pitsuwan, the ASEAN Secretary General, similarly is confident that the Charter will shift the future ASEAN Community to higher level of regional and economic cooperation. Critics, on the other hand, have disparaged the document by belittling the terms set forth in the charter as mere rehash of those already contained in previous documents. The two opposing perspectives notwithstanding, the key question to be asked in this respect perhaps is whether the Charter rules will affect a substantive change in how ASEAN member countries conducted themselves (Wahyudi Soeriaatmadja: 2008).

Critics have argued that the Charter's retention of the consensus approach to decision-making indicates the organization's continued adherence to the ASEAN Way. Though this may be true, others opined that there may be possibilities for future adaptations in the interest of institutional progress (Tony Hotland: 2008). Decision-making could be streamlined and expedited by the application of different requirements to different types of decision such as unanimity, weighted voting or simple majority. The Charter too has

retained the principle of 'non-inference' in the internal affairs of ASEAN member states. Though the principle has not posed any major problem to ASEAN in the past (given that the members have been dealing with similar issues before), but the ascendancy of human rights and other civil society issues in the region is likely to put pressure on the Charter. Doubts have also been raised over the proposed ASEAN human rights body, which critics argue, lack the powers of prosecution (Tony Hotland: 2008). The issue is one area where ASEAN's success has been minimal due to the 'non-interference' principle. The continuing brutality of the Myanmar military regime and ASEAN's failure to persuade Myanmar to undertake democratic change (through the constructive engagement policy) is likely put to real test the Charter's promise to "promote the principles of democracy, the rule of law and good governance, respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedom" in the future.

**The ASEAN Charter: How 'Bold' it should be?**

It may be argued that the adoption of the Charter indeed represents another important milestone in ASEAN's continuing evolution into a legal based regional institution capable of effectively coping with the complex challenges of the future. Given that the document did not put a specific timeframe for its realization and that the ASEAN process should generally be seen as 'work in progress', criticisms of the Charter, while understandable, is perhaps somewhat premature. But given the complexity and potentially disruptive impact current and future challenges may have on the future credibility of ASEAN and general stability in the region, it is also not unreasonable that ASEAN should re-look at some of its current approaches more closely to ensure it will

continue to remain competitive and relevant in the future. Given the nature of the challenges and the heightened all around expectation for the Charter to deliver on its future promises, the following suggestions are offered as possible areas to begin the process.

**Some suggestions**

1. **Institutional Thrust**

a) The ASEAN Secretary General

Currently Article 11 of the Charter describes the power of the ASEAN Secretary General as merely that of a 'Chief Administrative Officer', holding office 'at the pleasure of the Heads of State or Government'. Whilst the ASEAN Secretary General can in theory make recommendations, his power in practice is primarily restricted to managing, administering and implementing summit decisions made at the ASEAN Summit. The power to decide lies with the respective Heads of State/ Government of Member States at the Summit level. Though he is expected to 'monitor progress in the implementation of ASEAN agreements and decisions', the power does not include ensuring member states' compliance (The ASEAN Charter, 2009). This has prevented the office from adopting more aggressive and proactive measures and strategies, whether financial or otherwise, that could enhance the efficiency, effectiveness and dynamism of the Secretariat office. Compounded by budgetary and other constraints, the net result is a weakened institution which is high on decisions but low on implementation. Efforts to strengthen ASEAN with the new Charter must therefore take a serious re-look at

the current mandate of the ASEAN Secretary General. Efforts must be made to widen the scope of the current mandate from mere reporting and monitoring to include greater power to recommend proactive measures and ensure compliance among member states.

b) Coordination: the ASEAN Coordinating Council (ACC)

The importance task of coordinating the implementation of Summit decisions at the ground level is currently placed with the ASC. (Ibid, p. 11) While the coordination of these decisions covering multitudes of sectors and agencies, it does take place up to a point, actual records showed a high degree of inertia and non-compliance. Thus, it gives credence to the popular depiction of ASEAN meetings as mere 'talk shop' sessions. Lack of coordination among stake holders and key sectoral players at this level has been and still remain a major problem for the effective implementation of ASEAN decisions. Greater degree of commitment and political will is therefore needed among member states to rectify this inter-agency malaise at the ground level if the challenges confronting ASEAN is to be affectively managed.

**2. The Economic Thrust**

a. The intra-ASEAN and cross-regional economic initiatives

Given the increasing phase of inter and intra-regional economic competition as a result of globalization, economic liberalism and the rise of new regional economic players, the pressure for greater economic integration and collaboration among

member states has similarly heightened. Because of the widening development gap between the older and newer members, the need for optimization of comparative and complimentary economic advantages among member states is obvious. Unfortunately the pace of integrative impulse in this direction has been slow. Despite efforts under earlier initiatives such as the ASEAN Industrial Joint Venture (AIJV's) and Growth Triangle concepts as well as more recent ones under the AEC blue-print, the rate of success has been somewhat low due to structural and other constraints. While the Charter, on the positive side, provided ample space for further expansion of the integrative impulse in line with the AEC commitments, real success however is dependent on more private sector leadership and involvements in these projects. In this connection, more needs to be done to attract the group's active participation in these initiatives at the intra and cross-regional level. In this connection too, current efforts to set up a regional 'early warning system' and 'strategic reserves' to preempt and manage future regional economic or financial crisis should be given high priority. The decision of the 14th Summit to increase the fund of the proposed AMF from USD 80 to 120 billion for the purpose in this respect is commendable. The effectiveness of the initiative however is dependent on follow-up commitments at the implementation level.

### 3. The Socio-Cultural Thrust

<u>a. A people-oriented ASEAN</u>

The full realisation of the ASCC aspiration is entirely dependent on its peoples' acceptance of a commonly shared regional identity despite the region's diverse socio-cultural, ethnic and religious values. But given the 'elitist' nature of ASEAN, the growth of the community values amongst the people, particularly the young, has been somewhat low. This is  despite evidence of more positive awareness and support of the institution among university students in the region.(Thompson and Chulanee, 2008) The recent $14^{th}$ Summit in Hua Hin, the first under the new Charter, has also reaffirmed this commitment to make ASEAN truly a 'People's Centered Organization'. But if the ASCC objective is to be achieved, a higher level of sustained follow-up commitment directed at particularly students and the general populace through ASEAN-wide 'public diplomacy' campaigns, educational, cultural, sports, tourism, media, entertainment and other exchanges to inculcate, nurture and build a common regional identity is therefore imperative. To be sure, currently there exist a number of ASEAN-wide culture-based initiatives in this direction. But the scope, coverage, depth and breadth participation and focus are somewhat limited and not truly inclusive. There is therefore the urgent need for this redress this weakness. The subject of ASEAN studies, for instance, could be included in the school curriculum of ASEAN member states. The setting up of an ASEAN university dedicated to the study and promotion of the ASEAN project would also constitute another important step in the right direction.

## 4. ASEAN External Relations

### a. Joint 'ASEAN foreign policy'

On major issues of ASEAN-wide concerns where a common regional stand is possible, for example, climate change, the environment, development issues, reform of the international financial system, nuclear non-proliferation, preventive diplomacy etc., the time has come for the ASEAN integrative impulse to be translated through a 'common ASEAN stand on these issue at major international forum. The benefits to be gained by member states from such united and weighted posturing at the negotiating table are obvious. Such approach could also set in motion the momentum toward the eventual formulation of a 'common ASEAN foreign policy' consistent with the future integration aspiration of the organization.

### b. The ASEAN Peace Keeping Mechanism

Notwithstanding ASEAN's impressive past record of peace maintenance among member states, the continuing prevalence of numerous potential flashpoints in the form of unresolved territorial and other disputes pose serious risks of possible outbreaks of future conflicts in the region. Because of the relatively peaceful nature of the regional environment too, ASEAN member states' individual involvements in peace-keeping engagements have been primarily outside the region. ASEAN's peace-keeping response to events within the region, as in the case of Timur Leste, however has been rather disappointing. The possibility for the setting up of an ASEAN peace keeping force supplied and funded by member

states however is not covered under the Charter. A look at the possibility merits serious consideration by ASEAN member states in the broader interest of peace and stability of the future ASEAN regional community.

c. ASEAN ambassadors at the UNO, EU, US, Japan, China, India

Perhaps the best attestation of the relevance of ASEAN as a regional institution with a future is the open international recognition and acceptance of ASEAN as reflected in the various ASEAN-extra-regional institutional collaborations under the Dialogue, Plus 3, ARF, ASEM and other processes. In this context, the recent decisions by Japan and the US to appoint 'special resident envoys' to ASEAN to handle ASEAN matters provide further proof of this. Given these developments, perhaps the time has come for ASEAN to reciprocate by also appointing ASEAN ambassadorial representatives to the US, EU, Japan and others major world capitals to manage ASEAN's growing external relationship with these centers and further elevate its international profile consistent with its status as a regional body with international legal personality.

**Conclusion**

Against the backdrop of continuing doubts over ASEAN's credibility and capacity to survive, ASEAN's successful adaptation to changes in the regional and global environment since 1967 has been truly remarkable. The rise of new challenges in recent years however, has again placed ASEAN at another important crossroads. Failure to

accommodate these developments risks ASEAN becoming irrelevant. In this respect, ASEAN's successful adoption of the landmark Charter within one year of its signing again demonstrates ASEAN's proven capacity to accommodate change when required. The Charter thus represents ASEAN's bold desire to reinvent itself in order to enhance its capacity to adapt, accommodate and manage the fast changing regional and international environment.

The Charter also represents the ASEAN leaders' use of the opportunity to set a clear and ambitious long-term vision for the organization to ensure ASEAN remained relevant, competitive, effective and credible. With the Charter, ASEAN intends to build a more legal-based institutional framework to facilitate and coordinate more effectively ASEAN's integrative agenda in all areas to meet the complex needs and challenges of the future regional community. The historic document is thus expected to eventually transform the 41year-old bloc from a loose tradition-based political entity into a new rule-based community capable upholding democracy, preserving human dignity and sustaining regional peace, progress and prosperity.

The Charter to be sure is not a perfect document. It is, in a way, 'work still in progress', a continuing evolving process in search of its own regional identity. Yet it provisions, though imperfect, is designed to provide the regional organization with the necessary legal framework to manage the new political, security, economic and socio-cultural challenges in ways that will ensure the continued peace, stability and dynamism of the

region. Within the Charter provisions are enshrined broad strategies that the organization has set forth as its vision for member states and the future for the region.

To be sure, the task ahead for ASEAN, given the multi-varied and complex nature of the challenges, will indeed be extremely daunting. But if ASEAN's past track record is a guide to go by, it would not be wise to rule out ASEAN's capacity to rise up to the occasion too early in the day.

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# The Study of the Impact of Path Dependence to the Project Performance

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## Abstract

The learning organization, as developed by Peter Senge (1990) who considers that the most successful enterprises in the future will have been to be, is so flexible that can create invariably competitive advantages by learning.

Organizational learning tends to explore the character of path dependence. Therefore, the opportunities for learning are related to prior manufacturing and transactional activities. The absorptive capacity can help an organization assimilate knowledge rapidly in an unstable competitive environment by accumulating prior or fixed knowledge. The absorptive capacity also can explain how should acquire, assimilate, transform, and exploit external knowledge.

Organizations have sought innovation in order to improve productivity and increase benefits. Project management has received much more attention as a way to develop a new product or to modify operating processes.

This paper discusses the influences of path dependence on the process underlying the project management of firms with the perspective of absorptive capacity, excepting uncontrollable external environmental factors. We hope the paper can help organizations understand the effects of path dependences and learning activities in project management.

**Key Words：path dependence, project performance, absorptive capacity**

## 1. Introduction

The magnitude of project activity in organizations is constantly growing. Projects are used not just only for new product development or construction, but also for product improvement, system deployment, process building, process reengineering, new service initiation, software development, marketing campaigns, and more.

The changes in technology and the marketplace have placed enormous strains on existing organizational forms. The traditional structure is highly bureaucratic; it cannot respond rapidly enough to a changing environment. Thus, the traditional structure must be replaced by project management, or other temporary management structures that are highly organic and can respond to situations inside and outside the company.

Almost all of today's executives agree that the solution to most corporate problems is

controlling and using corporate resources better. Most executives are eager for better ways to confront unanticipated business situation to satisfy customers' multiple demands. Project management is one of the types under consideration.

A project is a carefully defined set of activities that uses resources (money, people, materials, energy, space, provisions, communication, and motivation) to achieve goals and objectives. Cleland and King (1983) defined a project as an integrative organization of related resources. Tuman (1983) viewed a project as an organization composed of specific people to fulfill specific goals. A project is often involved with larger, more costly, independent, and riskier works. At the same time, the performance level of a project is also constrained by limited time and budget. As defined by Kerzner (1984), a project can be considered to be any series of activities and tasks that: (1) has a specific objective to be completed within certain specifications; (2) has defined start and end dates; (3) has funding limits (if applicable); (4) consumes human and nonhuman resources (i.e., money, people, equipment); (5) is multifunctional (i.e., cuts across several functional lines).

Moreover, in accordance with the definition of the Project Manager Institute (2004), a project is a temporary endeavor undertaken to create a unique product, service, or result. Every project has a definite end. The product or service is distinctive from all similar products or services.

Project management, in contrast, increases competitive advantages. According to Archibald (1981), in project management, success or failure is attributed to the project. Manager. Planning is carried out with the use of tools, abilities, and technologies. People are coordinated among departments and different capabilities by the project manager within time and budget constraints.

Cleland and King (1983) stated that project management is meant to accomplish project goals with limited time, cost, and quality by utilizing systematic methods. Project management is the planning, organizing, directing, and controlling of company resources for a short-term objective. Furthermore, project management utilizes the systems approach to management by having functional personnel (the vertical hierarchy) assigned to a specific project (the horizontal hierarchy) (Kerzner, 1984).Therefore, we can understand the difference between project management and general management. General management concentrates on regular, repeated, and continuous business operating management under fixed systems, organizations, procedures, and abilities. In contrast, project management emphasizes the importance of capability integrations; meanwhile, it must meet the specific objective of the project by the deadline.

Organizational learning is a set of tests, feedback, and evaluation to reveal path dependence. Learning opportunities are very closely related to prior manufacturing and transactional activities (Teece, 1998). We found that the organization and capability will not only be the conclusion of decision-making or behavior at one spot time but are also related to prior experiences. In other words, prior experiences influence the follow-up development of organization.

The concept of path dependence originated as an idea that a small initial advantage or a few minor random shocks along the way could alter the course of history (David 1985). Like many ideas, it has grown in scope and now encompasses almost any process in which someone can find or claim evidence of increasing returns, which are thought to be the causes of path dependence (Arthur 1994, Pierson 2000). According to some scholars' considerations, path dependence is seen as the path experiences which are owned and accumulated by the organizations. Those past experiences are able to be reference of decision making for manager (Bercovitz et al., 1996; Teece et al., 1997). Thus, we can understand that the path dependence highlights the importance of past experiences.

Performance consists of employees' behaviors which match organizational demands

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(Carroll & Schneier, 1982). Performance is composed of two constructs: efficiency and procedure. Efficiency is the ratio of inputs to outputs; it seeks the least inputs for the most outputs. Procedure means doing the right thing at the right time. Thus, procedure management, such as resource allocation and effective training, is a vital factor of procedure.

The growth and acceptance of project management has changed significantly over the past forty years, and these changes are expected to continue, especially in multinational project management. Acquiring the technology and coping with rapidly changing market demand have become the most important issues for enterprises to create their competitive advantage. All kinds of project have limited time, budget, human resources, and scope. As a consequence, project management is tasked with meeting settled goals under these limitations.

This paper was motivated by a desire to understand path dependence in the process underlying the project management of firms with the perspective of absorptive capacity, excepting uncontrollable external environmental factors. The research questions in this paper are: What is the effect of path dependence in the project management? What is the influence of path dependence in the performance of project? We hope that this paper can help organizations to understand the effects of path dependences and learning activities in project management, and to use project management to meet organizational objectives on time.

## 2. Path dependence

The term "path dependence" is frequently used in business literature (Madhok, 1997; North, 1990). Thus, many scholars came to recognize the importance of path dependence.

Firms must follow a certain trajectory or path of competence development. This path not only defines what choices are open to the firm, but it also puts bounds around what its internal repertoire is likely to be in the future (Teece et al., 1997). Eriksson, Majkgard and Sharma (2000) stated that the stock of knowledge accumulated in firm's past shapes the future trajectory of its evolution and shapes its future evolution and shapes its ongoing evolution. The implications of this learning (evolution) process are that the firm's previous experience results in its present knowledge base.

Pandit and Siddharthan (1998) thought that the techniques and opportunities that are owned by firms are closely related to future evolutionary velocity, expanding directions, and competitive advantages. Eisenhardt and Martin (2000) mentioned that past experience or information also builds intuition about the marketplace so that managers can more quickly understand and adapt to the changing situation. Therefore, experience or history are very important. Prior investments and ordinations are also two vital factors that limit and affect the future behavior of organization. As prior investments and ordinations are the result of increasing return, path dependence has positive influences on organizations. In addition, Katz and Shapiro (1985) mentioned that the network externalities of operating business activities, and Rosenberg (1981) considered that the learning method of learning by doing , both agreed with the increasing return. In accordance with these studies, we consider that the organizational development and foundation of capability accompany path dependence.

Path dependence is an incremental process in which the pattern of behavior by firms is contingent upon and a function of its past experience. The knowledge accumulated in the past forms the trajectory for the future behavior of firms. Cohen and Levinthal (1990) argue that the ability to evaluate and apply outside knowledge is a function of prior related knowledge. At the most elemental level, this prior knowledge includes basic skills, a shared language, and the knowledge of the most recent scientific or technological developments in a field. Thus, prior related knowledge confers an ability to recognize the value of new information, assimilate it, and apply it to commercial ends. These abilities constitute what Cohen and Levinthal (1990) call a firm's absorptive capacity. Therefore, absorptive capacity can help an

organization to understand and use new knowledge of specific domains, and forecast the new technology or new knowledge which are imported. Cohen and Levinthal (1990) also believe that the knowledge is cumulative. Related and prior knowledge can accelerate the assimilation of new knowledge, and help recall the key prior knowledge in order to be applied to the use of new knowledge.

Some portion of that prior knowledge should be very closely related to the new knowledge to facilitate assimilation, and some fraction of that knowledge must be fairly diverse, although still related, to permit effective, creative utilization of the new knowledge. This simple notion that prior knowledge underlies absorptive capacity has important implications for the development of absorptive capacity over time and, in turn, the innovative performance of organizations. Accumulating absorptive capacity in one period will permit its more efficient accumulation in the next. By developing some absorptive capacity in an area, a firm may more readily accumulate what additional knowledge it needs in order to exploit any critical external knowledge that may become available. Thus, in an uncertain environment, absorptive capacity affects expectation formation, permitting the firm to predict more accurately the nature and commercial potential of technological advances. Absorptive capacity also includes the ability of comprehension and assimilation, as Lane, Salk, and Lyles (2001) mentioned.

The cumulativeness of absorptive capacity and its effect on expectation formation suggest an extreme case of path dependence in which once a firm ceases investing in its absorptive capacity in a quickly moving field, it may never assimilate and exploit new information in that field, regardless of the value of that information (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990). The earliest definition of term absorptive capacity ( ACAP) is defined by Cohen & Levinthal (1990). In recent years, many researchers have used absorptive capacity (ACAP) in their analyses of diverse, significant, and complex organizational phenomena (Zahra & George, 2002). The importance of ACAP has been noted across the fields of strategic management (Lane & Lubatkin. 1998; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998), technology management (Schilling, 1998), international business (Kedia & Bhagat, 1988), and organizational economics (Glass & Saggi, 1998).

Zahra and George (2002) refined the concept of absorptive capacity to include the organizational routines and processes by which firms operate and manage knowledge. As a result, absorptive capacity not only affects the persistence of organizational competitive advantages but also influences other foundations of capability. They identified four areas where successful firms need to manage their knowledge:

1. Acquisition
   Organizations recognize and acquire the external knowledge which has critical influences on business operations.
2. Assimilation
   Organizations analyze, cope with, explain, and understand external knowledge.
3. Transformation
   Organizations are able to transform new knowledge into useful knowledge.
4. Exploitation
   Organizations integrate new and transformed knowledge into business operating activities in order to create new product, new system, new procedure, and even the ability can create new knowledge.

Acquisition and assimilation of knowledge were seen as *potential* absorptive capacity while transformation and exploitation of knowledge represent *realized* absorptive capacity (Zahra & George, 2002). Absorptive capacity is more likely to be developed and maintained as a byproduct of routine activity when the knowledge domain that the firm wishes to exploit is closely related to its current knowledge base (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990).

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We therefore agree that the path dependence has an influence on organization in long-term investment of absorptive capacity. Therefore, all organizations can do is be alert to the changing environment and assimilate new knowledge rapidly in order to obtain a long-term competitive advantage.

## 3. Project performance

Since the beginning of civilization, people have been involved in projects. Campbell (1990) considered performance as an individual behavior. Schermerhon, Hunt, and Osborn (1994) claim that the performance is composed of three factors: individual attributes, work efforts, and organizational supports.

Borman and Motowidlo (1993) defined task performance and contextual performance. The ability of an organization to transform input into output is technical core ability. Task performance consists of the behaviors which are directly related to the technical core. Those that are indirectly related to the technical core are contextual performance.

Historically, project success has been defined as meeting the expectations of internal and external customers. Success also includes getting the job done within the constraints of time, cost, and quality. Using this standard definition, success is defined as a point on the time, cost, and quality/performance grid. However, there are many kinds of project performance, which are categorized by constraints such as time and cost. According to Ashley et al. (1987), the constructs of project performance consist of budget performance, schedule performance, client satisfaction, contractor satisfaction, and project management team satisfaction.

Gibson and Michele (1994) defined project performance as:(1) business success, including business performance and client satisfaction; and (2) operating success, including quality, cost, time, safety and environment, human resource, and communication.

Keller (1994) pointed out that the measurement of project performance is composed of quality of product, performance of budget and cost, value of organizations, and whole performance. Freeman and Beale (1992) defined four successful disciplines of measuring project performance:(1) technological performance; (2) implementation performance; (3) satisfaction of customers; and (4) business beneficial performance.

Shenhar et al. (1997) suggested four constructs for measuring the success of a project:
1. Project efficiency: the project must have been completed by the deadline.
2. Impact on the customer: a project must have met the customer's demands.
3. Business and direct success: the project showed beneficial performance.
4. Preparing for the future: the achievements of the project are able to provide innovative opportunities for organizations confronting future challenges.

According to these measurements that Shenhar et al. (1997) suggested, we agree that measuring of project performance is extremely different from general performance measuring, because measuring project performance must consider many constraints.

## 4. The influence of path dependence on project performance

Although management scholars and economists have scrutinized organizational learning curves since the 1930s (e.g., Wright 1936), and the field of organizational learning is attracting an increasing amount of attention, there are still many unanswered questions. Schilling et al. (2003) found no significant differences in the rates of learning under the conditions of specialization and unrelated variation. These results yield important implications for how work should be organized, and for future research into the learning process.

Typically, cost per unit or labor hours are regressed on cumulative output over time to obtain a learning rate, with an emphasis on specifying the functional form or comparing rates

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for different industries. Schilling et al. (2003) also found that the learning rate under conditions of related variations is significantly greater than under conditions of specialization or unrelated variation, indicating the possibility of synergy between related learning efforts consistent with an implicit learning or insight effort.

Cohen and Levinthal (1990) argue that the ability of a firm to recognize the value of new, external information, assimilate it, and apply it to commercial ends is critical to that firm's absorptive capacity. They also suggested that an organization's absorptive capacity tends to develop cumulatively, be path dependent, and builds on prior investments in its members' individual absorptive capacity. Absorptive capacity also can help organization understand and utilize new knowledge of specific domains, and forecast correctly about the new technology or new knowledge which are imported in the future are good for organization. Therefore, absorptive capacity plays an important role to create new knowledge and foster new capability. Cohen and Levinthal (1990) view absorptive capacity as a firm-level construct, an ability the firm develops over time by accumulating a relevant base of knowledge. However, although individual level is so different from organizational level, there is only one common character between them is that the learning is cumulative. The cumulativeness of absorptive capacity and its effect on expectation formation suggest an extreme case of path dependence in which once a firm ceases investing in its absorptive capacity in a quickly moving field, it may never assimilate and exploit new information in that field, regardless of the value of that information.

Cohen and Levinthal (1990) indicated that the basic role of prior knowledge suggests two features of absorptive capacity that will affect innovative performance in an evolving, uncertain environment. First, accumulating absorptive capacity in one period will permit its more efficient accumulation in the next. By having already developed some absorptive capacity in a particular area, a firm may more readily accumulate the additional knowledge that it needs in the subsequent periods in order to exploit any critical external knowledge that may become available. Second, the possession of related expertise will permit the firm to better understand and therefore evaluate the import of intermediate technological advances that provide signals as to the eventual merit of a new technological development. These revised expectations, in turn, condition the incentive to invest in absorptive capacity subsequently. These two features of absorptive capacity—cumulativeness and its effect on expectation formation—imply that its development is domain-specific and path-dependent.

Nonaka (1995) indicated that the enterprises that want to succeed must continuously create new knowledge, transform all members of organization, and apply it to new technologies and new products. According to these definitions of project performance, new knowledge is assimilated and able to improve the performance of project. Levinson and Asahi (1995) thought of absorptive capacity as important to learning, whether inside or outside of an organization. In a changing environment, the absorptive capacity of an organization implies that the most important factor is to decide whether or not the scheduled plan can be done, and to reduce the crash which results from unanticipated variations to the lowest level. We consider that the organization's prior knowledge allows the organization to be more efficient in learning external knowledge. In order to ensure the improvement of project management, organizations often seek innovative methods and knowledge to execute project management for confronting future demands and environmental variations. Besides, the learning inside of organizations can shorten the life-cycle of product development in order to accelerate the speed of a new product's entry into the market. This is the vital competitive advantage for organizations when confronting the change in demand. Zahra et al. (2000) agreed that the sources of knowledge will accelerate the speed of production, and shorten the development life-cycle. Zott (2003) considered that the dynamic ability, such as absorptive capacity, is able to improve organizational development by being one part of a business'

operating process. In accordance with this research, absorptive capacity and path dependence can allow enterprises to recombine their resource basis so that they are adapting to a variety of market situations. Zahra and George (2002) found that an enterprise that has well-developed PAC (potential absorptive capacity) and RAC (realized absorptive capacity) is willing to promote knowledge transforming and competitive advantages increasing. As a result, we suggest that the propositions of the paper:

*Proposition 1：Both path dependence and absorptive capacity are positively related to project performance.*

*Proposition 1-1：More path dependence and absorptive capacity are more positive related to the project performance.*

*Proposition 1-2：Less path dependence or absorptive capacity is less positive related to the project performance.*

## 5. Conclusion

Due to being in turbulent variation times as rapid technical advancement, globalization and liberalization, all of executives have no choice but to come up against greater competitive pressures and unanticipated business situations regardless of internal or external ones. Many executives have studied and adjusted their operating strategies.

Teece (1997) claimed that capability exists at different levels of an organization. Helfat (1997) found that the past experiences would help organizations innovate and develop future evolutionary directions and competitive advantages. Other researchers suggest that absorptive capacity may also be developed as a byproduct of a firm's manufacturing operations. Abernathy (1978) and Rosenberg (1981) have noted that through direct involvement in manufacturing, a firm is better able to recognize and exploit new information that is relevant to a particular product market. Production experience provides the firm with the background necessary both to recognize the value of and implement methods to recognize or automate particular manufacturing processes. Even though prior learning experience may affect subsequent performance, both explanations of the relationship between early learning and subsequent performance emphasize the importance of prior knowledge for learning. Two related ideas are implicit in the notion that the ability to assimilate information is a function of the richness of the pre-existing knowledge structure: learning is cumulative, and learning performance is greatest when the object of learning is related to what is already known. As a result, learning is more difficult in novel domains, and, more generally, an individual's expertise─what he or she knows well─will change only incrementally. Thus, the cumulative quality of absorptive capacity and its role in conditioning the updating of expectations are forces that tend to confine firms to operating in a particular technological domain. Lane and Lubatkin (1998) considered that the absorptive capacity is an important factor in assimilating new knowledge. In other words, prior related knowledge confers an ability to recognize the value of new information, assimilate it, and apply it to commercial ends. That is to say, the capability of organization will be the basis to decide how to apply, integrate, and even create core ability (Blois, 1999 ; Combs & Ketchen, 1997). The more absorptive capacity the higher intention to learn new knowledge, as Makhija and Ganesh (1997) considered. The importance of organizational learning for a company's survival and effective performance has been emphasized in the literature (Barkema & Vermeulen, 1998). In the process of introducing new knowledge, most members of organization depend on their prior knowledge, past experiences, and abilities to figure out and apply new technologies to solve problems (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990; Garud & Nayyar, 1994; Kogut & Zander, 1993). Thus, the cumulative

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knowledge is one of the vital factors to have influences on the absorptive knowledge and innovative ability. In other words, the more developed the learning mechanisms or the higher the absorptive capacities, the more likely members of organization are to solve problems by using new innovative technology (Nelson & Cooprider, 1996). Prior knowledge in project management provides evidence of technological capacity and product innovation, thus allow firms to achieve better performance. As a result, we suggest that the path dependence is positively related to project performance. We also agree that enterprises would increase their benefits and competitive advantages by applying path knowledge. That is to say, enterprises may be able to make the right decision in order to improve performance by avoiding risks with utilizing and assimilating past experiences, such as knowledge and human capital. As a final note, simply because a project is a success does not mean that the company is successful in its project management. Excellence in project management is as a continuous stream of successful projects. Any project can be driven to success through formal authority and strong executive support. But in order for a continuous stream of successful projects to occur, there must be a strong and visible corporate commitment to project management. Finally, project management research is still evolving. It has not yet established its role among the more traditional academic disciplines of management such as, marketing, finance, and operations. Project management research has great potential. Much of today's organizational activity is wrapped up in projects and it only keeps growing. The field is rich with challenges. With more researchers seeking careers in project management, and more resources being allocated to research, the future of project management as a scholarly pursuit appears promising.

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# The predictors that influence the occupational conditions for patients with chronic schizophrenia

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## ABSTRACT

**Objective:** According to Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, provided people with psychiatric disabilities recover their working ability and obtain help to be employed, a great amount of care cost can be saved. Therefore, the main objective of this paper is to explore the predictors of occupation conditions of patients with chronic schizophrenia.

**Population and methods:** Purposive sample of 200 patients with chronic schizophrenia from half-way houses, community rehabilitation centers in Taichung, Changhua, and Nantou for questionnaire survey. Descriptive statistics analysis describe personal background and occupation conditions variables of patients with chronic schizophrenia, path analysis distinguishes overall variables to compute each path coefficient and classification variables to examine the predictors of occupation conditions of patients with chronic schizophrenia.

**Results:** Educational attainment, vocational training and social skills have significantly direct influence on the career self-efficacy of patients with chronic schizophrenia, while educational attainment has significantly direct influence on the occupational conditions of patients with chronic schizophrenia. Therefore, we may safely conclude that educational attainment plays a major role in predicting self-evaluation of career development and occupation of patients with chronic schizophrenia.

**Conclusions:** Single window service of case management at communities for care of patients with chronic schizophrenia, besides medical care, rehabilitation, welfare and employment service, requires links and integration with diverse supportive education programs. This will enable them to have opportunities and be able to seek their career development and achieve the goals.

**Key words:** patients with chronic schizophrenia, occupation, predictors,

education intervention

# The application of focus group on the investigation and research on service performance of nursing department graduates of a certain university of technology

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## ABSTRACT

How to cultivate the nursing staff with both humanistic and professional accomplishments or capabilities to react to the demands of work field is a very important task of higher technological and vocational education of nursing presently. To lay stress on, listen to, and accept the comments from business and industrial circles (employers) and satisfy the employment demands of work field further is the foundation of successful technological and vocational education. The research utilized focus group to promote the investigation and research quality of service performance of nursing department graduates of a certain university of technology in order to understand the feeling, opinions, and attitudes of business and industrial circles (employers), and to offer the department of nursing a weighty reference basis of perfecting courses and teaching persistently.

The research took eighteen institutions of medical centers, regional hospitals, district hospitals, and long-term care facilities or nursing homes as the questionnaire subjects. 500 copies of questionnaire were delivered by mail; we acquired 414 copies of effective questionnaire, and the return rate was 82.8%. There were eleven members in the focus group, including one leader, two co-leaders, and eight directors/ chiefs of medical centers, regional hospitals, district hospitals, and long-term care facilities or nursing homes.

Through the questionnaire and focus group discussion, the results were that the mean value of the business and industrial circles' satisfaction on the whole service performance of nursing department graduates was 3.80, and the standard deviation was 0.78, showing that they still need to improve so as to win the approval of being satisfied or being very satisfied from the business and industrial circles, whose response of satisfaction on service performance of nursing department graduates could be listed from high to low as follows: attendance, service attitude, attaching importance to teamwork, will of participation and learning, plasticity of learning, work efficiency and handling ability of interpersonal relationship, emotional stability, pressure resistance, recognition of the company's core values, the professional knowledge can tally with work demands, being able to apply the professional knowledge to practical work, with capacity of expression and communication, with capability of using the computer, with diversified knowledge and skills, with abilities of independent thinking and analyzing, with ability of creative thinking, and with capacity of English conversation.

In accordance with the research conclusion, following are two concrete suggestions for perfecting the courses and teaching of department of nursing:
1. Nursing department graduates should strengthen the capacity of expression and communication, and make their professional knowledge tally with work demands and be able to apply the professional knowledge to practical work to a better degree; the abilities they need to develop especially are capacity of English conversation, ability of creative thinking, abilities of independent thinking and analyzing, diversified knowledge and skills, and capability of using the computer according to priority. 2. To design the courses that can cater to the actual needs, we suggest that the business and industrial circles should collaborate on teaching with schools, cooperate with school courses to offer students opportunities of practice/ probation, or assist them to produce meaningful practical work experience, assist the department/ institute to evaluate whether their program/ course planning can conform to industrial development and employment demands of graduates, give students aid on career counseling, for example, serving as a teacher for career planning, and a career counselor, assist teachers and students to understand the trend of industrial development and relevant requirements of employment ability, and assist the department/ institute to establish a graduate's career route map.   In this way, not only is it helpful for the quality promotion of talents among business and industrial circles, but can they be the greatest beneficiaries.

**Key words:** Focus group; higher technological and vocational education of nursing; employability.

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# Black Women's Prison Narratives and the Intersection of Gender, Race and Sexuality in U.S. Prisons

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Cynthia Berry carried the pain of her molestation with her through her adult life. Drugs and prostitution became Berry's escape from the pain, and the excuse for her destructive behavior. By the time Berry realized her life had spiraled out of control, it was too late.

> Thinking of the sweat of my uncle on my face as he molested me made it easy for me to believe I was a whore and that the only way to even the pain was to literally make men pay. I never grew up until it was too late and when I did, it was in the courtroom learning what I had allowed myself to believe and a man now was dead, another sick male who thought pussy was a drug of life. Now, after this man is dead by my hands, I see a father, a grandfather and some woman-in-a-wheelchair's son.[1]

Berry, 44, is 14 years into a 25-years to-life sentence at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in New York for the murder of her 71-year-old john. Women make up the fastest growing prison population in America. And though the incarceration rate for black women declined by 8.4 percent between June 2000 and June 2007, they continue to be imprisoned at a faster rate than white women. According to the "Prison Inmates at Midyear 2007" report

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[1] Berry shared her story during an exercise in a writing group at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility for Women. In this particular exercise, shown in the documentary *What I Want My Words to Do to You,* Berry and the other participants were asked to write a letter to a family member explaining their crime. In Berry's letter to her mother-in-law – a woman she describes as "like a mother to me" – she reveals how the guilt of her crime weighs heavily on her conscience and the only way to make it right is to die.

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from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, black women were incarcerated at six times that of white women – 380 per 100,000 U.S. residents versus 63 per 100,000 – by June 2000. By June 2007, the incarceration rate for black women versus white women was 348 to 95.

Despite their growing presence in prisons and jails, the voices of women – especially those of black women – are often excluded from discussions about the criminal justice and penal systems. Their silence is an illustration of how gender is structured – and constructed – in prisons and society. As long as these women stay silent, they'll continue to be oppressed.

"Women are the forgotten creatures in prison," writes Joyce Ann Brown in her memoir *Joyce Ann Brown: Justice Denied*.

But it is through writing that incarcerated black women learn to break their silence and gain a sense of self, transforming from the weak self to the empowered self. In their poems, essays and books, we learn of the experiences that helped shape them and that define not only their history, but the history of *all* black women.

Black women's prison narratives offer a different perspective and approach to analyzing black women's experiences with race, gender and sexual oppressions. Their literature represents a unique form of activism, and fracture the stereotypical images of *all* women behind bars and reveal the mothers, sisters, wives, daughters and friends who are often forgotten once the iron bars close. Their stories help us to see them as they are *now*, not defined by their crimes or past.

Through a critical analysis of black women's prison narratives – past and present, incarcerated and released – this paper seeks to examine how black female prison narratives exposes the gendered structure of prisons and how gender, race and sexuality intersect in U.S. prisons.

For the purposes of this paper, I analyze stories that have been published in prison writing anthologies, autobiographies of such former inmates as Assata Shakur and Joyce Ann Brown, and those told in documentaries.[2] Using black feminist thought as my theoretical framework, I expect to find specific evidence of how race, gender and sexuality intersect in women's prisons, and show how these intersections are mere extensions of the sexual and racial oppression black women experience in the free world.

This paper also examines the inherently cruel punishment of transgender – male to female – inmates. I argue that not only is gender being constructed here, but sexuality is being *criminalized* and *victimized*.

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[2] For my dissertation, I'll use ethnography as my primary research method to get first-hand accounts of life in prison – and before incarceration – from black female inmates as well as unpublished writings from participants in writing groups. The women will vary in age, crimes for which they're serving or have served time, where they serve or are serving time, and the number of children they have, if any.

# An Expressive Writing Intervention Among Older, Low-Wage Long-term Care Workers: Proposed Research *

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## ABSTRACT

"Expressive writing," EW, (Pennebaker and Beale, 1986) is a biopsychosocial intervention shown in past research to significantly enhance the psychological and biological health of varying subject groups in different contexts. A small exploratory clinical study (RCT) is proposed here to empirically assess the effectiveness of this intervention for reducing stress among older, low-income eldercare workers. The results will provide a strong, if preliminary, test of these hypotheses: 1. Participants engaging in EW will exhibit a significant decrease in global perceived stress (GPS, a psychological index of stress) compared to control group participants, and 2. Participants engaging in EW will exhibit a significant decrease in allostatic load (AL, a biological index of stress) compared to control group participants. While considerable prior research on EW has been reported, the proposed project moves in several important new directions. First, while prior research leads to the plausible inference that EW will effectively reduce the psychological and biological dimensions of stress, this inference has not yet been directly tested. The proposed study is a direct test. Second, while prior research has emphasized the health benefits of short term EW ensuing across several days, the proposed project follows and complements a new direction for research first charted by Smyth (2007): examining potential "booster" effects of EW that may occur across a longer period of intervention (several months in the case of the proposed research). Third, while Mackenzie (2008) is currently investigating the impact of EW on social emotional stress in people who give care to older family members suffering from dementia, the proposed project complements and extends his work by examining the effectiveness of EW as a job stress intervention among older, low-wage workers in the long-term care industry. Eighty such workers will be randomly assigned to an EW versus control writing condition in a two-group, pretest post test design to determine the effect of the intervention on GPS and AL. The proposed research ties strongly and explicitly to the funding priority guidelines of the National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine on two major grounds: (a) this work entails a small, Phase I exploratory clinical trial aiming to test a biomedical/behavioral model of intervention effectiveness, and (b) this work addresses key research questions concerning a population that is disproportionately minority and female, many of whose members lack resources and many of whom therefore face significant health disparities. Finally, the small RCT proposed here will directly involve participation of undergraduate and graduate students, will materially strengthen the academic research environment, and will enable the PI and Co-PI to engage in an exciting new line of independent biomedical/behavioral research at an institution that has not in the past obtained a high level of NIH research funding. Thus the proposed project links explicitly and strongly to the criteria set forth in the Academic Research Enhancement Award program (R15) announcement.

**Title**:
The Islamic Value in Malaysian Television Drama on Channel 1

**Topic Area**:
Area Studies – Media in Malaysian TV

**Presentation format**:
Paper Session

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**Abstract**

The Malaysian government, under its civilizational project called ***Islam Hadhari***, attempting to deliver the dynamic message of Islam through various media, including television programmes. As the main government broadcasting agency, Channel 1 or popularly known as TV1, focuses on delivering the government's messages to the people. This study therefore, attempts to firstly analyze Islamic values communicated through *da'wah* drama in the aspect of the story or narrative, and accordingly its presentation and appropriateness as a medium of *da'wah* from the the Qur'an and Sunnah point of views. Secondly, it seeks to identify the audience opinions on the effectiveness of drama series as a medium of *da'wah* in inculcating Islamic values and finally, to suggest the appropriate mechanism in producing drama that manifested the message of Islam (*da'wah*) and hence, Islamic values to those who involved in publishing the drama. Methodologies used in this study are content analysis and field study to obtain responses from the audience. In this case, this study examines the Islamic values and message of Islam (*da'wah)* in three drama series televised on TV1 and thereafter evaluate the feedbacks from the audience. The result of the study shows that these drama series had implicitly delivered the Islamic message and values based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. Nevertheless, there are still rooms that need to be improved, particularly with regard to the implementation of the Islamic way of life in compliance with the *Shari'ah*. The audience's response on their purpose of watching the drama demonstrates that it was mainly for filling their spare time and as an entertainment.

**Introduction**

According to Alparslan Acikgenc in *Islamic Science: Towards a Definition* (1996: 24), the value-structure in the Islamic worldview includes moral, ethical and legal practices. Tariq Ramadan (2002: 64) connects values with juridical field, in which the '*ulama*' of *usul al-fiqh*, through their studies of the Qur'an and *ahadith*, have categorized five values or rulings relating to Muslims behaviour according to rights and obligations; the first value is *wajib* (or *fard*) – the obligatory acts - and *haram* - is the absolutely forbidden ones. The other three values identified by the *'ulama'* relating to human actions are the recommendable or preferable (*mustahab, mandub*), the reprehensible (*makruh*) and the permissible (*mubah*) (Ramadan, 2002: 63-4). These are the theoretical values and parameters for the Muslims in conducting their life and daily affairs, thus signifying both the internal dynamic of Islam through its legal instruments and the nature of the Muslim identity. The manifestation of Islamic values through

*da'wah* drama is therefore demonstrated by the elements of Islamic ethics or *adab*[1], as well as Islamic attitudes toward life in general.


## Islamic Values and Its Relation with Islamic *da'wah*

Islamic *da'wah* is obligatory to all Muslim for *da'wah* is the sole mission of the prophets and the messengers. Since the absence of the last prophet and the messenger of God, the responsibility to disseminate the message of Islam through *da'wah* is transferred to the Muslim *ummah*. Consequently, the survival and success of *da'wah* mission is the obligation of the *ummah*, and it depends on the ability and capability of each individual Muslim. Allah says in the Qur'an (Ali ʿImran: 104):

> Let there arise among you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong, they are the ones to attain felicity.


This verse demonstrates that the Muslim *ummah* is obliged to perform *da'wah*, and according to Sayyid Qutb (1978,1:444), it also signifies the importance of the existence of a small group of people attempting to call for goodness (*al-ma'ruf*) and prevent from destructiveness (*munkar*) within the *ummah*, and this responsibility is a huge task that requires capability (*quwwah*) and effort (*ikhtiyar*). Accordingly, *da'wah* can be done through many ways (*wasilah*), among them are *da'wah* by words (*da'wah bi al-qaul*) and *da'wah* by deeds (*da'wah bi al-hal*). Al-Qur'an as the Word of God (*Kalamullah*) mediated through the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h) to be disseminated to mankind and His other creature (*al-'alamin*)(Yunus:108) is thus the main content of *da'wah bi al-qaul*. Islamic da'wah through drama is then the medium for disseminating and cultivating Islamic values by communicating Islamic ethics or *adab*, as well as its juridical facet.


## *Da'wah* and Contemporary Changes

Human society has gone through many changes and development. Therefore it needs active guidance to lead the accelarating changes facing the modern men. The Islamic *Shari'ah* conferred by God to the Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) is compatible

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[1] *Adab*, as defined by Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas is "…right action that springs from self-discipline founded upon knowledge whose source is wisdom." (al-Attas, 2001: 16).

with the need of the human society until the end of time. The delivery of the *Shari'ah* and the Islam's survivality requires dynamic individual namely the *da'i* (the caller) and the process of the dissemination of Islamic Shari'ah and its guidance are recognized as *da'wah*. With the advance of science and technology, the efficacy of *da'wah* requires effective method and medium such as drama that should be exploited in accordance to the characteristics and the worldview of Islam and its value-structure. Hence, the true understanding of the concept of *da'wah* and the wide range of its medium should be studied in order to see the applicability of the concept in different media within modern context.

## Islamic Values and *Da'wah* Drama

*Da'wah* drama is a drama that serves the purpose of disseminating the *da'wah*'s message i.e the Islamic teachings and values. The drama, whether in its written manuscript or in the form of a play or recorded version, should serve its original purpose in delivering good guidance and preventing destructiveness. This purpose will protect the Islamic ethics and *adab* throughout the process of the drama production from any elements polluting the true objective of the *da'wah* message. *Da'wah* drama can be read or watched. There are many form of *da'wah* drama existed in the history of Islam around the world, be it in the Middle East or in the South East Asia. In fact, *da'wah* drama that communicating Islamic values can also be found in the Qur'an and the *hadith*. The many forms of *da'wah* drama in different period, societies and cultural settings represent the richness and delicateness of Islamic understanding and values within the Muslim societies across time and space.

## *Da'wah* Drama in the Historical Development of Islam

Efforts to implement *da'wah* through drama had long been part of Muslims' creativity throughout their history. The many forms of *da'wah* drama existed in Muslim societies around the world regardless of their cultural settings and time can be found in these instances:

i.    Traditional drama such as "wayang kulit"[2] had been used by Indonesian Muslim to spread the *da'wah* message, especially in the work of the

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[2] Endon Salleh explains that: "Wayang Kulit is a type of puppet shadow play performed around the Indomalayan archipelago, tracing its origins to India. It is derived from a Javanese Hindu-Buddhist

infamous and legendary saints, the Wali Songo of Java. This proved the efficacy of the "wayang kulit" media in promoting Islam to the local people. This media was used by the saints because of its popularity among the Javanian people regardless of their age and cultural background (NurAmin Fatah in Ab. Aziz Mohd Zin, Jurnal Usuluddin 1997: 37).This type of puppet shadow play can also be found in many Arab countries including Morocco,Tunisia and Syria. In Turkey, the puppet shadow play is known as *karagos* (Abd.Rahman Napiah 1983: 38).

ii.     During the Abbasid period, there was a type of drama called *al-Ta$^c$ziah* practised by the Shi'a people to commomerate the killing of Hassan and Hussin in the Karbala' tragedy. The drama was intended to show the people's decry over the murder of the Prophet's beloved grandsons (Abd.Rahman Napiah 1983: 38).

iii.    Apart from *al-Ta$^c$ziah,* there was also another genre of *da'wah* drama known as *al-maqamat* in the form of narration of a story by mimicking facial expression ( Abd.Rahman Napiah 1983: 38).

iv.     Since 1942, the Malay drama began to incorporate the *da'wah* message, for instance the one entitled "Tariq Bin Ziyad: The Warrior of Islam", written and directed by Syed Alwi Alhady. The purpose of the drama was to inform the people about the bravity of the Muslim warriors and thus to enable the the Muslim generations to emulate their qualities (Abd.Rahman Napiah 1983:112). This drama had inspired the Malay Muslims at that time in their struggle to gain independence from the British colonial power.

tradition, where hand-crafted leather puppets depict epic stories of the gods in shadow play. A traditional Gamelan orchestra would accompany the story-telling. *Wayang*, in modern Indonesian language, is loosely translated to mean "show" or "performance". *Kulit* means "skin", a reference to the leather material that the figures are carved out of. Some attribute the word *wayang* to the Indonesian word *bayang* which means "shadow". The puppets are usually made out of buffalo and goat hide and mounted on bamboo sticks.In a shadow puppet play, the puppets are moved behind a cotton or linen screen by a *Dalang*, or a "Puppetmaster". The Dalang tells the story, interprets characters and voices for each character, producing sound effects with speech and movement. He manipulates all the figures between the lamp and the screen to bring the shadows to life. Most shadow play is based on two epic stories from India - the Mahabarata and it's sister work, the Ramayana. The Balinese and Javanese have combined the Hindu stories with Buddhist and Muslim ideas mixed with their own folklore." (http://infopedia.nl.sg/articles/SIP_193_2004-12-23.html, 20/03/09).

These instances verified that *da'wah* drama played a significant role in spreading the message of Islam and its values, hence enriching the societies' culture successfully. More importantly, the Qur'an and *hadith* had applied the *da'wah* method through narration and dialogue. Both the narrative and the dialogue methods are among crucial elements in drama.

## Elements of *Da'wah* Drama in the Qur'an

The elements of *da'wah* drama that can be found in the Qur'an are in the form of the narrations and dialogues aiming to inculcate the Islamic precepts in the heart of Muslims in particular and humanity in general. According to Rasyid Ridha (no date, 1:346), the stories in the Qur'an were told to motivate the human souls and to learn from its lessons.

The Qur'an was revealed among the Arab people who appreciate literature in the form of narrative stories and poems. The ingenuity of the Qur'an by conveying the message of Islam through this method had made tremendous effects on the heart and the soul of the *Jahiliyyah* Arabs.

The stories presented in the Qur'an contained guidance to enable mankind to perceive the religious truth (al-Razi, no date, 3:702). They were also full of spiritual guidance and advice. In terms of historical value, the place, time and the individuals involved in the stories were also accurately reported (Muhammad Qutb, 229). Ahmad Ghalwash (1978, 293-313) elaborates how the stories in the Qur'an play a significant role in conveying the *da'wah* message through:-

    i.    Cultivating motivation in the spirit of the *da'i*. The successful and failure stories of the messengers in their *da'wah* missions as well as their preserverance will inspire the da'i. This will increase the *da'is* spirit, and therefore motivate them to be steadfast in their missions and to face the challenges and difficulties in performing *da'wah* mission.

    ii.    Explaining the basis or foundation of the Islamic *da'wah*. The stories presented in the Qur'an emphasized the fundamental basis of *da'wah,* that is true conviction (*al-'aqidah al-sahihah*) or faith (*al-iman*) in Allah, His prophets/messengers, the angels, the holy books and the hereafter.

    iii.    Explaining the position of the target group of the *da'wah* missions (the *mad'u*). The Qur'an explains the various attitudes of the *mad'u,* especially

their resistance against the *da'wah* preached by the messengers. It also explains the class stratification existed in the society, mainly the wealthy and the poor. The morale of the stories is to remind the wealthy to be grateful with the abundance of providence granted unto them by God and the consequences of their ungrateful attitudes and hatred toward Islam.

iv. Contrasting the ancestoral belief that became the contraint of *da'wah* mission. The Qur'an in this case elaborates the stubborness and deviance of the unbelievers because of their strong hold on the ancestoral traditions without using their reason to judge the underlying basis of their belief.

The secrets of the knowledge contained in the Qur'an affected its audience tremendously. According to Al-Qaradawi (1979: 24), the stories in the Qur'an contained many secrets of knowledge, spiritual guidance and *Shari'ah* conveyed in subtle ways to be absorbed by human soul and reason. The stories of the Qur'an guide the researchers to understand the essence of the message of Islam. Allah says in Surah Yusuf verse 111;

There is, in their stories, instruction for men endued with understanding. It is not a tale invented, but a confirmation of what went before it – a detail exposition of all things, and a Guide and a Mercy to any such as believe.

The stories or drama in the Qur'an serve various purposes, among them are:

i. **The inculcation of faith and tauhid**

This form of stories can be found in the story of Abraham (a.s) recorded in Surah al-Ana<sup>c</sup>am verses 74-81. The characters in the story were Abraham, his father Azar and their people. It shows how Abraham used adequate evidence to confront his father and their people in order to invalidate their belief in the idols. The evidence used to prove the Unity of God and His unique attributes as The Creator compared to His creation was explained in the form of dialogues delivered by Abraham and witnessed by his father and his people. In Surah Maryam verse 42 - 48, the dialogue between Abraham and his father was to call human to worship only Allah, The One God. It also demonstrates the respectful manners of a son towards his father despite his father being an idol worshipper.

ii. **The Proof of God's Power and the Uniqueness of Human Being**

The story of Adam as the first human being created by God was told in a dramatic and interesting way. Beginning with the narration on the creation of the world by God and His Will to create Adam and his offsprings to make the world prospers and lively, the story continues to inform us about the dialogue between God and the angels regarding to His intention (see al-Baqarah:38-39). The angels' reply to God's intention was negative by clearly showing their disagreement (al-Baqarah:30).

The story of the dialogues took place between Allah and His three creatures; the human, the angels and the devil (Satan) was a historical account on the beginning of human's creation. These dramatical dialogues are more interesting compared to the narrative form. In this case, the audience is directed to experience the events by creative imagination as well as to enable them to absorb the true meaning and significance of the events.

### iii. The Social, Pure Intention (*ikhlas*) in Worship (*ibadah*) and the Solution for Criminal Law.

The stories that incorporate the elements of social drama reported in the Qur'an resemble true instances of social problems that had took place in reality. In other words, they represented the social realism of human society throughout history. Such stories, among them is the story of the conflict between the two sons of Adam, the first moulded with good manners, the other with badness (al-Maidah: 27 - 31).

This story brings the audience to perceive the true event in which the first human been murdered out of jealousy – a negative character produced by a sicken spirit. In this regard, God informed us the story to be a lesson for mankind in dealing with social problems. It also emphasizes on the importance of pure intention (*ikhlas*) in worshipping (*ibadah*) God,  for He accepts the good deeds performed with *ikhlas* by the believers and rejects the deeds done without *ikhlas*. Consequently, everyone who perform criminal actions will be punished due to its propotion (al-Maidah: 32).

### iv. On the virtuous manners (*akhlak*) and personality

The story of Moses and the daughters of Shu'aib exposed the humanity with the virtuous acts of mutual help (al-Qurtubi, 6: 71). The dialogue in the Surah al-Qasas: 23-27 consist of many elements: The characters: Moses, the two daughters of Shu'aib, Shu'aib himself and a group of shepherds; the place:  Madyan – the place where Moses

stopped and found the shepherds hoarding their sheeps to the water resource; the situation: a group of shepherds competing to get the water for their sheeps.

This story reported an event that took place sometime in history with the purpose of signifying some important ethical messages on the beauty of virtuous deeds (*al-akhlaq al-karimah*), among them are: i) helping other fellow human beings, ii) the virtuous manners performed by a gentleman (Moses) and women in their dealings, iii) the wisdom of a father in searching a fine and agreeable suitor for his daughter, iv) characteristics of a good and capable worker that is power (*quwwah*) and trustworthy (*amanah*). The message of this story is strongly influential because of the beauty of its narration and delivered in drama method that can be easily absorbed by the audience.

Apart from the story of Moses, they are also analogical stories (*tamthil)* to cultivate virtuous manners (*al-akhlaq al-mahmudah*). For instance, the story of the two farmers, the first been arrogant and the other tried to remind him of his destructive behavior. The characters: The two farmers, one was good, another was arrogant. The place: two grapeyards surrounded by dates and between them wheat farm. The situation: The dialogue between the arrogant farmer and his grateful friend reminding him of the power of Allah. The message of the story was to remind mankind not to be arrogant and ungrateful with the abundence of wealth and luxury granted by God for they are all belong to Him and He is able to grant them to whom He wants and to take them back from whom He wants. The message was delivered by comparative analogy between the two characters. Ultimately, Allah proved His power by destroying the wealth of the arrogant one because of his ungratefulness (*kufr*).

v. **Punishment on the Arrogance and Deviance Attitude towards The Messengers' Calling**

Many of this type of stories can be found in the Qur'an, for instance the event between Moses and Pharoah in Surah al-Syuᶜaraʾ:16-66. The character: God, Moses, Aaron, Pharoah, the wizards and the children of Israel. The situation: Moses called Pharoah and his people to believe in Allah, and his *da'wah* had been rejected by Pharoah. Moses showed his miracles granted by Allah and he was confronted by Pharoah's wizards.

This story is meant to remind the audience on God's power by saving His messenger and His punishment by destroying those arrogant people who disbelieve

Him. It also touched the heart of the believers through its imaginative narration on the torments inflicted unto the disbelievers and at the same time created fear in their heart.

## Elements of *Da'wah* Drama in the Hadith

The Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h) was a great da'i in conveying the *Shari'ah* to humanity through various effective methods, including *da'wah* drama. This method aimed to deliver the *da'wah* message more effectively There are many instances for the type of drama used in the hadith, such are:

### i.       Explanation on the Pillars of Islam

The Prophet's hadith which explains the three pillars of Islam, that are *Iman* (faith), *Islam* (submission) and *Ihsan* (Hadith reported by al-Bukhari and Muslim). This hadith was communicated by the dialogue between the Prophet (p.b.u.h) and Gabriel the Archangel. It brought a clear message on the meaning of the most important part of the Islamic faith. In this hadith, it was told that Gabriel had appeared in human's form. The characters: the Prophet (p.b.u.h), Gabriel and Umar al-Khattab (ra) as the narrator. The situation: The Prophet (p.b.u.h) was with his companions when a man came to him and ask him questions and he himself answered them all.

This story taught the importance of the best method to deliver messages effectively. The presence of Gabriel with a detail picture of his cloth, emotions and the way he sat gave a clear account on the event in the mind of the audience. Furthermore, the dialogue used in the form of a conversation between the teacher and his student had left a huge impact in delivering the message.

### ii.      Explaining Methods of Worshipping through Narration

The Prophet's hadith serve to explain the Qur'an, for instance, the obligations of prayer (*solah*), fasting (*sawm*), alm giving (*zakah*) and pilgrimage (*hajj*), but the details of the practice were left to be explained by the Prophet's hadith and sunnah. This is the main

task for the hadith – to explain the Islamic precepts according to what had been taught and revealed to the Prophet (p.b.u.h). Most of the hadith in this form aim in explaining the Prophet's behavior in accordance to the revelation, as in the hadith reported by Bukhari (no date. 2:35) which says: "Pray as you see me praying." Therefore this hadith must be read with another hadith explaining the methods of the Prophet's prayer as in the hadith reported by Abu Hurairah (Muslim, no date, 2:145 ). This hadith narrated the story of one of the *Sahabah* (the Prophet's companion) who did not know how to pray and the Prophet then taught the correct way to perform it.

This hadith was communicated by narrating the story in the form drama.  <u>The characters</u>: The Prophet (p.b.u.h) and a man who didn't know how to pray correctly. <u>The situation</u>: There was a man coming in to the mosque, and the Prophet (p.b.u.h) was sitting in one corner. The man prayed and then said *salam* to the Prophet (p.b.u.h). There were dialogues between them. This story explains the ethic of asking permission in the form of drama, therefore people can easily understand and follow. This method should be implemented by the *da'i* in conveying their *da'wah* messages effectively.

All the explainations in the narrative or dialogue form in the Qur'an and the hadith demonstrated that creative use of drama can be exploited as an effective *da'wah* medium. It is because the impact of the drama in the mind and the heart of the audience as well as the realities of life pictured by it make a tremendous difference.  It also has great attraction to all walks of society regardless of their age, gender, race and even language. The prevalent existence of television in many of today's houses whether in urban or rural areas multiplies the significance of this media not only for its entertainment programmes but more importantly to disseminate good messages. Taking into consideration on this important role plays by the drama in modern life, this research studies the effectiveness of *da'wah* drama specifically those broadcasted in Channel 1 (TV1) under the Radio and Television Malaysia (RTM).

## THE HISTORY AND THE PURPOSE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RTM
### (RADIO TELEVISION MALAYSIA)

The Malaysian broadcasting agency was firstly launched on 28th December 1963. Its first office and studio  was situated at Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman by Ampang Road,

Kuala Lumpur. During its first year, the programmes were tested and broadcasted from a broadcasting station in Bukit Sungai Besi to Kuala Lumpur area. In April 1964, the television broadcasting can be reached until Lumut, Perak and Melaka. In October 1964, almost all area in the Northern Peninsular had received the broadcasting service, followed by the West Coast in 1965 and the East Coast in 1966. At this stage, the television programmes were televised through only one channel in monochromic resolution.

The Malaysian Televison then moved from Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman at Jalan Ampang to Kompleks Penyiaran Angkasapuri at Bukit Putera, Kuala Lumpur in November 1969. At the same time the Radio Department and the Television Department were united and then known as Radio Television Malaysia (RTM). In 13th May 1969, it had launched its second channel in the Peninsular (Ronny Adhikarya, 1977:31).

RTM had been through many changes from monochrom to colored version since December 1978 in which 87.7% of its programmes were televised in colored and the other 12.3% in monochromic version (Kementerian Penerangan Malaysia, 1993 :14). As the government's broadcasting agency, RTM has an important vision to be achieved through its programmes, especially in strengthening the spirit of solidarity among the Malaysian people by stressing the use of national language. Apart from education and entertainment, RTM was also responsibled in explaining the government's policies and projects as well as informing the mass on many important issues concerning the society. RTM is therefore an effective tool to shape the people's mind and attitude in accordance to the new concepts necessary for the development of a new state in its way to further its advancement after gaining independence.

## TELEVISION DRAMA AND ITS ROLES

The broadcasting media has its own purpose in serving the people and this purpose is well preserved in all its programmes. In this case, the drama also cannot be separated from this philosophy. It is therefore very unlikely that the Channel One (TV1), as being the government's media, broadcasts drama that against the purpose of its establishment, that is to deliver the government's message to the people. In so doing, television drama broadcasted through TV1 should be realistic. It should show realistic problems and plot. Some of the drama were about historical facts, for instance the story of the old Malay feudal system in its early years. It was hoped that this type of drama can increase the awareness and love to national history  (Said Halim Nong, 1983).

This type of historical drama or period drama were then replaced by drama that focused on contemporary problems faced by the society. As the main function of the television is to entertain, therefore entertainment becomes one of the main purposes of the television drama. The educational and informational programmes, though not been totally neglected, were not highly stressed. On the other hand, the various and diverse backgrounds of the audience require neutralistic stand on the part of the drama message in order to be well received by the society. RTM in this regard, had been using drama as an effective communication media to deliver its message, therefore the themes of the television drama had been changed accordingly to the changing time and situations. Thus, the revival of Islamic awareness during the 1970s had tremendous influence on TV1 in which it also appeared to broadcast drama that have elements of *da'wah*. This study hence attempts to survey the audience/viewers opinion on the *da'wah* drama televised on TV1.

## AUDIENCE VIEW ON DRAMA IN TV 1

A group of academicians from the Faculty of Islamic Studies, National University of Malaysia had undertaken a research project on The Impact of *Da'wah* Drama in TV1. The research has been completed in October 2008. Questionnaires had been distributed to 430 viewers representing each geographical area/zone in Malaysia that are:

| No. | Area/Zone | Number of Respondents |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Northern area (Perlis, Kedah, Perak and Pulau Pinang | 90 |
| 2 | Weast Coast ( Selangor, Wilayah Persekutuan Kuala Lumpur and Negeri Sembilan | 85 |
| 3 | Southern area (Johor and Melaka) | 75 |
| 4 | East Coast ( Terengganu, Kelantan and Pahang | 101 |
| 5 | Sabah and Sarawak | 79 |
| | Total | 430 Viewers |

This study focused on three aspects, namely interest, impact and problem.

### i. Interest

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Questions were designed to materialize the type of drama that attracts the respondents and otherwise. The questions covered aspects such as:

    a. Respondents' interest in watching drama.
    b. Total time (hour) spent watching drama per week.
    c. Respondents' preferred themes.
    d. Viewers reaction during watching the drama.
    e. Factors motivated the viewers to continue watching.

**Respondents' interest in watching drama**

The result of the study showed that 82.6% of the respondents like watching drama and 17.4% dislike watching it. Watching interest is shown in the chart below:
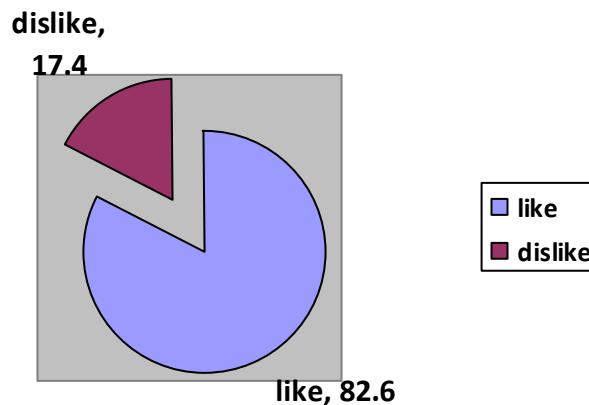
**Total time (hour) spent on watching per week**

Many respondents watch drama between 1-3 hours per week, followed by 4-7 hours per week. This range is regarded as considerate as TV drama are normally broadcasted between half an hour to an hour for each slot.
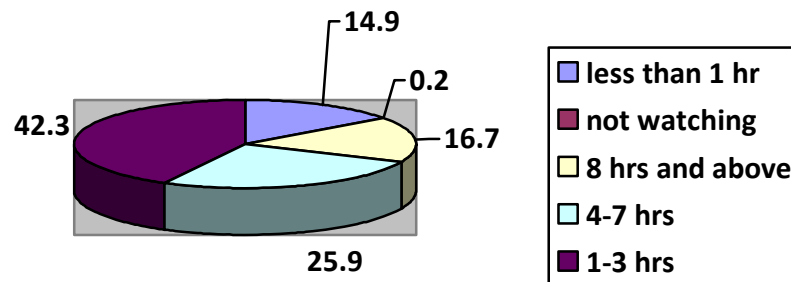
## Respondents' preferred themes

The highest drama themes chosen by the respondents were social and religious as demonstrated by the chart below:
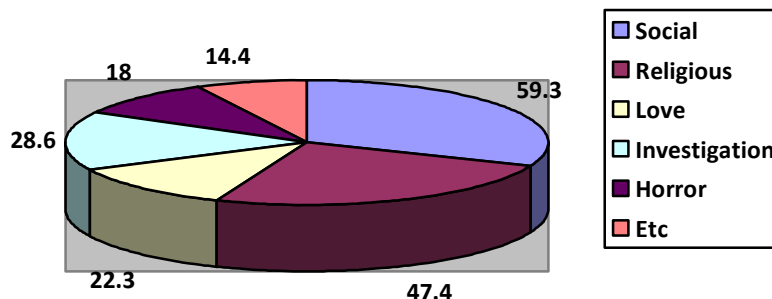


## Viewers' reaction during watching the drama

Respondents were given choices to evaluate their interest, based upon their reaction during watching the drama - whether they continue watching till the end of the drama, or part of it, or switch to other channel or turn off the television. Viewers who chose to watch the drama till the end regarded as interested in *da'wah* drama, whereas the others regarded as disinterested or less interested. The result of the study shows 54.9% of the respondents watched the *da'wah* drama till the end:
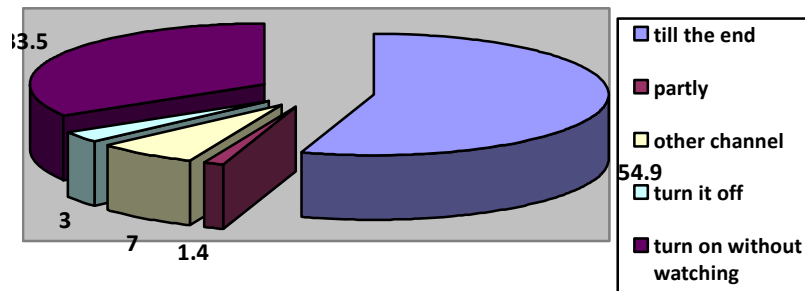
**Factors motivated the viewers to continue watching**

Viewers who chose to watch the drama till the end were required to give factors that motivate them to continue watching the drama. The result shows 52.1% chose to know the story as the reason and factor they remain watching, 47.9% stated that the reason was to learn the lesson from the drama. The result is shown as below:
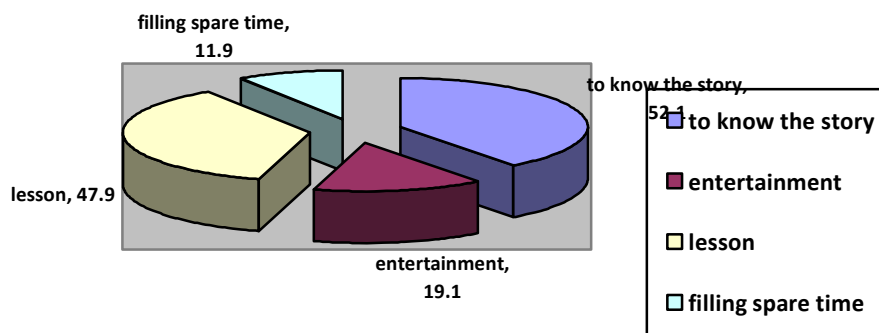


ii.    **Impact of *da'wah* drama**

This study looks at the impact of the *da'wah* drama on the respondents according to the questions postulated on them. The result shows that highest percentage saying 'yes' to lesson, followed by awareness on responsibility and then correcting faith. For those who said 'no', the highest percentage were to emulate the artists' personalities followed by their fashion style. The result is shown as below:

| Impact | Yes | No | Not sure |
|---|---|---|---|
| Faith | 56.3 | 5.3 | 38.4 |
| Awareness on responsibility | 71.4 | 10.9 | 17.7 |
| Following the artists' fashion style | 16.7 | 30.5 | 52.7 |
| Emulating the artists' personalities | 18.6 | 50.9 | 30.5 |
| Lesson | 73.7 | 6.5 | 19.8 |

### iii.    Problems regarding to *da'wah* drama

**Problems regarding to *da'wah* drama can be divided into three categories**:

### a)    Problems faced by the audience

The study looks at four main problems that might be faced by the audiences; the stories might be uninteresting, no quality, incomprehensible, and time constraint. The result of the study shows that 50.7% of the respondents regarded that the viewing time is not appropriate, 22.8% stated that the drama were not interesting, another 13.5% complained they were incomprehensible whereas 13% said they were no quality. The result is shown as below:
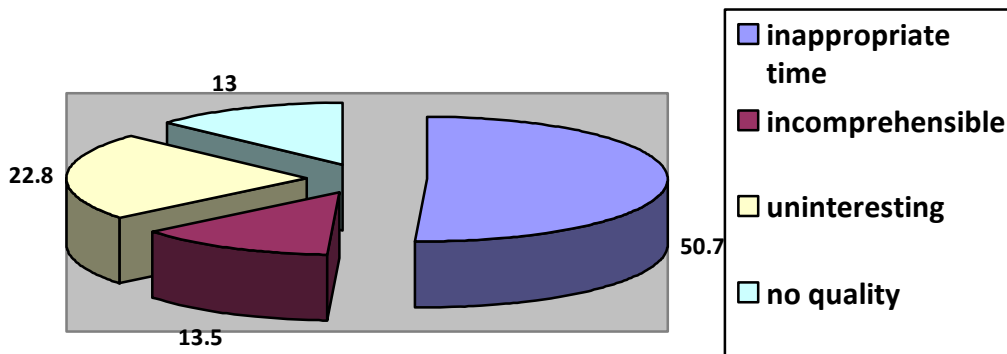


### b)    Expertise problems

The production of *da'wah* drama with quality, interesting and intelligible requires high expertise in terms of knowledge and skills of those who involve – the producers, directors, script writers, actors and all the drama crew. They should be knowledgable in their own field and also possess some basic knowledge of Islam with of course,  the guidance from the religious scholars.

### c)      **Ruling problems**

The production of *da'wah* drama for Malaysian televisions had received various views pertaining to its ruling in Islam and also attitudes toward the contents of the drama. Among the practitioners of *da'wah* drama, there are some who aware of the ongoing criticisms on many aspects of the *da'wah* drama, particularly its compliancy with the *Shari'ah* law.

This study had also undertook interviews with several *muftis* in Malaysia regarding to the abovementioned problems. Generally, there were slightly similar views among them. They perceive the *da'wah* drama as a viable method of *da'wah*, but this needs to be supervised and guided by those who are expert in the Islamic *Shari'ah*. Among the conditions applicable to produce *da'wah* drama are: (Siti Rugayah Hj. Tibek 2000: 315-316)

- ✓ Strictly avoidance of elements contradict with the *aqidah*.
- ✓ Does not contradict the Islamic *Shari'ah*.
- ✓ Avoidance of neglection of the religious obligations.
- ✓ The obligation to cover the '*aurah*.
- ✓ Preserving ethics in social relations.
- ✓ Avoidance of elements of gambling.
- ✓ Avoidance of squandering.
- ✓ Avoidance of elements of hatred and enmity.
- ✓ Avoidance of hurtful and damaging elements.
- ✓ Avoidance of saying something unbeliefs.

### Conclusion

The history of drama shows that it has been used to deliver particular messages since the Greek age until modern time. *Da'wah* drama in this regard, has played an important role in delivering *da'wah* message effectively. In Malaysia, television drama has been the mouth and ear of the government, and functions accordingly to the government's missions in fighting poverty, inculcating social solidarity among the people and increasing the economic levels.

All in all, drama functions in line with the criteria of effective *da'wah* methodology. It also mirrors the reality of societal life, hence the message can easily be absorbed by the audiences. The drama method is also used in the Qur'an and the *hadith* as been discussed proceedingly. Television channel is the most viable media for

*da'wah* drama. In Malaysia, 96% of the households possess televisions and 87% of adults watch television. By using television as a *da'wah* medium in disseminating Islamic values, the *da'wah* target will be widen and hence increase its effectiveness.

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# AFRICAN WOMEN WRITERS IN CULTURE CHANGE:THE DIALECTIC OF BUCHI EMECHETA'S CULTURAL DILEMMA: THE WOMAN-MAN-CULTURE DYNAMIC & CHANGE.

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# African Women Writers in Culture Change: The Dialectic in Buchi Emecheta's Cultural Dilemma: The Woman-Man-Culture Dynamic and Change

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Very few critics have taken into account or even seriously considered Buchi Emecheta's own assertion that:  "I don't deal with great ideological issues.  I write about the little happenings of everyday life" (Emecheta: 1986:23).  Many, on the other hand, have taken the revisionist interpretation of the feminist perspective asserting, as one critic wrote:  "Emecheta explores the barely traveled terrain of African femininity and uncovers the chilling facts about social victimization of African women.  This paradigm-shift from woman as exemplar to woman as victim is accompanied by the same ideological ambivalence … resistance against male authority … undermined by deference to it" (Allan 1995:100; see also Davies 1986; Fishburn 1995; Steady 1981).  This ideological ecdysis, driven primarily by the feminist movement in the West, has failed to grasp the deeper issues posed by creative minds like Emecheta.  The deeper issue, which we will try to grapple with and explore here, is an epistemological issue of the crisis in meaning or the shifting boundaries of the meaning system.

The colonial occupation presented not only a political occupation but a cultural occupation that produced a very significant crisis in the meaning systems of the traditional society.  The comprehensive meaning system, encapsuled in the symbolic structure, embodies

the culture as its worldview.  This meaning system imprints the structure of the universe and the order, arrangement, inexorability and coerciveness of social facts in our minds (Amachree 2001).  Thus the meaning system, represented by the symbolic structure explains and normativizes the society's existence and function by assigning meanings to its acts, social positions and both temporal and spatial relationships.  Professor Irele captures this very brilliantly in his analysis of Achebe's Things Fall Apart.  Irele contends that "The historic turning signified by the end of Okonkwo's personal story is thus registered at the specific level of language . . . .  There is a sense then in which the advent of the imperial moment is developed in Achebe's novel as a linguistic experience . . . .  the temporal scheme of the novel appropriately shifts from the cyclic plane . . . . to the strictly linear . . . ." (Irele: 2001:141).

The meaning system and its symbolic representations explain why Chief Nwokocha Agbadi is a chief; what makes him a chief and what the social usages and responsibilities of a chief are; why Ona could not and should not marry Chief Agbadi; why it is the man who should pay the bride-wealth; why a man marries more than one wife and what the duties and responsibilities of the wives should and ought to be; why a child must respect her/his parents; why "a complete woman" is buried in her husband's compound; why children, especially male children, are important; why we sacrifice to Olisa, etc. . ..  The meaning system is both explanatory and normative as Berger points out (Berger 1967:27-33).  In this way then, the meaning system, through its symbolic representation, explains the way things are and why they are the way they are and prescribes the way they should or ought to be as moral imperatives.  Thus the meaning system gives a coherent, consistent and parsimonious explanation of and prescriptive behavior in the social order.  The social order arising from the meaning system is legitimized by myths, epigrams, legends, idioms, proverbs and collective remembrances.  When

this happens, the social order is seen and impressed on the consciousness of its members as a divine creation and not just a set of human conventions and habits. This process comes about through the mystification of the meaning system, ascribing qualities of sacredness to it.

It is significant and important to present this meaning system as the world view of a people because their self-identity, who they are and how they actualize who they are, derives from the meaning system. Refer again to Irele's temporal construction of Achebe's Things Fall Apart, cited earlier. Thus Chief Agbadi, Nnu Ego, Nnaife, Nwakusor and all of them have to situation themselves, their temporal and spatial relationships, and all other actions, in a larger social context. They can only do so through the meaning system instructed by the symbolic structure and learned through years of socialization.

When, through the colonial conquest or the "imperial moment" as Irele would prefer, the meaning system is challenged, threatened, stressed and eventually overturned, we have a cataclysmic normative and moral crisis that Durkheim refers to as anomie (Durkheim 1951:246-257). There is in this case, in Durkheim's thinking, a profound deregulation of the collective conscience which makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for the group or the society to provide order, meaning and moral and normative regulation to its members. Few describe this anomie better than Achebe in his pithy description of the death of Umofia in Things Fall Apart (Achebe 1994: 186-187). Also in his assessment and empirical description of social change among the Yoruba as a result of the colonial assault, Fadipe concluded that, "on the whole, in view of the fact these changes in Yoruba society have occurred within the last fifty years, the maladjustment (my emphasis) to be found in the social system are only to be expected" (Fadipe 1970:327). In this way then, the colonial culture imposes definitional boundaries on the traditional culture. Indeed, Fadipe goes on to list these new definitional boundaries in the culture

(pp. 315-317).  These new definitional boundaries undermine many of the legitimations of the heretofore existing and relatively stable social order causing confusion, deregulation, meaninglessness and unfocusedness in the lives and minds of the members of the society.  One could then ask:  is the society fractured and if so, where then is the meaning center?  Does a true-blood Ibuza woman accept "used" clothing for her new baby?  If she does, how then does she understand its meaning?  Does a true-blood Ibuza man wash a woman's underclothes?  If he does, how does he understand its meaning?  These are the shifting definitional boundaries in the meaning system that those faced with the imperial mandate and the changing order have to confront and make sense out of.  It is this elasticity of the meaning system that creates the epistemological problems.

Thus people like Nnu Ego, Naaife and others caught in this shift in definitional boundaries of the meaning system, in this confusion and unfocusedness of the re-definitional problems, have a serious problem of marginality.  They are now unsure of where they stand as the now elastic normative system changes the operant locus each time.  Rules of behavior become open for negotiation and, while the traditional rules are "falling apart," the lack of familiarity with and sophistication in the new make it difficult to use it as the new meaning system and standard for behavior.  There is an enormous equivocation and prevarication exemplified by Nnu Ego and her creator.  This whole process results in humanizing the meaning system depriving it of, what Durkheim will call, its sacredness or mystification, and putting it in the profane category.  Thus as cultural systems become commodified or profanalized, they are increasingly seen as mere artifacts of human creation rather than as sacred and reverential norms and institutions and therefore subject to manipulation, negotiation, change and even negation.

Thus those operating in such marginal positions where the definitional boundaries of the meaning systems are changing, and where the volume of an imperial mandate is oppressively loud, are not operating on a calculus of gender, race, class, or nationality. They are struggling mightily in, and "about the little happenings of [their] everyday life" (Emecheta), to want or be able to calculate on broad gender or class categories. Their immediate and primary concern, in such a situation, is to figure out, daily, how to navigate the challengingly new and changing landscape. To impute to such a person or character the calculus of a broad gender or class orientation is to miss the significant point that Emecheta herself had made. Unlike Okonkwo, Nnu Ego is not the appropriate vessel or vehicle through which we see the culture and its demise. She is a marginal person struggling to navigate the unfamiliar new meaning system while struggling to hold on to the old. Oyono captures this "two-worldness" in Baklu's observation in Houseboy: "There are two worlds," said Baklu, "ours is a world of respect and mystery and magic. Their world brings everything into the daylight. . . . we must get used to it. . .. We laundrymen are like doctors, we touch the things that must disgust ordinary men" (Oyono 1990:81). The shift in the definitional boundary is quite clear—a new meaning crusted on the old.

In the traditional system, changes to the meaning system come through the process of legitimation. There are several examples of this but we find the one provided by Professor E. Bolaji Idowu to be more to the point and more illustrative. The emergence and acceptance of the cult of Olúorogbo in Ile-Ifè gives an excellent example of the use of myths, legends, folklore, etc. to redefine the meaning system (Idowu 1994:204-207). Professor Idowu even goes further to explain the failure of the Reformed Ogboni Society as it tried to reformulate itself as the new connecting syntax to all existing religious forms. The Obgonis lacked the legitimating process

(pp. 212-213).  This was precisely the problem of Nnaife and especially Nnu Ego in the new city.  The meaning systems were changing without the process of legitimation—no legends, folklore, epigrams, myths, proverbs and the like to explain and make the changes meaningful.   Indeed there was no extant theodicy in the city to explain and re-regulate the normative system.

If, then, we can conceptualize Nnu Ego in this context of the ambivalence in meaning, the elasticity of the operative rules of behavior, we will then be able to understand her temporalizing tentativeness and inconsistencies and also those of her creator, Emecheta.

We will now attempt to examine the novel and the character of Nnu Ego, Nnaife and others to demonstrate our contention that Nnu Ego is not a calculating feminist hero overtly bent on "deconstructing" the "hated" patriarchy with its authority and "chilling . . . victimization of African women."  Rather she was an ordinary woman, we will try to demonstrate, exploring a new and unfamiliar territory with mainly the changing traditional tools at her disposal.  Her new situation with fractured social worlds produced a state of uncertainty and confusion with an inability to focus and concentrate because of the rapidly shifting grounds under her feet.  It should be pointed out that ours is not an epicrisis but rather a theoretical exploration of some facets of the novel —those undergirding the psychology and social sources of Nnu Ego's personality and behavior.

As a result of their concern for the larger theoretical and, especially, ideological categories of gender, class and other "isms," many critics of Emecheta's Joys of Motherhood have missed the significance of the opening sentence of the novel which indeed serves as a true metaphor for the novel.  "Nnu Ego backed out of the room, her eyes unfocussed and glazed looking into vacancy" (Emecheta 1994:7).  Let us ponder and examine the compelling significance of this opening sentence.  If Emecheta thought it fit and significant to start her novel

with these words, they must be significant in their meaning or symbolism. Remember Achebe's use of Okonkwo's name to start the first three chapters of Things Fall Apart to symbolize what the story was about and who was the central character. So, here we see Nnu Ego "backing out." She was "backing away" from a sacrificial place where the old and the new clashed so violently as to destroy, temporarily, the meaning system. Nnu Ego saw what Nnaife could be in the traditional system: "He belonged to the clear sun, the bright moon, to his farms and his rest hut, where he could sense a nestling cobra, a scuttling scorpion, hear a howling hyena" (p. 46). But rather he was in this new place, "this square room painted completely white like a place of sacrifice (our emphasis)" (p. 46). This white-painted place of sacrifice was the dividing locus between the rugged and sinewy old and the flabby new, "where men's flesh hung loose on their bones, where men had bellies like pregnant women, where men covered their bodies all day long" (p. 46). This was the center of the meaninglessness that she could neither comprehend nor cope with. This is a dramatic moment of disorientation and utter confusion in the meaning system. Her backing out thus symbolizes her disconnecting link from the new colonial meaning system and also from the old traditional meaning system which is being supplanted by the new. This scene is replete with meaning. Here she is backing out to go and commit suicide, because of the death of her son, which she would not have done in the old traditional system. In that system, families would have rallied around to support and comfort her and, more importantly, would have invoked a theodicy—a cultural or religious explanation—to give meaning to this meaning-threatening-situation of the death of her first child, a son. There would have been primary rituals to normalize the situation. But here, in this new and unfamiliar culture, these supporting meaning systems and their ritualized cultural manifestations are not readily present resulting in shifting definitional boundaries and she is "backing out" to commit suicide—an act

unacceptable both in the old and in the new.  Notice that the third person narrator in an almost first person voice confirms this:  "However, a thing like this is not permitted in Nigeria; you are simply not allowed to commit suicide in peace, because everyone is responsible for the other person.  Foreigners may call us [notice the us? – my emphasis] a nation of busybodies, but to us, an individual's life belongs to the community and not just to him or her.  So a person has no right to take it while another member of the community looks on.  He must interfere, he must stop it happening" (p. 60).

Here, not only is Nnu Ego "backing out" of the shifting definitional boundaries but she is also "confused" in the process.  Her eyes were "unfocused and glazed" symbolizing confusion and she was "looking into vacancy."  The collapsing structure of her meaning system and its accompanying anomie can be seen, in its fullest strength, in this first sentence of the novel. Emecheta goes on to confirm this confusing lack of control as a result of the shifting symbolic meaning system and the collapsing cultural systems by, albeit with an inappropriate figure of speech, presenting Nnu Ego as a puppet who has no control over the circumstances of her life: "… like  a puppet reaching the end of its string" (p. 7)[1]  This figure of speech is not quite Iboesque.  Similar statements include Nnaife "making such encouraging sounds as if [he] was recounting a successful trip to the moon" (p. 121) and Nnu Ego being so hungry that she could "consume a horse" (. 167).  If there is any "voice-over" as Allan claims (Allan 1995:111), it is this type of postfactum westernized linguistic reconstruction.  But Allan's perceptive analysis of Nnu Ego's incongruous feminist complaint is very insightfully significant and we shall deal with that later.  Nevertheless, the imagery of the puppet-controlled, confused and buffeted by the hidden hands of shifting circumstances—tells us, with full force, the predicament of Nnu Ego

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[1] All references here except otherwise indicated are to Buchi Emecheta:  The Joys of Motherhood 1994, Heinemann: Oxford.

who is neither a feminist nor a women's liberation ideologue. We should therefore take the powerful symbolism of the first and opening sentence of the novel very seriously.

Nnu Ego's story is not simple nor is Emechata's "basic plot of the <u>Joys of Motherhood</u> . . . simple and straightforward" as Booker contends (Booker 1998:85). Human stories are never simple or straightforward. Today may tell us what tomorrow might be like but the unknown events of tomorrow will not tell us what the day after tomorrow and the other days to follow will be like. Life is a complex series of unknown corners that lead us to open spaces, to new pathways, or to blind alleys. Nnu Ego's story is no different as we present our summary analysis.

The story starts, very significantly, in Lagos, a British colony, in 1934. Thus, it starts in a place and an idiom that represent the fluidity of the cultural changes and the meaning systems that legitimized the erstwhile traditional culture. In this new locus, many Africans were not farmers, fishermen or chiefs like Nnu Ego's father, Chief Nwokocha Agbadi, but "like Nnu Ego's husband worked as servants and houseboys" (p. 7). [Servants here could have a double meaning of "personal servants" or "civil servants."] We are thus introduced, at the very beginning, to the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic [notice the Hausa beggar with his "Dan dura ba" (p. 9)] nature of the new locus and to the shifting definitional boundaries of the meaning system—what does a man do and what are his social relationships to the structure? What is a "houseboy," a concept absent in the traditional system? What is the operative language? What is a wife's relationship to her husband or a husband's relationship to his wife (wives?)? The changes are such that our eyes are "unfocused and glazed."

The story actually starts with a panoramic view of grief-stricken Nnu Ego rushing pell-mell to Carter Bridge to commit suicide because her first child, a son (Ngozi), had died just after

four weeks of life.  Even here the conflict in the meaning system and the openness of the definitional boundary is obvious.  Committing suicide by jumping off Carter Bridge (a modern construction and a modern way of dying) is juxtaposed with her traditional belief in her female chi, a sacrificial slave woman "forced to die with her mistress when the latter was being buried" (p. 9), who had come to take her life.

The story camera leaves us hanging —will she or will she not? —and pans over to Ibuza where we are introduced to her father, "Nwokocha Agbadi…a very wealthy local chief" (p. 10). Like the Old Testament and Islamic or Muslim patriarchs, Chief Agbadi had seven wives and two concubines, one of whom was the prominent concubine, Ona.  In anthropological terminology, he was a polygynist.  There is true "romance and love" between Ona and Chief Agbadi—"For the first time, she realized how attached she was to this man Nwokocha Agbadi. . . . he gave her his love without reservation, and she enjoyed it" (p. 15) —but because of her personal attachment and loyalty and traditional obligations to her father, Obi Umunna (or was it because "she had been dedicated to the gods. . . p. 17?) she had refused to be married but was willing to be a concubine to Chief Agbadi.

Chief Agbadi's senior wife, Agunwa, dies and, according to traditional cultural usage, she was to be buried with her personal slave who would then continue to serve her in the other world.  The protesting personal slave, who did not want to be buried alive with her mistress, was eventually cut down and buried with her mistress but not before her vaticination to Chief Agbadi that she "… shall come back to your household, but as a legitimate daughter.  I shall come back" (p. 23).  Later, Ona is pregnant for Chief Agbadi and delivers a baby girl that the dibia declared, to Chief Agbadi, was "…the slave woman who died with your senior wife Agunwa.  She promised to come back as a daughter.  Now here she is" (p. 27).  So, we learn that Nnu Ego is

the reincarnation of the slave woman, an "unforgiving slave princess from a foreign land" (p. 9).

Nnu Ego later married Amatokwu but found she could not bear children because "…the slave

woman who was her <u>chi</u> would not give her a child" (p. 31).  Her infertility causes a divorce

from Amatokwu and she later marries Nnaife Owulum, her current husband, who is a servant to

Dr. and Mrs. Meers, an Englishman, in Lagos.

Nnu Ego despises her new husband, Nnaife, on two grounds, and she does so by using

the meaning system of her traditional culture.  She despises his flabby protuberance that is

different, in her traditional meaning system, from the lean, firm and rugged farmer like her father

and her former husband, Amatokwu.  She despised him so much that she considered her first

sexual relations with him as "rape" (p. 46).  She also despises him as "a man who washes

women's underwear" (p. 49), since he was the washerman servant of Dr. and Mrs. Meers.  The

shifting boundaries of the meaning system are obvious here.  Nnu Ego uses her traditional values

and their meaning systems to judge Nnaife and yet when he, using the same traditional meaning

system, rebukes her for staring at him eating—"You know a wife is not allowed to do that" (p.

48)—she shifts grounds to the modern by legitimizing her new behavior by saying:  "That

applies in Ibuza, not here" (p. 48).  Again, when she accepts used children's clothing from Mrs.

Meers, she rationally legitimizes her behavior by saying:  "After all, who knew her in Lagos.

She was just a mother among so many thousands of others.  It did not matter" (p. 54).  And yet in

her traditional culture "…only slaves accepted worn outfits for a new-born baby" (p. 54).  The

meaning change is not obvious to her but the irony is obvious as she confirms Cordelia's wise

observation.  Earlier, referring to her husband, Nnaife, as "…a woman-made man" (p. 50), she

had concluded that:  "Yet these our husbands are like slaves, don't you think?" (p. 51)  To which

Cordelia had replied:  "They are all slaves, <u>including us</u>" (p. 51, my emphasis).  The symbolic

imagery of the slave as a receiver of used clothing for a new child is lost on her while it is vivid

to her in her husband's occupation and position. This is the marginality caused by the shifting

contours of the definitional boundaries. We are presented with an excellent example of Nnu

Ego's inability to locate a culturally acceptable behavioral center as a result of the expanding and

elastic meaning boundaries. In trying to reconstruct her behavior, or what she would now

consider appropriate behavior, after the death of her first child, Ngozi, Nnu Ego demonstrates the

depths of her confusion: "Nnu Ego told herself that the life she had indulged in with the baby

Ngozi had been very risky: she had been trying to be traditional in a modern urban setting. It

was because she wanted to be a woman of Ibuza in a town like Lagos that she lost her child.

This time she was going to play it according to the new rules" (p. 81). But her behavioral

decision belies her new-found determination to "play it according to the new rules." She scolded

herself: "Nnu Ego, the daughter of Agbadi, don't be greedy. Manage with Nnaife's income and

look after your child. That is your duty. Be satisfied with his earnings. Let him do his duty" (p.

81). It is this vacillation resulting from the changing boundaries of the meaning system that

Emecheta is describing and it is not an authorial ineptitude or insouciance but rather an accurate

and creatively faithful representation of the actual changing conditions and their impact on the

thinking and psychology of those involved and caught in the changing process.

Nnu Ego, struggling mightily, like her husband, in a milieu where the meaning system

and its definitional parameters are changing so rapidly, cannot be the mature, cognizant and

calculating feminist woman—the "woe-is-me, why-me type woman." Indeed when we see Nnu

Ego in this light, the "feminist-like" statements she makes seem weightless and represent

navigational fulminations of a marginal woman. Under these circumstances, Nnu Ego is not and

cannot be an appropriate cultural vessel to make such feminist and antipatriarchy

pronouncement.  This, it seems to us, is what Allan is referring to in her seminal observation: "So incongruous is this complaint/confession with the heroine's psychological portrait that one is inclined to suspect a voice-over rather than Nnu Ego's own voice" (Allan 1995:111).  Having made this very perceptive observation, it is incongruous for Allan to state that:  "Nnu Ego's cry for freedom is not a challenge; rather it is a complaint, a lament over unrequited affection" (Allan 1995:112).  The incongruity arises from the fact that Nnu Ego did not have a comprehensive meaning system to "think through" and evaluate what was happening to her.  As a marginal person she is characterized by "double consciousness/attitudinal ambivalence" (Stonequist 1937:139-183).

Nnu Ego is now enceinte for her despised husband in spite of her recalcitrant chi.  She, who thought she was infertile, now delivers her first child, a son, Ngozi, but he dies only after a couple of weeks.  All her pent-up frustrations explode driving her to seek refuge and meaning in suicide and go to her chi, that "unforgiving slave princess from a foreign land, to talk it all over with her, not on this earth but in the land of the dead, there deep beneath the waters of the sea" (p. 9).  That was how and why we saw her at the beginning of the story.  But she is frustrated from actualizing her plan and achieving her goal by a group of concerned public citizens and especially by that Olisa-sent countryman of hers, Nwakusor.

Nnu Ego settles down with Nnaife and soon gives birth to another son, Oshiaju but not before some of the conflicting and shifting value premises are brought up to the forefront again. While on the one hand she admires how her "manly" former husband, Amatokwu, would have traditionally handled her bereavement better than Nnaife, she, on the other hand enjoys her "modern" advantage of "being far from home, she knew, was that her husband's people could not register dissatisfaction with her by just getting him a girl next door as a surprise bride, neither

could they easily interfere to persuade him to make a decision about her" (p. 72). Again, Nnu Ego claims that: "In Ibuza, women made contributions, but in urban Lagos, men had to be the sole providers" (p. 81) because they "were now in the white-man's world" (p. 81). This new meaning system, she opines, "robbed the woman of her useful role" (p. 81); and yet the money she borrowed to start her own petty trade was from the Ibuza wives' association—"women [who] made a contribution … in urban Lagos" (p. 81). We are also told that: "The monthly meetings on the island with her fellow Ibuza wives did Nnu Ego a great deal of good. The other women taught her how to start her own business so that she would not have only one outfit to wear. They let her borrow five shillings from the women's fund and advised her to buy tins of cigarettes and packets of matches" (p. 52). We can only reconcile these apparent contradictions by reference to and understanding the shifting definitional boundaries Nnu Ego was faced with. If we only looked at the women's lack of contribution part, we will see a feminist perspective, but when we add its complementary side of the trading women's association that loaned her the money to start her own business we will then see the fuller and truer picture of her problem with these shifting symbolic and definitional boundaries. To understand Nnu Ego and her creator, it is important to see the balanced picture and especially the faithfulness of Emechela's description.

Nnu Ego and Nnaife suffer a reversal of fortune as their "master," Dr. Meers leaves for England to fight Hitler, and leaves Nnaife in the unemployment line which then became a series of frustrating debacles until Nnaife finds his way to Fernanda Po, leaving his wife and children to fend for themselves. In their struggles for survival in an uncharted journey, Nnu Ego encounters several individuals like Mama Abby, Iyawo Itsekiri and others who, in various and sundry ways provide aid and comfort. Nnaife returns from Fernanda Po and a good portion of his earnings enables his children to have some schooling while he goes to work for the

government, as a grass-cutter.  Nnaife's brother, who brought Nnu Ego to him in Lagos, dies and

Nnaife, in the cultural tradition of the levirate, "inherits" his wives, one of whom, the very saucy

and "very ambitious" (p. 117) Adaku, comes to live with him and Nnu Ego in Lagos.  With the

arrival of Adaku as a live-in second wife, the contradictions in the meaning systems between the

"traditional" and the "modern" are again brought to the fore.  Here all the dysfunctional aspects

of polygyny are exposed in all their nakedness and yet this exposure also shows the shifting

symbolic and meaning boundaries.  We are told that:  "Jealousy, fear and anger seized Nnu Ego

in turns.  She hated this type of woman…" (p. 118); and the cultural dilemma is posed in all its

openness.  On the one hand Nnu Ego struggles:  "She tried desperately to control her feelings, to

put on a pleasant face, to be the sophisticated Ibuza wife and welcome another woman into her

home, but she could not" (p. 119); and on the other hand, she dallies with the Christian and

European way: "she hated this thing called the European way; these people called Christians

taught that a man must marry only one wife.  Now here was Nnaife with not just two but

planning to have maybe three or four …" (p.119).  Yet in all this, Nnu Ego recognizes that the

meaning of her behavior was different in Lagos than in Ibuza:  "Nnu Ego was lucky there was no

Ibuza man or woman to witness this kind of un-Ibo-like conduct; many people would not have

believed it" (p. 120).  Nnu Ego could see the two different paradigms of the family but she could

not understand the processes of the change.  She even agonized over her slow inability to change

old habits:  "She had been in Lagos now for more than seven years, and one could not change

habits of so many years in two minutes. . ." (p. 120).

Later, Nnaife is conscripted into the army and once again Nnu Ego is left to fend for

herself but this time an initial remuneration from the army allows the education of the children,

mostly the boys, to take a significant and more fecund turn.  In Nnaife's absence Adaku leaves to

become an enterprising prostitute as one of the nascent meaning systems of economic survival. In the meantime, Nnu Ego's fertility has produced three sons, Oshia, Adim and Nnamdio, and four daughters, Kehinde, Taiwo, Obiageli and Malachi. On his return, the ex-serviceman, Nnaife, marries Okpo with part of his army pension. Nnu Ego finally goes home to Ibuza to see her ailing father who dies, literally, in her arms. Nnu Ego's two sons on whom she had pinned all her hopes, leave Nigeria for higher education—Oshia to the United States and Adim to Canada. In this faraway land, the elder son, Oshia, marries a white woman without informing his family and Nnu Ego only hears about it through rumors. Nnu Ego goes home to Ibuza and with the enormity of her misfortunes and misadventures pressing hard on her, goes mad and dies forlorn on the roadside. But her children come home to give her "the noisiest and most costly second burial Ibuza had ever seen, and the shrine was made in her name…" (p. 224).

Emecheta is an excellent storyteller and faithful to the sociological context of her story, but on occasions she allows the "sweetness" of the story to interfere with the structural integrity and proper sequencing of the story. Rationale and conditioning factors for certain occurrences and behaviors are omitted, leaving the readers wondering how they got to that point—to these new set of circumstances. It is as if the storyteller prescinds from one flowing set of events and reappears, after a hiatus, at another point leaving the reader with an authorial dead zone. Let us examine some of such examples.

First there is a confusion either in the storyline or in Nnu Ego's recollection. We are told that the reason Chief Agbadi freed his slaves was to atone for his sins so his daughter, Nnu Ego, could be fertile: "Nwokocha took his daughter home. Most of his wives … made her feel that even though she had not borne a child…. Her father renewed his expensive sacrifices to her <u>chi</u>, begging the slave woman to forgive him … that he had stopped dealing in slaves and had offered

freedom to the ones in his household….He made all these concessions for the emotional health of his beloved daughter Nnu Ego" (p. 35). However, in her re-telling of this emancipation story of the slaves, Nnu Ego subverts the reasons either because she had actually forgotten or she preferred sophistry. In order to validate her argument in her conversation with Cordelia, she tells us that: "…my father released his slaves because the white man says it is illegal. Yet these our husbands are like slaves…" (p. 51). Why then would Nnu Ego reconstruct this story to fit her changing conception of her husband and men like him?

Then there is the minor issue of the stature and proportions of this "jewel" of a woman, Ona. We are told that "she was of <u>medium</u> height" (p. 12) but also that when she "curled her <u>long legs</u>" we knew she had style." (my emphasis) The proportions do not seem to be congruent. If we knew that she was "tall and slim," then, maybe, the "long legs" would have been consonant.

Then there is the issue of why she did not marry Chief Agbadi. We are told that her father Obi Umunna, "had maintained that she must never marry; his daughter was never going to stoop to any man" (p. 12). However, we are given a different explanation later: "…she could not marry him? Because her father had no son, she had been dedicated to the gods to produce children in his name, not that of any husband…" (p. 18). The discrepancy is even more serious because the rationales are at two different symbolic levels. The first explanation is at the psychological level of a father too self-consumed and egocentric to allow his daughter to "stoop" to a husband. The second explanation is at the ritual, and sacrificial level of her being "dedicated" to the gods. It cannot be both—it has to be either one or the other. If it is ritual and sacrificial, it will be sacrilegious for the father to use it for his ego. On the other hand if it is

personal and egocentric it will be sacrilegious to use a sacred sacrifice to boost his own personal ego. Sometimes the "sweetness" of the story causes minor aberrations!

There is also Emecheta's subconscious preoccupation with skin-color. It seems that, to her, the tone of the color of the skin is significant. Ona, for example, had "skin like that of half-ripe palm nuts, smooth, light coffee in colour" (p. 12). When Nnu Ego was born she was seen as "a beautiful child, fair-skinned like the women of Aboh and Itsekiri area" (p. 27). Nnu Ego's first child, Ngozi, "had the very fair colour of her own skin" (p. 80). Her second son, Oshia, was handsome because he has "the look of an Arab or a Fulani" (p. 100), and he was "A tall, handsome man, like an Arab" (p. 107). On the other hand, Adaku, the ambitious and rambunctiously defiant one, was "dark, this woman, shinny black…" (p. 118). We also see in Nnu Ego's attachment to Mama Abby, a yearning, albeit subconsciously, for interracial harmony in the blended and mixed colors. This is painstakingly explained to us:

> Her husband, Abby's father, was a European who had been in the Nigerian colonial service: he had gone home after Abby was born…. She herself had white blood in her, she came from the Brass area, the rivers region of Nigeria whose people had had longer contact with foreigners….some places were so full of fair-skinned people that one might be in a world where whites and blacks had successfully intermarried and produced a nation of half-castes" (p. 107).

However, in spite of this subconscious desire for harmonious interracial relational intercourse, she did not seem to take it very well when she heard, through rumors, that her eldest son, Oshia, had married a white woman in America. This preoccupation with skin-color may be part of Nnu Ego's confusion since no other character seems to be interested in it.

The larger issues here, it seems to us, are those of transition and legitimacy. There is nothing in Adaku's life—her psychology, her social circumstances—that prepares us for her abrupt life-change. She says: "My chi be damned! I am going to be a prostitute. Damm my chi" (p. 168). There are no aberrant personality clues to prepare anyone for this change and the

manner of the change.  M. Keith Booker tries to divine the reasons by speculating that "Adaku

begins to prosper as a seller … but after some male relatives insult her (my emphasis), she leaves

home and definitely resolves to become a prostitute" (Booker 1998:86).  But why would the

judgment of the elders move her in this drastic direction?  There is no prefiguring stance; no hint.

Regarding Adaku's sudden and precipitous personality change to become a prostitute, even Nnu

Ego had admitted that there was no prelude to it:  "Women….came to Nnu Ego to hear the last

detail of it.  Most were surprised when she said that there had been no quarrel, that Adaku had

simply decided to leave" (p. 170).  Adaku, who, as a result of the practice of the levirate now has

a new husband, who has children (maybe not boys), who was doing very well both commercially

and financially:  Why would such a woman suddenly become a prostitute?  Indeed, one of the

women from Ibuza who came to commiserate with Nnu Ego said it well:  "Do you know… I

could understand you leaving Nnaife and leaving all his children to him, but not Adaku.  Her god

really blessed her in this town.  I don't see what else she wants" (p. 170).  Indeed that is the way

we all saw her, including Nnu Ego, and what makes her sudden character change, without any

prior warning, totally inexplicable and difficult to accept as an ungrafted part of the corpus of the

story.  Again, soon after Nnu Ego's return from Ibuza, she learns from Adaku that Nnaife had

visited Lagos while she was away.  "But why didn't you send a message home?  Nnu Ego asked

aggrievedly?" (p. 160).  To which Adaku replied:  "He didn't stay long…" (p. 160).  The sudden

drift to a heated confrontation and quarrel is too abrupt and we had not been prepared for it.  Nor

do we know the cultural transitions of a traditional Ibo couple giving their children Yoruba

names of Kehinde and Taiwo.  How could a man whose cultural distance with Yorubas was so

wide that he could say:  "No child of mine is marrying a tribe that calls us cannibals.  A tribe that

looks down on us, a tribe that hates us" (p. 210), call his daughters Yoruba names and have

cognitive consonance? The cultural and social transformation or transition is not presented.

Even Nnu Ego confirmed that her "…Yoruba landlord … did not trust any Ibo person" (p. 97).

What changes took place for this Ibo couple to give their daughters Yoruba names? The stretch

of our imagination is not that long. Such transitional gaps create conceptual problems. To

complicate issues, Kehinde tells her father: "Father, I want to marry and live with Ladipo, the

butcher's son…" (p. 204), and later we hear Kehinde: "No, no." Kehinde answered slowly, "I

ran to them. And I am going to marry Aremu the butcher's son" (p. 210). There has to be a

reconciliation.

The other issue of vehicular suitability or legitimacy is also critical. Is Nnu Ego the

appropriate vehicle to make those powerful gender statements?

> Never, not even in death. I am a prisoner of my own flesh and blood. Is it
> such an enviable position? The men make it look as if we must aspire for
> children or die. That's why when I lost my first son I wanted to die, because I
> failed to live up to the standard expected of me by the males in my life, my
> father and my husband—and now I have to include my sons. But who made
> the law that we should not hope in our daughters? We women subscribe to that
> law more than anyone. Until we change all this, it is still a man's world, which
> women will always help to build (p. 187)

This is the same woman who later when Nnaife was sentenced to jail naively complains

to us: "But I don't understand it….things surely have changed, but Nnaife still owns us, does he

not?" (p. 218). To which the urban-wise Adaku replies: "I'm afraid even that has changed.

Nnaife does not own anybody, not in Nigeria today" (p. 218).

Eustace Palmer (1983) is both right and wrong in his characterizations of Nnu Ego and

Emechata's work. It is indeed right on Palmer's part to think of Nnu Ego as both passive and

weak and therefore not a fit vessel to espouse the feminist views that she did. The picture of Nnu

Ego at the sentencing scene of Nnaife does not present her as the strong, self-confident, world-

wise woman who would make these strong comparisons and assertions about the sorry plight of

women and the power and overriding privileges of men.  We see her almost as a child in the hands of the "wise" Adaku who paints the truer picture of her for us:  "But senior wife, don't worry.  You believe in the tradition.  You have changed a little, but stood firm by your belief" (p. 218).  We agree with Eustace Palmer, therefore, that such a woman is not strong, sophisticated and perceptive enough to be a feminist spokesperson.  Indeed the strength of her sophistication in her own traditional culture is even in question.  Here we will try to introduce a cultural hypothesis for Nnu Ego's passivity and weakness—her personality.  We start with Achebe's formulation in Things Fall Apart.  Okonkwo was in love with Ekwefi and he married her; Ndulue was in love with Ozoemena and he married her.  Agbadi was in love with Ona but he never married her.  "…Agunwa died and Agbadi sent a big cow to her people to announce her death.  Having died a 'complete woman,' she was to be buried in her husband's compound" (p. 22).  As much as Chief Agbadi loved Nnu Ego and her mother Ona, there is a complex, in the inner recesses of the cultural usages, that attributes itself on the child whose mother was not a full wife.  It is possible that this psychological incompleteness, in a cultural sense, may serve as an inhibiting and restraining factor—maybe in the inner recesses of her subconscious mind.  She is not as strong as her mother or father and her bravado is easily subdued by Nnaife, Cordelia, Adaku, Amatokwu, Okpo or even her children.  The sight of her being cradled by Adaku after the court scene shows this inner diffidence that has to come from some psychological incompleteness.  We can see aspects of this in the perception of her mother, Ona, and her behavior, by others in the society.  "People said she had had him bewitched" and that she was "a rude, egocentric woman who had been spoilt by her father…. The story gained credence…." (p. 12).  She was also seen as "a woman who was troublesome and impetuous, who had the audacity to fight with her man before letting him have her; a bad woman (my emphasis)" (p. 21).  So,

whatever love Chief Agbadi or her father, Obi Umunna had for her, the ordinary people saw her as one who did not fully understand nor participate in the culture—she was a marginal person not fully ritualized into the traditional cultural system. Nnu Ego's mother was never a "full" wife (as Adankwo says: "Have you ever heard of a complete woman without a husband?" p. 158) and so she could not be a "full" daughter. Complicating this cultural incompleteness may be the neurosis caused by the general feeling that her mother was the cause of Agunwa's, Chief Agbadi's senior wife, death. It was not just that people felt she was the cause but, more significantly, that "She knew that people blamed her for Agunwa's death though no one had courage to say it openly" (p. 22). The implications of this are enormous in a traditional society and may partly explain her daughter, Nnu Ego's ultimate madness. Even up to the very end: "At home in Ibuza, Nnaife's people branded her a bad woman" (p. 223) and that "She became vague, and people pointed out that she had never been strong emotionally" (p. 224). This personality profile may help to explain some of Nnu Ego's problems and inconsistencies.

And it is precisely for this reason that Eustace Palmer is not correct in saying that: "…There will be many who will find Emecheta's analysis of the female situation controversial: her presentation may not be able to stand up to sociological scrutiny" (Palmer 1983:55). If we saw Nnu Ego as a feminist spokesperson, then Palmer is right that she is not a worthy sociological specimen or vehicle. On the other hand, if we viewed Nnu Ego as a marginal person, in transition between two or more cultures, then we can understand her much better. She can see things happening but she is not quite able to perceive or comprehend them. Her perceptive stance is also different because, unlike Cordelia or Adaku, Okpo and the others, she has a slight cultural deficit in that her mother was never married. So that even from the traditional cultural perspective, she is marginal. As a result, she is very sensitive to happenings

around her without a significant level of cognition. She can therefore stand up to sociological

scrutiny and is thus an excellent sociological specimen.

Let us try some cross-cultural and cross-national examples. As more and more women

and especially married women enter the labor market in Western societies (Bureau of Labor

Statistics, 1997; Bond, Galisky & Swanberg, 1998), there is a corresponding shift in the meaning

system of gender roles. The breadwinner-homemaker dichotomy is fast disappearing as the

United States labor force now has a preponderance of dual-earner couples. It is estimated, in

1997, that 78% of workers are married to employed spouses and in 75% of these dual-earner

families, both are employed full-time (Bond et al. 1998). This has triggered not only a heated

dispute in the theoretical circles but has ushered in a reconceptualization of the behavioral

attributes of men and especially of women.

Achebe captured the mood of this anticipatory behavior of and socialization into change

quite accurately. We see it in Things Fall Apart: "Umofia was like a startled animal with ears

erect, sniffing the silent, ominous air and not knowing which way to run" (Achebe 1994:196).

When structural changes occur that significantly affect the symbolic meaning system, the effects

on those affected are confusion and unfocussedness, not knowing where to go for answers or

how to cope with, understand and resolve the meaning crisis. J. T. Wood (1995) describes this

confusion aptly as the "vibrant dialectic" by which the gnosis and praxis in feminist scholarship

had produced the dialectic tension that arises from the recognition that social structures and

social processes that produce inequity, such as those enumerated elaborately by Nnu Ego, are

cultural, social and political. Framed this way, feminist theories not only question the received

canons of gender and their undergirding epistemologies but proceed and attempt to reformulate

them. Two dominant reformulations of the nature of gender are extant—gender as a role and

gender as a social construct. Conceptualized as roles they posit a situation in which male and female are perceived as performing different but complementary functions to the society, its integrity and survival which may be perceived as instrumental and expressive or as breadwinner and caregiver. Here, the content of the role, its functions and the processes by which it is learned and expressed are paramount. On the other hand, the social constructionist conceptualization of gender sees it as a creation of the cultural values expressed in its symbolic system, its rewards and privileges, its power and resource allocation (see Fox and Murry 2000). Viewing gender as a social construct not only requires a significant detachment from the culture and sophistication in conceptual tools but it also opens up the concept to debate, reformulation, negotiation, change and even negation. Even in the West with its activist feminist orientation there is still considerable fluidity in concretely delimiting the recalcitrant boundaries of the meaning system. Women and men are still wrestling with the definitional issues of family and work and the culturally equitable division of labor. Some may argue that this fluidity and elasticity in the meaning system and its shifting boundaries may be a major contributing factor to the current escalating divorce rate—a period and process of adjustment.

It is therefore our contention that Nnu Ego does not and cannot fit the profile of a feminist ideologue. Indeed, there is enough cultural baggage to prevent her from being one. We should therefore see Nnu Ego as Emecheta sees her: Nnu Ego does "not deal with great ideological issues…." [she] deals with the "little happenings of (her) everyday life." Emecheta presents to us an exquisite story of a young woman struggling through the new experiences she could neither comprehend nor control. It is a complex story of an ordinary woman caught in the web of social and cultural change. The beauty of the creative genius is that it opens itself to a variety of viewing positions, conceptual interpretations and reformulations and above all,

constantly newer ways of seeing the same old picture.  Emecheta has presented us with such a

creative image that allows us to see and hear the story with a slightly different nuance each time.

The <u>Joy of Motherhood</u> is indeed a joy to read and re-read.

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# The Timing of the Demographic Dividend in Egypt[1]

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## Abstract

The demographic transition not only has consequences for the rate of population growth but also affects the population structure. Egypt is no exception. As a result of mortality and fertility changes in the last fifty years, Egypt has started to experience changes in its age structure. It is evident that the proportion of young dependents has been getting relatively smaller as a response to the decline in fertility. As a result of these changes in the age structure, the dependency ratio declined in favor of those in the working ages 15-64.

According to the reviewed literature and the conditions for the demographic dividend stated by others, Egypt has been experiencing the demographic dividend since the 1960s when the working age relative share in the population started to increase and the dependency burden started to decline. During the same period when Egypt has been experiencing declining fertility and increase in the working age share in the population, the number of births, the magnitude of the natural increase and population size below 15 have been growing in parallel due to the population momentum.

Accordingly linking the demographic dividend only with the dependency ratio is not enough. Policy makers are faced with a number of challenges among them scarce resources and more importantly a population problem that is growing since population sizes of all age groups are still increasing, but with varying growth rates. This study projected when Egypt would reach the period of the demographic dividend based on the dependency ratio and suggested additional demographic indicators.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

Demography has produced one of the most documented generalizations in the social sciences, the demographic change or demographic transition. Demographic transition has been a leading topic in the literature for at least 7 decades. The earlier formulations came as early as the 1920s and 1930s. The first to introduce the term "transition" was Adolphe Landry in 1934.

It is often stated that societies, which experience modernization, move from a pre-transition context of high fertility and high mortality to a post-transitional one in which both are low. Egypt is no different with respect to these demographic changes. Improvements in survival chances have been witnessed in the decades of the sixties onwards. Fertility changes have been reflected more recent. Fertility has been high and resistant to change for a long time. Decline started at diverse levels. Speed and magnitude of change varied significantly within Egypt.

The objective here is to explore the demographic changes in Egypt, with more emphasis on the more recent changes in fertility, and specially its implications on age structure. One of the most important implications of demographic transition is the demographic dividend. A review of this dividend is presented. We then focus on Egypt and explore its demographic transition and the expected time of the demographic dividend.

# 2. KNOWING THE DEMOGRAPHIC DIVIDEND

Age structural changes are an important part of demographic transition. These changes are determined by the timing and speed of fertility and mortality declines. Fertility and mortality are constant during the early stages of demographic transition resulting in a constant age structure. During the second stage of demographic transition, mortality declines and fertility remains constant, a significant share of a country's population is young, leading to a high dependency ratio. When fertility starts to decline, the high fertility cohorts of the previous stage of demographic transition move into the working ages. This contributes to a decline in the dependency ratio. During the later stage of

demographic transition, when both fertility and mortality reach the lowest level, the share of old aged population increases as cohorts of the high fertility regime age move to old age groups. Owing to the increase in the elderly population, the dependency ratio increases again during the final stage of demographic transition.

The nature of the changing age structure of the population during the demographic transition has various social and economic implications. Different views have come up regarding the consequences of population growth on development. Pessimists have argued that population has had negative impact on development while optimists concluded that population pressure triggers technological changes that may lead to positive economic growth. Others concluded that the relationship is contextual.

Demographers observe the decline in the dependency ratio and increase in the working aged population during the age structural transition, as a "demographic dividend" or "window of opportunity" invoked by the demographic transition. Ross (2004) stated that falling birth rate changes the age structure and triggers the demographic dividend.

The demographic dividend is a temporary phenomenon. Therefore, when a region is expected to have the conditions of a demographic dividend, it is essential to capitalize on this 'window of opportunity'. That is why it is also called the demographic bonus. In most regions, the demographic dividend can be expected to begin occurring after a significant decline in fertility. Theoretically, and putting temporarily aside other factors, it would continue as long as fertility rates continue to decline, or the 'boom' generation reaches an age where they in turn become dependent and less-productive. At this point, the dependency ratio increases again and care relatively changes towards the elderly. If matched with effective policy, the demographic dividend could lead to beneficial long-term effects for the population as a whole. For this reason, the demographic dividend has to be earned and it is not automatic. The potential positive outcomes of the demographic dividend are well stated by Bloom, Canning and Sevilla (2003) and Ross (2004). Bloom, Canning and Sevilla (2001) studied the dividend all over the

world.  It was clear that the dividend was capitalized in some areas and not in others.

## 3. EGYPT'S DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION

Egypt's population, estimated at 3 million when Napoleon invaded the country in 1798, has increased at varying rates. The population grew gradually and steadily throughout the nineteenth century, doubling in size over the course of hundred years. The population size doubled to tripled to around 9.7 million in 1897 according to 1897 Population Census, as shown in Table (1).   Beginning in the 1880s, the growth rate accelerated, and the population increased more than 800 percent in 100 years.  The growth rate was especially high after World War II.   In 1947, the population census indicated that Egypt's population was 19 million.  It then jumped to 26 million in 1960 at an annual rate of growth of 2.34 percent during the period 1947-1960.   The census in 1976 revealed that the population had ballooned to 36.6 million.  After 1976, the population grew at an annual rate of 2.8 percent and in 1986 reached a total of 47.7 million and then 58.8 million in 1996, an annual growth rate of 2.1 percent during the period 1986-1996, as indicated in Table (1).

### Table (1): Population Size in Egypt 1897-1996

| Year | Pop Size (000) | Period | Growth rate (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1897 | 9669 | | |
| 1907 | 11190 | 1897-1907 | 1.46 |
| 1917 | 12718 | 1907-1917 | 1.28 |
| 1927 | 14178 | 1917-1927 | 1.09 |
| 1937 | 15921 | 1927-1937 | 1.16 |
| 1947 | 18967 | 1937-1947 | 1.75 |
| 1960 | 26085 | 1947-1960 | 2.34 |
| 1966 | 30076 | 1960-1966 | 2.52 |
| 1976 | 36626 | 1966-1976 | 1.92 |
| 1986 | 47751 | 1976-1986 | 2.75 |
| 1996 | 58755 | 1986-1996 | 2.08 |

This significant growth was the result of both mortality and fertility transition. Figure (1) illustrates the components of natural increase during the period 1920-2000. According to this figure, Egypt's demographic transition could be divided into three stages. First, 1920-1945 characterized by high fertility-high mortality. During this period, both crude death rate (CDR) and crude birth rate (CBR) were record high. CDR fluctuated above 25 per thousand population while CBR ranged between 40-45 per thousand population. Second, 1945-1985 characterized by high fertility-low mortality. CDR started to decline during this period of time. It decreased from 28 to around 10 per thousand population. On the other hand, CBR remained around 40 per thousand population. CBR experienced some decline during the 1967-1973 due to the war effect. Third, 1985- present time of low fertility-low mortality. During this period, CDR continued to decline to around 6 per thousand population. At the same time, CDR declined rapidly at the beginning from around 40 to 28 per thousand. Lately, some leveling off could be observed since the late 1990s.



Figure (1): Trends of Crude Birth and Death Rates 1920-2000
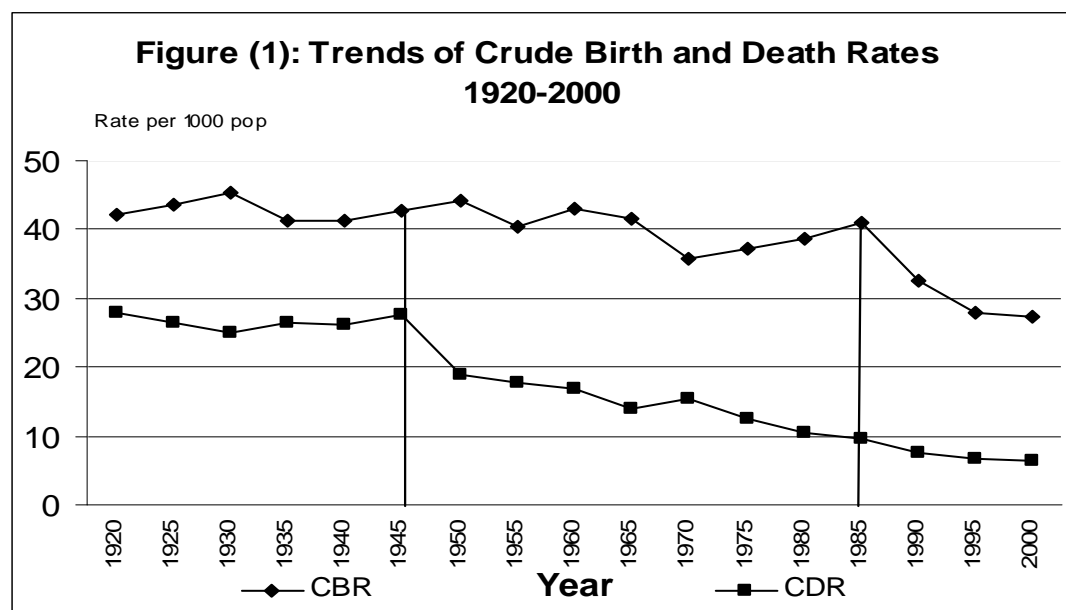
At the same time, infant mortality rate (IMR), which stood at the alarmingly high rate of 200 per 1000 live births in early 1950s, was roughly halved in the mid 1980s and was halved again by late 1990s. IMR is currently

around 38 per 1000 live births according to the latest Egypt Interim Demographic and Health Survey conducted in 2003 (El-Zanaty et al, 2004).

## 3.1 The Context of Egypt's fertility transition

Fertility transition varies widely in within and between populations. Like many other developing countries, Egypt is still undergoing its fertility transition from high levels to low levels. During the period 1980-2003, six major fertility surveys were conducted in Egypt, namely 1980 Egyptian Fertility Survey, 1988, 1992, 1995 and 2000 Egypt Demographic and Health Surveys and 2003 Egypt Interim Demographic and Health survey. According to these six surveys and some earlier estimates of fertility, fertility in Egypt has been declining since the early 1960s. Total fertility rate (TFR) had been as high as 5.28 live births per woman in her reproductive age in 1980, and as low as 3.63 in 1995 and 3.2 in 2003, a decline of almost 40 percent in 23 years, or about 2 percent annually.

In 2000, 63 percent of women aged 25-49 years were married. This percentage did not experience significant changes during the period 1980-2000, although median age at first marriage slightly increased, as shown in Table (2).

The use of contraception is the most frequently cited factor in fertility decline (Guilkey and Jayne, 1997; Lindstrom, 1998). Egypt achieved great progress in increasing contraceptive prevalence during the period 1980-2003. Use of contraceptive methods among currently married women increased from 24 percent in 1980 to 60 percent in 2003, 250 percent increase in 23 years. The main bulk of this had been mainly achieved during the period 1980-1992. In the three-year period 1992-2003, contraceptive prevalence rate increased only one percent every year from 47 to 60 percent, a clear indication of a plateau stage.

The differences in the median duration of postpartum insusceptibility, resulting from women being either amenorrheic or abstaining, reflect the difference in the length of both breastfeeding and postpartum abstinence. It is clear that Egypt is going through a period of declining median of postpartum insusceptibility. The median was almost 9 months in 1980. In 2003, the duration declined more than 50 percent to almost 4 months, as shown in Table (2).

**Table (2): Proximate determinants of fertility in Egypt, 1980-2003**

| Proximate determinants | 1980 | 1988 | 1992 | 1995 | 2000 | 2003 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -Total fertility rate (live births/woman 15-49) | 5.28 | 4.41 | 3.93 | 3.63 | 3.53 | 3.2 |
| -Proportion married (women, 15-49) (%) | 65 | 65 | 65 | 65 | 63 | ** |
| -Median age at first marriage in years (women, 25-49) | ** | 18.5 | 19.2 | 19.3 | 19.5 | 22.1 |
| -Contraceptive prevalence rate (%) | 24 | 38 | 47 | 48 | 56 | 60 |
| -Median duration of postpartum insusceptibility (months) | 8.9 | 7.2 | 6.1 | 5.6 | 4.0 | ** |

Sources: Hallouda et al. (1983), Sayed et al. (1989), El-Zanaty et al. (1993, 1996, 2001 and 2004), and special tabulations.

## v- Socio-cultural context of fertility transition

Along with these changes in fertility, contraception, marriage, and postpartum infecundability, Egypt has gone a long way in the process of modernization and improving the status of women. Female Education, as an indicator of her status, has shown significant improvements in the last two decades. The improvements are illustrated by the dramatic fall across successive age cohorts in the proportion never attended school. According to the latest 2003 Egypt Interim Demographic and Health Survey, 38 percent of ever-married women had no education, 13 percent with some primary education, 14 percent with primary through secondary education, and 36 percent completed at least secondary education (El-Zanaty et al., 2004). In 1995, there were about 44 percent with no education, 20 percent with some primary education, 13 percent with primary through secondary education, and 24 percent completed at least secondary education (El-Zanaty et al., 1996). In the early 1990s, 48 percent of the ever-married women were not educated and 20 percent completed at least secondary education. In the late 1970s, almost 60 percent had no education.

Along with this improvement, more mothers in relative terms would aspire university education for their daughters. In 1980, almost 61 percent of mothers wanted their daughters to have university education, compared to 67 percent in 1992. On the other hand, more mothers in relative terms aspired higher education for daughters in the other three regions (Selim, 1995).

The educational gains have not been paralleled by substantial expansion in female employment, because it has not improved much since early 1980s. Only

19 percent of the ever-married women in 1995 were employed, compared to about 16 percent in 2000.

These changes have taken place in a cultural context in which there are significant limits on the degree of autonomy the Egyptian women exercise in decision making with regard to crucial aspects of their lives and the lives of their children. Only 17 percent of currently married women in 1995 reported them alone or jointly with their husbands had the final say in all household decisions. These decisions included having another child, contraception, and children's education, marriage and medicine. Unfortunately, the information collected about women empowerment in 2000 EDHS was different. They included own health care, making large purchases, visits to family/relatives/friends, what food to cook. Nevertheless, one could detect a significant increase in women autonomy. About one-third the ever-married women reported that they either alone or jointly have the final say in these specified decisions.

**Table (3): Socio-cultural context of fertility transition, 1995-2000**

| Region | No education | | Some Primary | | Primary - some secondary | | At least Secondary | | Currently employed (%) | | Alone or jointly have final say in all decisions (%) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1995 | 2000 | 1995 | 2000 | 1995 | 2000 | 1995 | 2000 | 1995 | 2000 | 1995 | 2000 |
| Egypt | 43.7 | 43.2 | 19.7 | 13.2 | 13.0 | 13.0 | 23.6 | 30.5 | 18.9 | 16.8 | 16.9 | 31.2 |

Source: El-Zanaty et al. (1996 and 2001).

## 4. EGYPT'S DEMOGRAPHIC DIVIDEND

The demographic transition not only has consequences for the rate of population growth but it also affects the population structure as mentioned earlier. Egypt is no exception. As a result of mortality and fertility changes in the last fifty years, Egypt has started to experience changes in its age structure. Table (4) illustrates the changes in the age structure during the period 1947-1996. It is evident that the proportion of young dependents has been getting relatively smaller as a response to the decline in fertility. Proportion of population less than 15 years of age was almost 43 percent in 1960. It declined steadily to almost 37

percent in 1996 according to the latest population Census.  This decline in young dependents in relative terms was directly reflected in the economic age group of 15-64 years of age.  The share of this group increased from 54 percent of the population in 1960 to 59 percent in 1996.  This resulted in a decline in the dependency ratio during the same period 1947-1996.  It is worth noticing that the 1996 age structure is close to that of 1947.  However, the factors leading to each are different.  As a result of these changes in the age structure, the dependency ratio declined in favor of those in the working ages 15-64.  In 1960, almost 86 people out of the working age were dependent on 100 people in the working age.  According to 1996 population census, the ratio is 70 to 100, a relief of about 20 percent.

**Table (4): Percent Distribution of the Population by Age and the Dependency Ratio 1947-1996**

| Year | 0-14 | 15-64 | 65+ | Dependency Ratio |
|------|------|-------|-----|------------------|
| 1947 | 38.1 | 58.8 | 3.1 | 70.0 |
| 1960 | 42.7 | 53.8 | 3.5 | 85.9 |
| 1976 | 40.0 | 56.3 | 3.6 | 77.4 |
| 1986 | 39.9 | 56.2 | 3.3 | 76.9 |
| 1996 | 37.7 | 58.9 | 3.4 | 69.8 |

According to the reviewed literature and the conditions for the demographic dividend stated by Ross (2004) and Bloom et al. (2001 & 2003), Egypt has been experiencing the demographic dividend since the 1960s when the relative share of the working age population started to increase and the dependency burden started to decline.  Although the dependency ratio has been declining, the sizes of almost all age groups have been increasing.  Policy makers are faced with a number of challenges, among them scarce resources, limited investment, and more importantly a population problem that is growing due to the new entrants to all age groups.  In other words, during the same period when Egypt was experiencing declining fertility and rising working age share in the population, the number of births and accordingly the natural increase of the population have been increasing in parallel due to what is called the population momentum.  It is difficult to convey to policy makers the message of the

demographic dividend when still more resources and investments are needed for this increasing number of new dependent comers.

Accordingly, the study proposes and uses additional indicators with the dependency ratio to determine the period when Egypt will be experiencing the demographic dividend. During this period, the government will be in a better position to shift investment to cater for the increases in the labor force age group 15-64. The indicators we use here are as follows:

1- Size of natural increase,

2- Size of population less than 15 years,

3- Size of population 15-64 years, and

4- Dependency ratio.

We define the beginning point in time of the demographic dividend as the point when the dependency ratio and the size of natural increase are declining, size of population less 15 years starts to decline, and size of working age population is increasing. The ending point in time is determined when the size of population 15-64 reaches its maximum value or the dependency ratio starts to increase again, whichever comes first.

There are different sets of population projections conducted for Egypt by various agencies among them are the Ministry of Planning (1996/1997-2016/2017), Cairo Demographic Center (2001-2021), the United Nations (2000-2050), and the POLICY Project (2000-2017 and 1996-2050). The Ministry of Health and Population and United Nations Fund for Population Activities have considered the latest POLICY Project projections 1996-2050 as the most accepted set of projections[2]. Accordingly, it is the set used in the study to determine the timing of Egypt's demographic dividend.

In Egypt where population growth has previously been on a rise, the demographic dividend is expected to begin occurring approximately 15-20 years after a significant decline in fertility. It will continue as long as fertility rates continue to decline or the 'boom' generation reaches an age where they in turn become dependent. The demographic dividend or bonus in Egypt is a temporary

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[2] Full details of the projection parameters and results are found in The POLICY Project (2005).

phenomenon, lasting only at maximum potential for a period of about 30 years. According to the criteria mentioned above, the demographic dividend is expected during the period 2014-2042 for the low scenario (TFR of 2.1 by 2017), the dividend is expected to be during the period 2015-2046 for the medium scenario (TFR of 2.1 by 2022), and 2020-2050 for the high scenario (TFR of 2.1 by 2032), as shown in Figure (2). During these periods of the three scenarios, the sizes of natural increase and population less than 15 are declining and dependency ratio is decreasing, while the size of the working population is increasing.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The demographic transition not only has consequences for the rate of population growth but also affects the population structure. Egypt is no exception. As a result of mortality and fertility changes in the last fifty years, Egypt has started to experience changes in its age structure. It is evident that the proportion of young dependents has been getting relatively smaller as a response to the decline in fertility. As a result of these changes in the age structure, the dependency ratio declined in favor of those in the working ages 15-64.

This study projected when Egypt would reach the period of the demographic dividend based on the dependency ratio and additional demographic indicators. The window of opportunity may start as early as 2014 and may last until 2050 depending on the projection scenario that will be fulfilled. This window of opportunity is not permanent and is not automatic. The demographic dividend is not a guarantee in itself of economic growth, but simply represents a potential that needs to be earned. The government needs to consider specific policies to capitalize on this opportunity.

It is advisable to acknowledge the geographic dimension since the pace of demographic transition is different across regions in Egypt. Therefore, some regions are expected to reach the demographic dividend faster than others do. Further investigation is needed to determine the timing of the dividend by region or even by governorate. Policies should target these timing differentials as well.

Figure (2.a): Size of Natural Increase and Dependency Ratio (1960-2050) Low Scinario



Figure (2.b): Size of Natural Increase and Dependency Ratio (1960-2050) Meduim Scinario



Figure (2.c): Size of Natural increase and Dependency Ratio (1960-2050) High Scinario
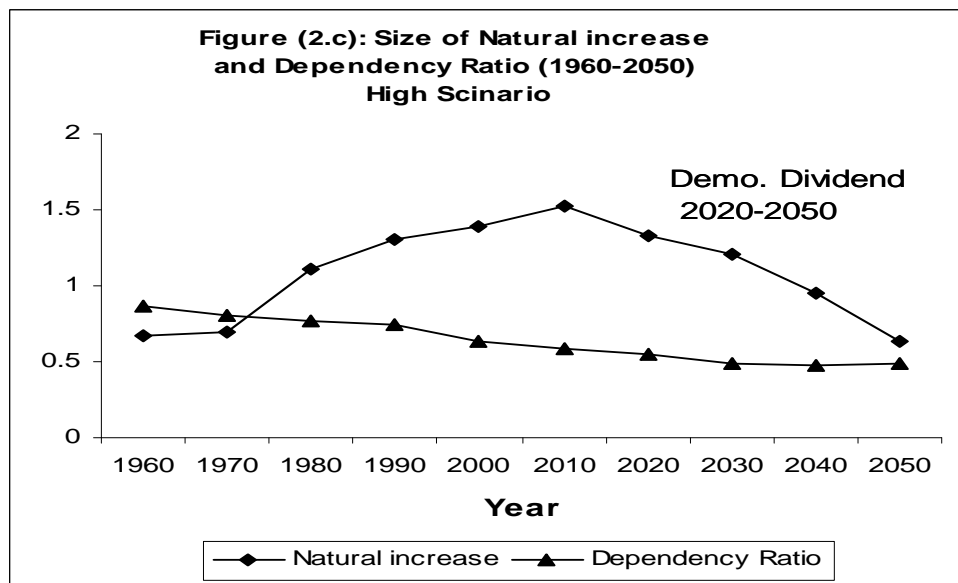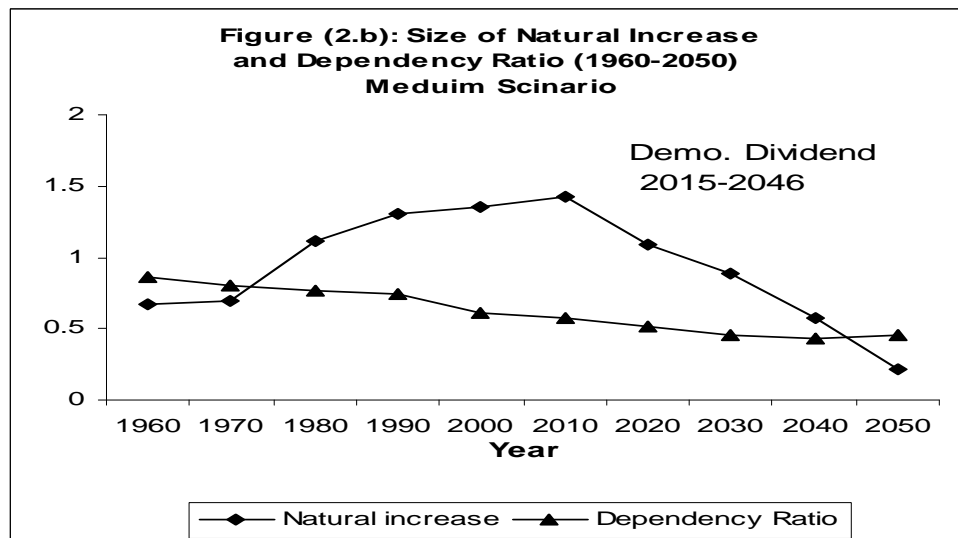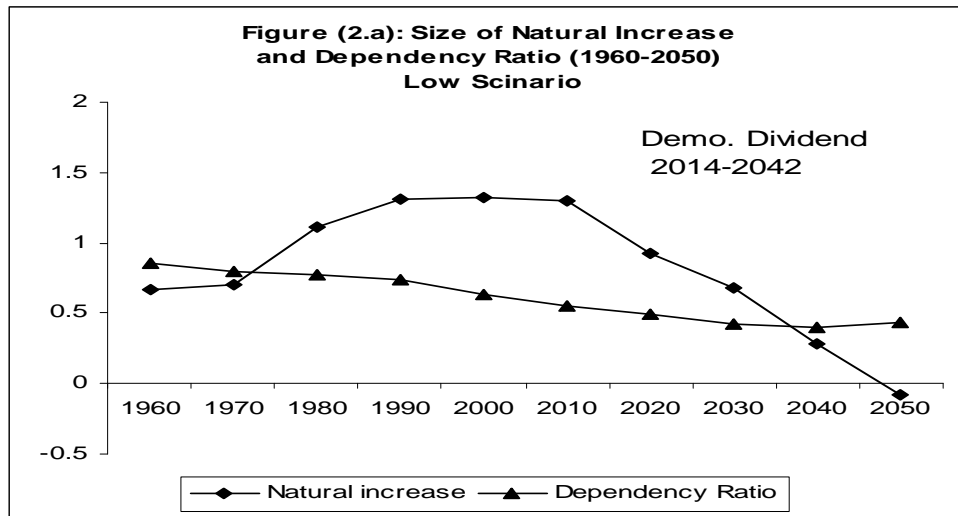
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1

*The Mediating Effects of Emotional Labor Strategies on the Relationships Between*

*Multiple Targets of Workplace Affective Commitment and Burnout*

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*Research Objectives*

The increased competition among service organizations, partially caused by the actual economic problems and by the economic globalization, raises the need to understand which factors are contributing to the quality of customer service delivered by service workers (Axtell, Parker, Holman, & Totterdell, 2007). Paradoxically, frontline employees in service organizations are typically underpaid, undertrained, and highly stressed, which might explain the fact that they are also consistently found to be at high risk of burnout (Hartline & Ferrell, 1993; Henkoff & Sample, 1994; Milbank, 1993). Knowing that an increase in burnout levels usually comes with a decrease in effectiveness at work and in customer service quality (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001; Singh, 2000), the actual situation seems even more problematic. Taken together, these observations suggest that trying to understand the risk factors involved in burnout development within this population is worthwhile.

Burnout is defined as a prolonged response to chronic emotional and interpersonal stressors on the job, characterized by emotional exhaustion, cynicism and sense of professional inefficacy (Maslach et al., 2001). In service organizations, a key component of the work performed by employees is the expression to customers of the emotions that are specified and prescribed by the organization's display rules (Morris & Feldman, 1996). However, the more the employees alter their emotional expressions at work, the more they are likely to experience chronic stress (Grandey, Fisk, & Steiner, 2005; Pugliesi, 1999). Indeed, recent theories suggest that the regulation of emotions depletes both the motivational and cognitive resources of employees (Baumeister, Bratslavsy, Muraven, & Tice, 1998; Muraven & Baumeister, 2000; Richard & Gross, 1999). Consequently, as service workers strive to meet the emotional demands of work,

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which may exceed the personal psychological resources they possess to meet such demands, they may experience a significant and ongoing draining of their energy and resources (Hobföll, 1989; Wilk & Moynihan, 2005). Precisely, when employees cannot spontaneously display either the appropriate emotions or their naturally felt emotions, they rely on compensatory strategies, called emotional labor strategies, in order to regulate both their feelings and the way they are expressed to meet the organizational goals (Diefendroff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005; Grandey, 2000). One strategy, surface acting, usually involves faking positive emotions and suppressing negative felt emotions (Diefendroff et al., 2005). In contrast, deep acting typically involves really trying to experience positive emotions (Diefendroff et al., 2005).

Interestingly, one potentially important antecedent of emotional labor, workplace affective commitment, also represents a negative predictor of burnout (Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Maslach et al., 2001; Turmel, 2008). Precisely, workplace affective commitment is an energizing force that binds an individual to a course of action that is of relevance to a target (e.g., customers) accompanied by a specific mind-set reflecting the affective attachment and identification to the target, which play a role in shaping and motivating workplace behavior (Meyer & Allen, 1991; Meyer, Becker, & Vandenberghe, 2004; Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001). Yet, even if workplace affective commitment is usually negatively related to burnout (Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Maslach et al., 2001; Turmel, 2008), increased striving to meet emotional demands often means more emotional labor and therefore, more resources depletion (Baumeister et al., 1998; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Muraven & Baumeister, 2000; Richard & Gross, 1999).

In sum, a gap appears to be present in the existing scientific literature regarding the exact nature of relationships linking workplace affective commitment, emotional

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labor and burnout for service workers. As a motivational force (Meyer et al., 2004), the role of workplace affective commitment in the prediction of lower levels of burnout has been previously identified (Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Maslach et al., 2001; Turmel, 2008). In a similar way, it appears plausible to postulate that, as part of a motivational process (Meyer et al., 2004), workplace affective commitment toward focal targets such as display rules, organization or customers will also predict the reliance on emotional labor strategies, which may drain employees' resources and energy. Moreover, if affective commitment is truly related to emotional labor, it can be hypothesized that its effects on burnout are partially mediated by its effects on emotional labor. Thus, the overall prediction of this study is that statistically significant relationships noted between workplace affective commitment targets and burnout dimensions will be significantly transformed once emotional labor strategies are statistically accounted for; showing that the path of influence between commitment and burnout is now partially transmitted through the mediating variable, which is emotional labor. Precisely, according to the previous observations, the direct and mediated effects of workplace affective commitment targets on burnout should have opposite signs (i.e. negative and positive; Tzelgov & Henik, 1991) and these suppression effects (inconsistent  mediation model; Davis, 1985; MacKinnon, Krull, & Lockwood, 2000) should be stronger in the case of surface acting, considering that this strategy is the main driver of stress (Goldberg & Grandey, 2007).

*Proposed Methodology*

   *Sample and procedure.* The study will be conducted in service organizations located in the province of Quebec, Canada. Data will be collected between February 1st

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and March 30th 2009 from French-speaking service workers who interact directly with customers on a regular basis. A sample of 350 participants is anticipated.

*Measures.* The short version of the Workplace Affective Commitment Multidimensional Questionnaire (WACMQ; Madore, 2004; Morin, Madore, Morizot, Boudrias, & Trembaly, in press) and a back-translated French version of the commitment to display rules questionnaire (Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005) will be used to measure workplace affective commitment. The short WACMQ (24 items; .75<α<.92; Morin, Courcy, Madore, Loiselle, & Desclos, 2006) measures eight universal targets of workplace affective commitment, which are relevant to a majority of employees (Cohen, 2003; Morrow, 1993): the organization, the supervisor, the co-workers, work itself, tasks, profession, career and customers (Madore, 2004; Morin et al., in press). The commitment to display rules questionnaire (5 items; α=.69 for the original English version; Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005) measures affective commitment to display rules, a key concept in the specific field of emotional labor research. Emotional labor will be measured by a back-translated French version of the Emotional Labor Strategy Items (Diefendorff et al., 2005). It includes three subscales: surface acting, deep acting and expression of naturally felt emotions (14 items; .79<α<.92 for the original English version; Diefendorff et al., 2005). The Maslach Burnout Inventory-General Survey (MBI-GS) will be used to measure burnout (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1997). The French adaptation captures the three dimensions of emotional exhaustion, cynicism and sense of professional inefficacy (16 items; .76<α<.93; Loiselle, Courcy, & Morin, 2008; Morin et al., 2006).

*Analytic strategy.* Verification of the study hypotheses will rely on hierarchical multiple regressions. More specifically, mediation analyses involve the verification of

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indirect effects (i.e. the indirect effect of the predictor on dependent variable as mediated by the mediator). Indirect effects are computed as the product term of the regression coefficient of both included regressions (i.e. mediator on predictor and dependant variable on mediator; see MacKinnon, 2008). Although different methods might be used to estimate whether this indirect effect is significant or not, recent simulation studies converge on the conclusion that the best parameter recovery rates are obtained through the computation of bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the interval effects (e.g., MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004). Bootstrapping relies on a resampling strategy in which a large number of samples (5000 in this study) of a size equivalent to the original one are derived from the original data by a sampling with replacement strategy. Indirect effects will be computed in each of these samples to form the 95% confidence interval, which will be corrected for the estimation bias (i.e. the difference between the indirect effect estimated from the main sample and the average bootstrapped indirect effect). These analyses will be conducted with the help of the macros developed to this end by Preacher and Hayes (2008) for multiple mediators (three mediators will be simultaneously considered: surface acting, deep acting and expression of naturally felt emotions).

*Discussion of Expected Outcomes*

In this study, it is expected that multiple targets of workplace affective commitment represent distal variables that influence the reliance on a particular emotional labor strategy (i.e., proximal variable), which differentially contribute to burnout (e.g., Ashkanasy, Härtel, & Daus, 2002), emphasizing the key role of emotional labor in burnout development among service workers (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey,

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2002; Grandey et al., 2005; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). Several contributions are also expected from this study. First, it is anticipated that the present study will provide empirical evidences sustaining the explicative role of emotional labor in burnout development among service workers. Second, the interactive and multifocal perspective proposed by this study is an original effort and a realistic manner to apprehend employees' real-life experiences, which often reflect multiple influences that are not totally independent and may enter in competition or in interaction one with another in the prediction of a variety of outcomes, including burnout (Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Reichers, 1985; Turmel, 2008; Vandenberghe, Bentein, & Stinglhamber, 2004).

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Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

8th Annual

June 4 - 7, 2009

Honolulu, Hawaii

# CONFERENCE PAPER

# Ego-Integrity of Institutionalized and Co-Resident Older Adults[1]

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# Ego-Integrity of Institutionalized and Co-Resident Older Adults

**Elmer G. De Jose**
**Juan C. Birion**

## ABSTRACT

This study describes the ego-integrity of the institutionalized (those who live in institutions for the elderly) and the co-resident (those who co-reside or live with their family or relative) older adults.  Ego-integrity in Erikson's (1963) theory is the last stage of psychosocial development, the Integrity vs. Despair, where an individual is faced with the challenge of achieving ego-integrity.  Three hundred fifty three (353) older adults participated in this study, thirty-six (36) of whom are institutionalized and three hundred seventeen (317) co-reside with their families.  These adults were chosen on the basis of their ability to respond to the interview conducted by the researchers with the help of trained research assistants.  Ego-integrity was measured using the Ego-Integrity Rating Scale (EIRS), a test constructed in a psychometrics class, which involves the following components: perception about death, recollection of memories, achievement and failures, and subjective well-being.  Results indicate high fear of death among the institutionalized (47%) compared to the co-resident (24.9%) cohorts.  Likewise, reminiscing a painful past is more common among the institutionalized as opposed to the co-residents.  Moreover, higher levels of sense of achievements and psychological well-being were reported by the co-resident adults.  Although both groups accept and recognize their faults and frustrations in life, majority among the co-residents (89.6%) have expressed life satisfaction while more than half of the institutionalized have disclosed remorse in life.

Age, civil status, and number of children are not correlated with ego-integrity levels of older adults. Sex is significantly correlated with ego-integrity. Results suggest that female adults possess a higher level of ego-integrity than males. Educational attainment is also correlated with perception about death, sense of achievement, and ego-integrity, in general. The higher the older adults' educational attainment, the more accepting they are towards death, have a higher sense of value and meaning for life, and higher level of ego-integrity. Although a greater majority of the respondents are Catholic, this group scored lower than the non-Catholic group, suggesting that the latter has better appreciation of life than the former.  Living arrangement, whether institutionalized or co-resident, was also found to have significant correlations with recollection of memories, subjective well-being, and ego-integrity of older adults.

**Keywords:**   Ego-integrity, elderly, institutionalized older adults, co-resident older adults, perception about death, recollection of memories, achievement and failures, psychological well being, life satisfaction

## INTRODUCTION

The growing proportion of older persons in the Philippine population, with their potential contribution to development efforts as well as special needs for health and social services, presents an emerging demographic concern (Pedro & Barba, 2001). Based on the 2000 Census of Population and Housing, the total number of senior citizens (60 years old and older) was 4.6 million, accounting for 5.97% of the 2000 Philippine population. This number registered a 22.18% increase from 1995 (3.7 million elderly persons). This sector has an average annual population growth rate of 4.39% from 1995 to 2000, and if the growth rate was consistent, it was projected that the number of Filipino elderly would reach 7 million by 2010 and to double in approximately 16 years (NSO Special Report on Senior Citizens, 2000).

With this continuing increase in the percentage of elderly population, empirical data would be crucial in understanding and preparing for programs and services that would address not only the health and physiological concerns but also the psychosocial needs of this sector in the society.

The main objective of this study is to describe the ego-integrity of the institutionalized elderly and co-resident older adults in the Philippines. In this study, the term *older adults* is synonymous to the NSO definition of senior citizens or persons who are 60 years old and older. *Institutionalized older adults* are those who live in nursing institutions (commonly known as homes-for-aged), while the *co-residents* are those who live with at least one of their children or relatives.

Ego-integrity is based on Erikson's (1963) concept of Integrity vs. Despair, the last of the eight hierarchically psychosocial stages of development. During this stage, the individual is expected to be able to look back over life with acceptance and satisfaction.

More than 50 years of research and assessment attempts have been introduced in an effort to appraise the elderly's satisfaction with life and their sense of well-being (Barrow, 1996; Rathus, 1993). Erikson purported that the aging person is faced with the challenge of retaining his or her individual belief that life remains meaningful in view of approaching death (Euler, 1992; Rathus, 1993). It is this underlying theoretical concept and the hope that once satisfaction in life is defined, advances could be made to assist the aging populace to further achieve a comfortable level of contentment in the final years (Conte & Salamon, 1982; Phillips, 1986; Ryff, 1995; Schultz & Heckhausen, 1996). This perspective has repeatedly stirred the social and gerontological sciences to quantify and qualify the constructs of *satisfaction* and *subjective well-being* (Barrow, 1996; Neugarten, Havighurst & Tobin, 1961; Phillips, 1986; Salamon, 1988).

Conte and Salamon (1982) have operationally defined *life satisfaction* as the perceived degree to which an individual has successfully cleared life's developmental circumstances. These developmental circumstances are things such as overcoming childhood illnesses, the process of education, to marry or to remain single, employment and/or job loss, and coping with the loss or death of loved ones (e.g., through divorce or runaway, etc.).

From a psychological point of view, well-being is often seen as a result of a successful adaptation to the changes which occur during the aging process. Consequently, the processes and strategies which individuals use to optimize their well-being have often been studied in psychogerontological research (Schultz & Heckhausen, 1996). *Well-being* is further defined as an individual's perceived state of health, prosperity, happiness, sense of accomplishment, and comfort in life (Ryff, 1995). This evaluation of life satisfaction is subjective in that it is one's personal opinion of his adaptation processes and his general well-being (Conte & Salamon, 1982*).*

Ego-integrity is related to Butler's (1963, cited in Coon, 2001) concept of life review. According to him, individuals review their life to determine sense of success or failure, and the outcome of this life reminiscence or introspection can be either positive or

negative. When the elderly attains positive resolution of the final life crisis, he or she views whole of life with satisfaction and contentment. The person who has lived responsibly and meaningfully develops a sense of *ego-integrity* or self-respect, allowing him or her to face aging and death with dignity. On the other hand, despair is the result of the negative resolution or lack of resolution of the final life crisis. If life events are viewed with regret, the older adult experiences despair, which is characterized by remorse and lack of enthusiasm in life. In this case, life seems like a failure and knows it's too late to reverse what has been done. Aging and threat of death then become sources of fear and depression (Coon, 2001).

## METHOD

### *Participants*

Three hundred fifty three (353) older adults participated in this study. Thirty six of them are institutionalized (housed in a health care/nursing homes), and 317 co-residents (those who live with at least one of their children or kin).

The older adults were chosen on the basis of their ability to respond to the interview conducted by the researchers with the help of trained research assistants. For the institutionalized elderly, coordination was done with the supervising clinicians to identify respondents who have no cognitive impairment and communication impairment.

### *Instrument*

Ego-integrity was measured by the administration of the Ego-Integrity Rating Scale (EIRS), a self-report rating scale developed in one of the researchers' psychometrics course. Neugarten, Havinghurst and Tobin (1961) advocated that through the use of a self-report instrument, sciences could appropriately measure a person's subjective well-being. Neugarten et al. further asserted that, after all, only the individual is the best judge of his or her own happiness and contentment with life (p. 134). EIRS is composed of 40 Yes-No dichotomous items, all written in Filipino (Tagalog-based), measuring four characteristics of ego-integrity:

1. Perception about Death – the ability to accept death as a necessary part of life and not fear it.

2. Recollection of Memories – the ability to look back at their lives and conclude that life was special and has meaning, and without wishing that things would change and would have been different.

3. Achievements and Failures – being able to successfully adjust or adapt to the triumphs and disappointments in life; being able to have been originators or generators of products and ideas.

4. Subjective Well-Being – being able to maintain a positive outlook as well as the ability to see unity and meaning in their lives. Positive psychological well-being of older adults is associated with lower depression, lower functional impairment, ability to perform with enthusiasm activities of daily living, and greater happiness and life satisfaction, in general.

The instrument went through the content validity process and the validated items were subjected to item analysis, using the item-total correlation. The point-biserial correlation ($r_{pb}$) was employed to determine statistical significance of the correlation between each item and the total score of its corresponding component. Total score was obtained by adding all the "Yes" answers to positively stated items and the "No" answers to negatively stated items. Friedenberg (1995) stated that the coefficient correlation can be converted to a variance statement indicating the ability of the test to predict total test scores. If the test and the item measure the same attributes, performance on the item should be correlated with total test scores. Only items that were found to be significantly correlated with their corresponding total component scores were included in the final instrument.

Validity of the instrument was established through the convergent validity. Convergent validity is a technique for establishing the construct validity of a test by

correlating scores on a new test with scores on established tests of related construct (Friedenberg, 1995). Scores on Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS), an instrument designed to measure global cognitive judgments of satisfaction with one's life, developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin (1985), were correlated with the scores on EIRS. Calculated validity coefficient is equal to 0.76, $p < .014$.

Reliability was established using the Kuder-Richardson 20 (KR-20). KR-20 is a technique for analyzing the internal consistency of a test (e.g., personality, interests, and attitudes) with dichotomous items (Friedenberg, 1995). The calculated reliability coefficient is equal to 0.85, $p < .002$.

### Data-Gathering Procedure

After obtaining permission from the elderly residential institutions' authority, the researchers conducted face-to-face interviews, with the aid of two clinical psychology interns, of the older adults housed in an urban and a sub-urban homes for the elderly.

Consenting co-resident participants were interviewed with the help of university students (who underwent training in the administration of the research questionnaire).

### Statistical Treatment of Data

The demographic characteristics of the respondents were analyzed using descriptive statistics such as the frequency and percentage distributions. Mean was computed for the age of the two elderly groups. The four components of ego-integrity were also described through the frequency and percentage distributions. In the presentation, only the "Yes" responses appear in the Tables.

Bivariate analyses were performed to determine correlation between each demographic variable and ego-integrity. Pearson correlations were calculated to establish relationship between profile variables with interval measures (e.g. age and number of children) and the four components of ego-integrity. Eta correlation, a coefficient for nonlinear association, was used to establish the correlation between a categorical variable (e.g. educational attainment) and the ego-integrity measures. Furthermore, the point-biserial correlation was used to determine correlation between a dichotomous profile variable (e.g. sex) and scores on each of the four ego-integrity components.

## RESULTS

### Demographic Characteristics of the Older Adult-Respondents

Sex

Majority of the institutionalized older adults are males, 52.8%, while those who co-reside with relatives are females, 60.9%. The 2000 National Statistics Office Special Report on Senior Citizen revealed that of the 4.6 million senior citizens, about 54.1% (or 2.5 million) were females. In the National Capital Region alone, females outnumbered males with a sex ratio of 76.5 males for every 100 females (NSO, 2000). It should be noted that the NSO data excluded members of institutional population.

Age

In terms of age, majority of the institutionalized elderly, 36.1%, belong to the age bracket of 70 to 74 years old, with a mean age of 72.36 or 72. The co-residents are ten years younger, with most of them having ages between 60 to 64 years. Mean age is equal to 67.96 or 68. The average age of the co-resident respondents is similar to the median age, 68 years old, of the household population of 60 years old and over in 2000, same as that of 1990 and 1995 (NSO, 2000).

Civil Status

Nearly three-fourths of the institutionalized elderly are either single (38.9%) or widow/widower (33.3%). The majority of the co-resident group, 64.4%, are married and living with spouses. More than a quarter, 27.4% are widow or widower, and only about 8.0% are single. The data

approximate the results of the 2000 NSO Census Report which showed that 60.4% of the senior citizens were married, 30% were widowed, and only a relatively small proportion, 5.0%, were single (NSO, 2000).

### Number of Children

Of those who reported having or have had children, 30.6% of the institutionalized older adults have 1 to 2 children, with a mean of 2.56 or 3 offspring. Majority of those who live with their families, 42.0%, have 3 to 4 children, closely followed by 28.77% who have 1 to 2 children. Mean of number of children for this group is 4.04 or 4.

More than a fifth, (22.2%) among the institutionalized elderly, but only 6.6% among the co-resident older adults, are childless.

### Area of Residence of Co-Resident Elder Adults

Majority among the co-resident elderly are from the province of Rizal, 34.1%. This is followed by those who come from San Juan, Metro Manila, 24.6%.

### Religion

In terms of religion, both groups are predominantly Catholic. However, a slightly higher percentage was reported among the institutionalized older adults, 83.3%. There are 79.8% Catholic among the co-residents. The remaining percentages are non-Catholic. The NSO (2000) data likewise revealed that majority of the senior citizens were Roman Catholic (82.9%).

### Educational Attainment

Lower educational attainment was observed among the institutionalized than the co-resident elderly. One-third of the institutionalized older adults are either unschooled or have finished elementary: 33.3% have either not attended school or not finished elementary school level, and 33.3% have barely finished elementary education. Among the co-residents, majority are high school graduates, 35.6%, followed by 31.9% who finished elementary. There is

a substantial number, 26.2%, who have obtained a college degree. One is a holder of a master's degree.

The 2000 NSO survey declared that majority of the senior citizens have finished elementary (43.1% males and 40.7% females), followed by those who graduated from high school (28% males and 28.8% females). Only about 5.0%, however, were able to finish a college degree.

### Former Job/Profession

In terms of former job or profession, many among the institutionalized elderly, 19.4%, have worked as domestic helpers [e.g. all-around *katulong* (house maid), baby-sitter, *labandera* (laundrywoman), etc.]. Some had worked as construction worker, carpenter, mechanic or shop helper, and vendor.

Those who co-reside with family have mostly had white-collared employment, 18.3%, 15.4% were engaged in business (mostly small scale), and 14.2% have served as housekeepers in the family.

### *Ego-Integrity of institutionalized and Co-Resident Older Adults*

#### Perception About Death

Majority of the institutionalized elderly, 41.7%, while only 24.9% of the co-resident elderly have reported fear of death, as indicated by their affirmation on the item *'Natatakot ako sa kamatayan'* (I fear death). This was validated by their responses on the item '*Natatakot ako dahil anumang oras ay maaari akong kunin ng Panginoon'* (I am afraid that my Creator would take me anytime) – 41.7% institutionalized and 38.5% co-resident elderly.

However, it could be noted that the two groups may not differ at all in their perception about death, since the co-residents have also scored higher than the institutionalized older adults in the following indicators: '*Hindi pa ako handang mawala sa mundo* (I am not yet ready to die) - 54.9% co-residents and 52.8% institutionalized; and "*Kung minsan ay sumasagi sa aking isip*

*kung paano maiiwasan ang kamatayan*" (I sometimes imagine if I could find a way to escape from death) - 62.1% co-resident older adults and 55.6% institutionalized older adults.

### Recollection of Memories

In terms of recollection of memories, it could be said that the institutionalized older adults tend to avoid remembering their past. This was revealed by the 61.1% of them who answered 'yes' on the item: '*Ayaw ko nang muling balikan ang aking nakaraan'* (I do not want to recall my past). Only 34.7% of the co-residents replied 'yes' on this item.

Reminiscing a painful past is observed more among the institutionalized older adults. In many instances, the theme of their reminiscing is associated with guilt feeling for doing what should not have been done, and for not doing what should have been done. Such were indicated by higher percentage of responses in the following items: "*Natatakot akong sabihin sa iba ang aking mga naging karanasa'*" (I am afraid to tell my past to others) , 40.6%; "*Gusto kong balikan ang nakaraan at baguhin ang mga bagay na sa tingin ko ay mali*" (I wish I could turn back to my younger years and rectify the mistakes I have done), 47.2%, '*Hindi ako nakinig sa mga payo ng mga matatanda noon'*", (I did not listen to the wisdom of my elders), 52.8%; "*Hindi ko pinahahalagahan ang mga turo sa akin ng aking mga magulang",* (I did not value my parents'advise), 47.2%, and; "*Hindi ko binigyang-pansin ang mga nagmamahal sa akin"*, (I took for granted the people who cared for me), 41.7%.

On the contrary, a significant majority of the co-resident elderly reminisce the beautiful and positive events in their lives: "*Ako ay naging isang mabuting modelo sa aking pamilya*" (I am a good role model), 4.0%; and "*Nagpapasalamat ako sa pagkakaloob sa akin ng isang mabuti at mapagmahal na pamilya'*, (I am grateful for having a kind and loving family) 97%.

### Achievements and Failures

Differences in the sense of achievements and failures were observed in both groups. Lower feeling of achievement and higher frustrations were indicated by the following responses of the institutionalized elderly: "*Hindi ako naging matagumpay sa aking pamilya at aking buhay*" (I was have not been successful in family and life), 63.9%; "*Walang naging magandang dulot sa akin ang aking naging buhay*" (My life has been useless), 55.6%; "*Hindi naging maganda ang takbo ng aking buhay*" (My life did not run smoothly), 69.45, and; "*Ang aking nakaraan ay hindi mahalaga dahil mga kabiguan lamang ang idinulot nito sa aking buhay",* (My past has never been significant and valuable due to my failures in life), 55.6%.

However, higher frequency and percentages were reported by the co-resident elderly in the following achievement indicators: "*Natupad ko ang aking mga pangarap*" (I was able to realize my dreams), 61.5%; "*Maligaya ako dahil natupad ko ang aking mga mithiin sa buhay*" (I am happy because I have achieved my goals in life), 74.1%; "*Wala na kong mahihiling pang bagay sa mundo*' (I could not ask for more in life), 73.2%; "*Naniniwala akong kuntento na ang aking pamilya sa buhay na ipinagkaloob ko sa kanila*" (I believe my family is contented with the life I have given them), 83.9%; "*Ako ay nakapagbahagi at naging isang mabuting modelo sa aking pamayanan'*" (I was able to contribute something to and became a role model in the community where I belong), 81.1%, and; "*Naniniwala ako na nagawa ko na ang lahat ng dapat kong gawin*" (I believe I have fulfilled what I need to accomplish in life), 64%.

Both groups are accepting of and recognize their faults and frustrations in life – 97.2% institutionalized elderly, and 98.4% co-resident elderly.

### Subjective Well-Being

The co-resident elderly have reported higher psychological well-being as indicated by the following data: "*Maligaya at kuntento ako sa buhay ko ngayon*" (I am happy and contented in life), 90.5%; "*Masaya ako sa katayuan ko ngayon*" (I am satisfied with my current status in life) , 87.7%; "*Wala na akong mahihiling pa sa Diyos*" (I have nothing to ask God anymore), 59.0%;

*"Kuntento na ako sa naging buhay noon at kalagayan ko ngayon'* (I am contented with my past as much as my present conditions in life ), 83.9%; "*Naging inspirasyon ko ang aking nakalipas sa pagtuklas ko sa aking mga suliranin sa kasalukuyan*" (My past experiences served as my inspiration to face the present challenges in life), 90.5%; "*Nais kong makasama ang aking mga mahal sa buhay ng habang-buhay*" (I want to spend the rest of my life with my love ones), 94.0%; "*Masasabi kong naging makabuluhan ang aking buhay nang nagdaang panahon at maging sa* kasalukuyan" (I could confidently say that I have lived a meaningful life), 72.6%; "*Hindi pa huli ang lahat upang ituwid ang aking mga pagkakamali sa buhay*" (It is not too late to correct the mistakes I have had in the past), 82.05; and "*Hinaharap ko ang bawat araw ng buong sigla*" (I face my day with much enthusiasm), 95.3%.

### Relationships Between Personal Profiles and the Ego-Integrity of Older Adults

Three demographic variables, namely, age, civil status and number of children are found not correlated with any of the four components of ego-integrity.

Sex has a low but significant correlation with achievements and failures, the subjective well-being, and the total EIRS score. The computed correlation coefficient ($r$= .120, $p$<.032) depicts that there exists a low but significant relationship between sex and achievement of older adults. Further analysis of the data revealed that male older adults tend to have higher level of sense of achievement than the female older adults. Sex has also low but significant correlation with present psychological well-being. However, results show that female elderly have better sense of psychological well-being than the male older adults ($r$= .118, $p$< .036). In general, data suggest that female older adults possess a higher level of ego-integrity than the male older adults. The magnitude of correlation, however, is low ($r$= .178, $p$< .032).

Educational attainment has low but significant correlations with perception about death, sense of achievement, and ego-integrity, in general. Older adults who received higher level of education tend to have more accepting attitude towards death, ($r$= .120, $p$< .040). Better educated older adults tend to have higher sense of achievement in life, ($r$= .180, $p$< .002). In general, older adults who have higher educational attainment tend to have better higher level of ego-integrity, ($r$= .158, $p$< .007).

Religion has low but significant correlation with ego-integrity of older adults, ($r$= .117, $p$< .029). Religion was categorized as Catholic, Catholic Christian, and Non-Catholic Non-Christian.

Living arrangement (defined as either living in a nursing/health care institution or living with kin) was also found to have significant correlations with recollection of memories ($r$= .657, $p$< .000.), subjective well-being, and ego-integrity, in general.

Living arrangement is substantially and significantly correlated with the older adults' recollection of memories. Institutionalized older adults are more reminiscing of their past compared to their co-resident counterparts. Living arrangement and the older adults' present psychological well-being are significantly correlated, r= .224, p < .000. Living arrangement is strongly and significantly correlated with ego-integrity, in general, r= .867, p< .000. Higher ego-integrity is reflected in responses of the co-resident older adults than the institutionalized older adults. Lower ego-integrity is associated with being institutionalized.

## CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

There are more male than female institutionalized older adults. On the contrary, there are more female than male co-resident older adults. The institutionalized elderly are older than the co-residents In general, older adults live in health care or nursing institutions either because they have been widowed or had no family of their own. As expected, majority of the co-residents are married, living with their spouse and/or with a kin. Many institutionalized older adults have 1-2 children, or are childless; while

nearly half of the co-resident elderly have 3 - 4 offspring. The co-resident older adults have higher educational attainment than the institutionalized. Many of them had been gainfully employed, while the institutionalized had only menial jobs [e.g. house helper, dressmaker, vendor (for females), and construction worker, shop helper (for males)].

The following conclusions pertaining to the ego-integrity of the older adults were derived:

*Perception About Death.* Institutionalized older adults harbored fear of death (although the percentage is less than half of the cases surveyed). More than half of them indicated that they are not yet ready to face death. A literature review by Fortner and Neimeryer (1999) quantitatively summarized 49 published and unpublished studies concerning the relationship between death anxiety and age, gender, ego-integrity, physical and psychological problems, ego-integrity, and religiosity in older adults. Results indicated that lower ego integrity, more physical problems, and more psychological problems are predictive of higher levels of death anxiety in elder people. A suggestive but equivocal relationship was found for the predictor institutionalization.

*Recollection of Memories.* The institutionalized older adults more frequently engage in reminiscing activities than the co-resident older adults. Reminiscing as a means of life review is one of the characteristics of this developmental stage. But since frequency of reminiscing is expected to be higher among less active individuals, it is not surprising to know that institutionalized older persons resort to this behavior more often than those who live in the mainstream. As proposed by Erickson (1963) late adulthood is period characterized by engaging in life review. Belsky (1999) regarded this evaluative reminiscing as a core developmental process, which contributes to adaptive functioning and well-being, particularly in the later phase of life. If a person finds meaning or purpose in his life, he has integrity. Contrary to this, if a person sees his or her life as a series of

missed opportunities he or she could hardly attain ego integrity.

*Achievements and Failures.* The institutionalized older adults have lower sense of achievement and higher frustrations than the co-resident older adults.

*Subjective Well-*Being. The co-resident older adults have better psychological well-being than the institutionalized older adults. Pearlin, Menaghan, Lieberman and Mullen (1981) posited that institutionalization as a nonscheduled life transition is often implicated in the genesis of late-life depression. This finding suggests that being institutionalized and having suffered physical, personal and social losses, the institutionalized older adults are more vulnerable to depression compared to their co-resident counterparts. Reker (1997) argued that remaining intact, however, provides the potential to find meaning in suffering, to make responsible choices, and to make the best of the situation. Thus, a sense of meaningfulness, personal choice, and optimism may be expected to play an even greater role in the maintenance of self-esteem and the alleviation of depression in the institutionalized elderly.

In terms of the correlations between demographic variables and the ego-integrity, the present study found no relationship between ego-integrity and the three demographic variables – age, civil status, and number of offspring. The results on this study, particularly in terms of number of offspring concur with empirical literature. On the whole, previous researches reported little evidence that children make a difference in the psychological well-being of elderly persons (Glenn & McLanahan, 1981; Koropeckyj-Cox, 1998; Rempel, 1985). Glenn and McLanahan (1981) found little support for the idea that older parents were happier and more satisfied with life than childless people. In Rempel's (1985) study of Canadian elderly sample, he reported few statistically significant differences between parents and childless elderly persons in terms of life satisfaction. Furthermore, Koropeckyj-Cox's (1998) analysis of data from the 1988 national Survey of Families and Household showed similarly that childlessness is not significantly correlated

to loneliness and depression among American community-dwelling persons aged 50-84.

Research findings by Zhang and Hayward (2001) disclosed that childlessness, per se, has no relationship with psychological well-being of older adults. There also was no statistical evidence for the hypothesis that childlessness increases loneliness and depression for divorced, widowed, and never married elderly.

Sex is positively correlated with sense of higher achievement. Older adult males have higher level of sense of achievement than the older adult females. However, female older adults tend to have higher sense of psychological well-being than the male older adults. In general, female older adults possess a higher level of ego-integrity than the male older adults. Previous research has found that men and women have similar levels of happiness, life satisfaction, and other measures of subjective well-being (Inglehart, 2002). Inglehart (2002) reviewed the study on 'happiness' by gender of older persons over 54 years old which is a part of the World Values Survey, where 36% of Filipino male older adults claimed they are 'very happy' while higher percentage, 42.0%, was reported among female older adults.

Educational attainment is positively correlated with perception about death, sense of achievement and ego-integrity in general. Older adults, who are better educated manifested lower death anxiety, feel more fulfilled, and have better appreciation and sense of meaning in life. These findings support the study of Karatas and Duyan (2008) which revealed a significant relationship between educational level and life satisfaction among elderly people in Turkey. The relationship is linear when educational level was arranged from bottom to top: from not literate to university graduate. It could be said that elderly people who are educated have greater advantages of fulfilling tasks, particularly those that are associated with mental activities, which leads to greater sense of success and self-worth in old age.

Religion has low correlation with ego-integrity. Non-Catholics reported lower level of ego-integrity than the Catholic older adults in this study. This finding implies that non-Catholic older adults have better appreciation of life than the Catholic older adults. It is not clear, however, whether some factors associated with religion [e.g. religious behaviors (e.g. reading Bible, church attendance, involvement in religious activities, etc.), and religious belief (e.g. intrinsic faith in God, belief in after life, etc.)] explain this relationship, which is an area that should be explored in future research.

Living arrangement is correlated with older adults' recollection of memory, subjective well-being and ego-integrity, in general. Institutionalized older adults are more reminiscing of the past than the co-resident older adults. Co-resident older adults have found life more meaningful and satisfying than the institutionalized elderly. An earlier study by Fillenbaum (1979, cited in Damian, Pastor-Barriuso and Valderrama-Gama, 2008) found a positive self-rated health in community older persons, but not in those living in institutions. Another study confirmed the association of self-rated health with mortality in institutionalized Chinese elderly, but did not offer relevant information on its determinants (Leung, tang & Lue, 1997 cited in Damian et. al, 2008). The results of present study also have resemblance with that of Reker's (1997). His study revealed that among the community residing elderly, the prevalence of depressive symptoms has ranged from 11% to 44%, with an average of about 20%, while the rates of depression among institutionalized elderly surpass those in the community reaching close to 43%. However, similar to Goebel and Boeck's (1987), this study also found no relationship between living environment and death anxiety of older adults.

Research studies on psychological well-being of older adults especially the institutionalized sector are relatively rare (Grayson, 1995; Lawton, 1996). In the Philippines there are few studies conducted and published concerning and affecting the many facets of life of the Filipino elderly. This study is an attempt to contribute to the limited literature about the psychological well-being of the Filipino elderly. Important contributions include the extent to which

specific demographic variables and living conditions of the older adults may be correlated with their ego-integrity. However, despite significant correlations, it should be noted that no conclusion could be made on the influence of these demographic characteristics on the reported psychological well-being of the elderly. In terms of the relationship between living arrangement and ego-integrity, the findings of poorer psychological well-being of the institutionalized older adults in this study are consistent with the literature. However, like other comparative studies (Damian, et al., 2008; Goebel, et al., 1987; Fortner, et al., 1999; Pearlin, et al., 1981; Reker, 1997) on the psychological attributes of two elderly groups, the question whether the findings reflect the effect of an institutional environment cannot be answered in this study.

The results of this study generally imply that the institutionalized have lower psychological well-being than the co-resident elderly. One possible explanation is that living environment itself is associated with the quantity and quality of social contacts, support received, and the extent of personal control and competence enjoyed by the elderly. Abejo (2004), in her paper on the living arrangements of the elderly in the Philippines, reported that about a quarter of the elderly co-reside with spouses in nuclear family households. It could be said that this type of living arrangement may afford the elderly to enjoy the benefits of familial system of care. Living with children or relatives may provide them the physical, financial, emotional, social, as well as the moral support that they need to cope with the developmental changes they go through.

On the other hand, the co-resident elderly may not only receive but also provide a substantial amount of help to their children and members of the family. Domingo and Casterline (1992 cited in Abejo, 2004) affirmed that extending economic support by Filipino elderly to their married children is also a common practice. This is particularly observed among elderly who are still actively employed or who maintain a reasonable income from economic activities they engage in after retirement. The elderly also actively exchange social support with their families and kin. They are not only care receivers. While still physically able, they perform useful roles such as helping in household chores. Co-residence, especially among female older adults, is also viewed as an advantage when both the child and his or her spouse work outside the home, and the elderly is left to take care of his or her young grandchildren, which adds emotional strength to inter-generation family relationships.

While living with family and relatives, the elderly receives social support which provides protection against negative physico-physiological and mental health outcomes. For instance, the study of Cummings (2002) revealed that perceived social support and satisfaction with friends and social contacts were significantly correlated to lower level of depression among older adults. The number of social activities and satisfaction with current living situation were also significantly related to life satisfaction.

Compared to the co-residents, the institutionalized elderly may not have the kind of social contact, and support received from family. They are also likely to suffer from limited or loss of personal control and competence. For example, older adults who may have spent half a century of managing a household, or enjoying a profitable job or profession now live in a nursing home where staff members make all the decisions, from scheduling meals to choosing television programs, etc. This condition may be frustrating for the elderly. Furthermore, although old age homes may provide support for functional incapacity, much less attention has been focused on the psychological needs of this group of elderly.

In the Philippines, care in old age is the primary responsibility of the family, and neglect in caring for parents or other elderly family members usually receive strong social disapproval. Hence, institutions or homes for the aged are stigmatized to be dumping ground for those who could not rely on their family for support or who could no longer live on their own. This state of being stigmatized contributes to a spoiled identity in which a person is seen to be frail, inadequate, and handicapped. Furthermore,

disability as it relates to cognitive and functional decline becomes a common stigmatizing trait for older adults (Dobbs, Eckert, Rubinstein & Keimig, 2008). Elderly who live in any assisted living facilities or institutions (away from their family) are sometimes pictured as decrepit, abandoned, neglected, and worse, useless individuals. Considering the strong norms in the Filipino society about the obligations of the children to serve their parents in old age (Domingo & Casterline, 1992), institutionalization of older adults may be tantamount to abandonment and relegation of their kin's duty of taking care of them.

There are, however, findings of some foreign studies that revealed positive results about institutionalization. For example, the study of Cummings (2002) showed that the institutionalized elderly has moderately lower levels of depression, and moderate level of life satisfaction. One reason for this is the adequacy of structure and services provided by the assisted-living or home care facilities which are designed to compensate for the change in living arrangement where the elderly would be sheltered from much of the negative psychological effects of institutionalization.

## IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This study offers vital inputs for different sectors who work with and for the welfare of the Filipino elderly. First and foremost, the family remains the core and most important caregiver of the elderly. They are the greatest resource for helping older adults live high quality of life at home. They must continue to provide the necessary understanding, care and support to its elderly member. Adult members of the family must always be ready to provide whatever assistance they can to help the elderly meet their physical and health needs as well as their need for independence and sufficiency (e.g., participation in religious and/or civic engagements).

Gerontological workers (e.g., health and social workers) must continually enhance their knowledge not only of basic mechanisms of health promotion and illness prevention, but also psycho-social factors that may support or hinder the mental health of the institutionalized elderly. Biological-psychosocial assessment, counseling, as well as advocacy for the needs of individuals and their families will remain the essential practice skills of social workers in health care and aging. Knowledge of psychological interventions and espousing a personal environment (where the elderly are treated as members of the family or community) will help lower psychological distress and contribute to better acceptance of one's circumstances.

Schools, community, and media must strengthen the teaching of our children the value of respect to the elderly. They should advocate programs that will highlight the contributions of older adults to the society and various fields, and help combat prejudices and negative stereotypes about the elderly.

Non-governmental organizations that look into the concerns of the elderly are still very few compared to those who are working with other age-groups. Government must encourage and support the organization of public and private agencies servicing the older persons so that they can help formulate meaningful policies and provide more cohesive and coordinated services.

There are also very few government-supported health care institutions for the elderly in the country. The growing number of the Filipino elderly population results in a greater demand for care and support services, hence, the need to critically consider increasing and improving government structures and services for them. To ensure access to quality services, a local government unit (per city/municipality or at least provincial level) should establish and sustain its own center or health care facilities that focus specifically on developing programs and implementing strategies that will meet the physical and social needs of its elderly constituents.

Government must also encourage and support the conduct of evaluation of the effectiveness of policies, legislative reforms, and information campaigns with the end of

resolving the gaps in the implementation, improvement, and expansion of the benefits and privileges for the elderly (i.e., RA 9257). It should be noted that at present, the Philippines has not institutionalized social pension for poor older people, which elderly of Asian countries including Bangladesh, Nepal, and India already enjoy.

The present study has its limitations: (1) The co-resident older adult sample is heterogeneous. They come from various locations and probably various circumstances in life; (2) There is only a small sample of the institutionalized older adults; (3) Both groups of respondents are taken through a non-probability sampling technique; and (4) Limited scope of the variables and tests selected and conducted. For example, most of the older adults who participated in this study reside in urban areas. Also, the study was not able to gather concrete data pertaining to the socio-economic status of the older-adults (i.e. individual or family income levels, financial status, etc.) and other aspects of social difficulties (i.e., poverty, poor housing conditions) that may interplay with the respondents' subjective well-being. Other sectors of older adults who were not represented in this study (e.g., independent-living elderly, rural elderly, members of ethnic or minority groups, frail or elderly with physical and health difficulties, etc.) may reveal different characteristics and ego-integrity level. The results of the study, therefore, are not generalizable of the Filipino elderly populace. As Scott and Butler (1997) stressed, the diversity that exists across locales and characteristics of elderly groups suggests the necessity of obtaining a broader representation of various settings and populations to adequately explain their subjective well-being.

Extension studies could also include other variables and further statistical analyses could be conducted to test which among these variables and their composites, or combination of factors, influence the level of ego-integrity of the older adult cohort. Particularly, it is important to understand how the demographic variables interact with living condition (institutionalization and co-residency) and its

relationship with the ego-integrity of the older adults. Similar to other undertakings pertaining to the well-being of older adults, it is hoped that the findings of this research will encourage further explorations with greater emphasis on the positive human experiences and their impact on the mental well-being of older adults and will lead to the development of more effective strategies for improving the quality of life in this rapidly growing segment of our population.

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# Priestly Power and Probity on the Battlefield:
## Examining the Politico-Religious Origins of the Just War Doctrine

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Paper Presented to the 8th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences
Honolulu Hawaii, USA
June 4-7, 2009

## Abstract:

This paper examines the early Greco-Roman and Christian origins of the just war doctrine from a critical and analytical perspective, focusing on possible ulterior motives of the main religious theorists/philosophers and political actors involved. Over the course of several centuries, the just war doctrine has become a positive set of rational and altruistic precepts intended to discourage nations from engaging in war - especially of the offensive variety. However, the earliest just war theorists often grappled with a wide array of intense political pressures, which may have encouraged them to justify war for purely nationalistic/sectarian reasons. Questions will be raised in this paper about various theological/philosophical justifications of armed organized violence promulgated by the ancient Greeks, Roman imperialists, and the early Roman Catholic Church. In particular, the Church's hegemonic repression of heretical sects through the sanctioning of "holy wars" labeled as "just" will be investigated.

## Introduction

The reasons why nations go to war has long been the subject of intense fascination and theorizing by philosophers, political scientists, theologians, historians, and sociologists. Over the course of human history, war has touched virtually every country, with even nonaligned states facing armed organized threats and attacks on occasion. As a result, observers have grappled with the problem of war for centuries, often divided over such questions as the type of collective behavior that is morally and

religiously appropriate; particularly given the worst-case scenario of an unprovoked

military strike from a rival or belligerent nation-state.

While many Christian theologians have argued that war is inherently immoral and

should be avoided at all costs, numerous others have contended that war is sometimes

necessary and even desirable in certain situations.[1]  Consequently, various politico-

religious normative traditions have emerged, which focus on the use (and misuse) of

force as an integral element of statecraft (Johnson 1998:87).  In response to often

polarizing debates over the efficacy and morality of international conflict, theories of

"just war" have been developed that seek to reconcile the pessimistic reality of a war-

ravaged world with a more idealistic vision in which conflicts are resolved through

diplomacy and persuasion rather than force of arms.

Paradoxically, the so-called "just war doctrine" (which is actually a set of related

theories and guiding principles) combines a moral revulsion of war with a willingness to

accept the premise that war may be needed in certain cases.  As Miller (2002) has

observed, the just war tradition seeks to resolve the moral conflict "between the duty not

to harm (nonmalfeasance) and the duty to protect innocent persons, human rights, or state

sovereignty" (175).  Accordingly, the just war doctrine has been divided into two major

theoretical parts: The justifications for waging war (*jus ad bellum*) and the rules that

regulate warfare once the hostilities have actually started (*jus in bello*) (Lichtenberg

2006:16).

Though the just war doctrine has become secularized to a large extent over the

centuries, its ancient and medieval origins are intensely religious and highly pious.

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[1] As Forrester (2003) notes, these antithetical Christian alternatives were often framed as being either "an almost cynical 'Christian realism' or an absolutist pacifism" (65).

Derived largely from the writings of early Christian theologians such as Saint Ambrose

of Milan (338-397 CE), Saint Augustine of Hippo (354-430 CE), and Saint Thomas of

Aquinas (1225-1274 CE), the just war doctrine was also heavily influenced by the

theories of several non-Christian notables of antiquity such as Aristotle of Greece (384-

322 BCE) and Cicero of Rome (106-43 BCE).

Renaissance theorists such as Spanish Dominican monk Francisco de Vitoria

(1480-1546) and Dutch statesman Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) later helped reconfigure

and secularize the doctrine to a significant extent by advocating the incorporation of

many of its basic tenets (especially the protection of non-combatants) into nascent

international law.   In addition, political philosophers of the Enlightenment, such as John

Stuart Mill (1808-1873) and Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900), made significant theoretical

contributions to the doctrine (Temes 2003:47-48; Lichtenberg 2006:15), thus further

facilitating its secularization, codification, and universal applicability (Forrester

2003:66).

**The Modern Just War Doctrine**

In today's world, the just war doctrine has been defined as a set of highly

moralistic rules specifying how, when, and why nations are ethically permitted to engage

in warfare.  The doctrine provides a legalistic framework for distinguishing between

justifiable and unjustifiable uses of organized military force.  Narrowing the permissible

use of force to specific circumstances (*e.g.*, acting in self-defense, defending a weaker

state, responding with proportionate force to aggression) the doctrine seeks to "transform

violence as vengeance into violence as an effective tool for the resolution of conflicts

when all other possible ways forward have been tried unsuccessfully" (Forrester 2003:66).

In this regard, a given nation's *prima facie* responsibility of nonviolence may be "overridden or outweighed by the *prima facie* duty to act justly and pursue justice" (Childress 1997:216-217). Focusing primarily on issues such as what constitutes a "just cause" for warfare and the appropriate conduct of soldiers on the battlefield, the just war doctrine remains highly relevant and at times controversial in its application.[2] Notably, such value-driven criteria have been incorporated into post-World War II statutes of international law and are implicitly expressed within the United Nations Charter, among many other treaties and related documents (Lichtenberg 2006:16).

**Research Questions**

This paper examines early Greco-Roman and Christian origins of the just war doctrine from a critical and analytical perspective, focusing on possible ulterior motives of the main religious theorists/philosophers and political actors involved. Over the course of the last several centuries, the just war doctrine has evolved into a positive set of rational and altruistic precepts that are intended to discourage nations from engaging in war - especially of the offensive variety. However, the earliest just war theorists often

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[2] This was most recently evident in the debate over the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003. Many critics of the war contended that the just war doctrine did not permit or sanction such a "preemptive" invasion and subsequent occupation, since Iraq had neither attacked nor directly threatened any state in several years. Critics argued that the invasion was a disproportionate, overly bellicose, response to any potential threat from Iraq involving weapons of mass destruction. In this respect, the invasion lacked a "just cause." Moreover, critics alleged that the devastation and humanitarian suffering of noncombatants caused by the war far outweighed any purported benefits stemming from the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, thus violating the just war doctrine. Nonetheless, neo-conservative supporters of the invasion repeatedly referred to the Iraq war as "just" and used the humanitarian-sounding slogan, "Operation Iraqi Freedom," in an apparent attempt to rebut such critics. For a discussion of the just war doctrine as applied to Iraq, see Smock (2003).

grappled with a wide array of intense political pressures, which may have encouraged them to justify war for purely nationalistic/sectarian reasons or concerns.

In this paper, I will explore the possibility that various just war theories were originally devised for reasons other than - or in addition to – humanitarian and ethical concerns. Questions will be raised about various theological/philosophical justifications of armed organized violence promulgated by the ancient Greeks, Roman imperialists, and the early Christian Church. Did Greek, Roman pagan, and Roman Catholic thinkers devise just war theories for purely moral reasons or was there an attempt to use such precepts to advance particular sectarian/political agendas? What role did the expansion of priestly power in the late Roman and early medieval era play in the formulation of such theories? Conversely, how did priestly piety and various altruistic concerns manifest themselves in the just war doctrine? Was the advancement of a reputedly morally correct code of conduct on the battlefield directly or indirectly related to the expansion of the Catholic Church's hegemonic power? What role did the Church's repression of heretical sects play in the sanctioning of holy wars labeled as "just?"

**Prerogatives of Power**

The concept of power has been subjected to sociopolitical inquiry and debate for centuries, while the use (and abuse) of power has dramatically impacted and shaped human history. Indeed, issues relating to the definition, allocation, retention, and utilization of power are paramount in understanding virtually any social system. Comprehending the social structures and mechanisms that empower dominant groups (including political and religious institutions) and individuals (including politicians and

priests) - along with the means for expanding or limiting their authority - are particularly crucial in this regard.

Generally speaking, power can be defined as the ability of "a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action" (Max Weber as quoted in Allen 2005:168).   In this respect, power "may comprise anything that establishes and maintains control of man over man" (Morgenthau 1973:9).  Such social control is often depicted in relational terms, since "one is powerful to the extent that he affects others more than they affect him" (Waltz 1974: 13-14).

Power is often delineated and expressed in a bipolar manner, with "two physical or collective human agents" engaged in a goal-oriented asymmetrical relationship that is structurally embedded within a given society (Suvin 2006:43). Occupying an advantageous position within the power structure, the ruling elite/social class is able to politically dominate and/or economically exploit disadvantaged actors (Cast 2003:188). For this reason, power is often depicted as potentially amoral or even immoral, particularly when held or exercised by elite groups or privileged nation-states.

**Probity, War and Peace**

Probity, which includes the values of goodness and decency, is frequently portrayed as antithetical to power acquisition, particularly on the global stage.  For instance, theorists of international relations are often divided into two major schools of thought that reflect this dichotomy: so-called "realists" and "idealists."  While realists

argue that the world is naturally anarchistic and prone to war,[3] liberal idealists contend that global peace can occur through positive normative change and intergovernmental cooperation.[4]  According to realists, nations will seek to maximize their power through whatever means are available, including warfare; while idealists believe that nations will forego their short-term goals and act in the best interest of the global community, particularly when intergovernmental organizations such as U.N. act as mediators between states (Goldstein and Pevehouse 2006:56, 100-101).

Power can be expressed and exercised in many different ways, including the utilization of direct forms of coercion (*i.e.,* forcing someone to do something against their will) or indirect forms of persuasion (*i.e.,* convincing someone to do something against their better judgment).  In the first case, violence or the threat of violence is instrumental in achieving compliance of the weaker actor.  Bertrand Russell (1938) has referred to such nonconsensual dominance as "naked power;" so named because of the absence of other, less direct, forms of power.  As Russell observed, naked power is based largely on the "fears of the powerless and the ambitions of the powerful" (127).

Examples of those exercising such naked power would include so-called "tyrants" or "dictators," who often achieve and exercise power primarily through direct forms of coercion.  However, in such authoritarian societies indirect forms of persuasion are often equally effective for achieving and maintaining power.  In this respect, the more powerful

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[3] The philosophic origins of realism are linked to such notables as Niccolo Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes.  Both men argued that ruling elites everywhere seek to enhance their own self-interest, often at the expense of others.  For Machiavelli, wars should be conducted when "necessary"- which would include virtually anything that would benefit the state. Realists have applied this "free for all" mentality to international relations, contending that nations naturally seek to gain a comparative advantage over other nations (Goldstein and Pevehouse 2006: 56).

[4] The philosophic origins of modern liberal idealism are often traced back to Renaissance theorists such as Immanuel Kant, who argued, "International cooperation was a more rational option than resorting to war" (Goldstein and Pevehouse 2006: 100-101).

social actor typically has expansive access to valued resources and capabilities (*e.g.,* property, wealth, political/legal office, social status and prestige, knowledge, charisma) that are used to entice or cajole others into submission (Shively 2001:5).

**Authority, Hegemony, and Priestly Power**

Those who possess power often do not rely on brute force alone to enforce their will. Rather, they find subtler ways in which to secure the consent of the governed. Max Weber referred to the legitimization of such power relations as "authority," noting that the need for external social control is minimized when dominant social norms and values are effectively internalized by subject populations. In this respect, the exercise of power involves a top-down process of socialization that facilitates the legitimacy of the power structure (Allen 2005:169).

The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci referred to such socializing methods for political and economic purposes as "hegemony," noting that dominant classes often acquire and exercise power through various forms of implicit ideological control. By associating their power with widely disseminated ideas, beliefs, rituals, and symbols, the dominant class is able to maintain its position in the social hierarchy (Goldstein and Pevehouse 2006:82).

Making a similar argument, Bertrand Russell (1938:40) contends that traditional forms of power are mainly psychological and habitual, rather than purely dogmatic in content. Though political and religious beliefs are certainly important in this regard, people often follow and obey authority figures that are charismatic - particularly when such leaders claim to embody a society's traditional values. Harkening back to the halcyon days of antiquity, such charismatic leaders often invoke imagined or even

fabricated accounts of history for the purpose of enhancing their own personal mythos.

As Russell notes (1938):

> Both religious and secular innovators — at any rate those who have had most lasting success — have appealed, as far as they could, to tradition, and have done whatever lay in their power to minimize the elements of novelty in their system (40).

The two primary forms of traditional power identified in Russell's (1938:40) schema are "kingly power" and "priestly power." Both are grounded in tradition and employ charismatic forms of authority, while providing important social functions (at least historically) within a given society. Notably, Russell contends that the traditional power of kingship has been enhanced over the ages through warfare. He notes that the "priest" - which refers to any religious figure that is thought to have unique spiritual knowledge or abilities – derives power from particular religious/social movements. The most effective form of priestly power, he contends, is that which is grounded in movements with charismatic founders (40). Priestly power is enhanced by the widespread dissemination of religious doctrines, particularly those that are designed to codify or modify human behavior in such realms as economic transactions, gender roles, sexual relations, and warfare.

## Ancient Greek Tenets of Warfare

For the ancient Greeks, war was portrayed as the "natural state" of humanity and an intrinsically valorous pursuit, one that would enable the courageous soldier to achieve both honor and fame. The philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus (circa 535-475 BCE) stated, for instance, that war was the "father of all things," noting that those who are "dominated by self-interest" or "refuse to fight" will likely become slaves (Elshtain

2007:45). Though the Greeks tended to view war as natural and normative, they also saw peace as desirable. However, any such "peace" tended to be framed in a decidedly lopsided fashion. To the Greeks, peace was not merely the absence of war, but was also supportive of the national/ethnocentric status quo; *i.e.,* "the reality of the master-slave relationship and also other preexisting structures" (Watt 2004:99).

Religious ideologies, rituals, and various forms of priestly power played a very important role in justifying military campaigns ordered by Athenian officials. In ancient Athens, the supreme council (*aereopagus*) was named for the hill (*pagus*) that was sacred to Ares (*Areo)* – the god of war (Pomeroy *et al* 1999:162). Greek religion permeated everyday life and acted essentially as a "civic cult necessary for the well-being of the state," that included a special role for the military (Spielvogel 1997:97).

Each of the twelve major Greek gods was invoked as a "guardian deity" for a particular *polis* (city-state). For example, Athena was the "patron goddess" of Athens and was the subject of numerous rituals and ceremonies designed to bestow heavenly favor on the city and thus garner divine protection from external military assaults. Priests exercised political power through their alleged ability to interpret heavenly omens and deduce "the will of the gods" for Athenian life (including any prospective military campaigns) (Spielvogel 1997:997-98).

**Aristotelian Conceptions of Just War**

The Greek philosopher, Aristotle (384-322 BCE), actually coined the term "just war," maintaining that the gods were often instrumental in justifying conflicts against non-Greeks. From this standpoint, all people who were not Hellenistic were deemed to be culturally and spiritually inferior "barbarians," thus subject to violent subjugation.

However, in order for any given war to be truly just, certain moralistic criteria must first be met. For example, Aristotle stipulated that wars should be waged only in self-defense (*i.e.,* to prevent one's own enslavement by a "lesser" people) or to conquer another civilization that would benefit directly from Greek rule. Thus, the purpose of warfare was potentially virtuous and just, particularly when "less worthy men" were being enslaved by a more advanced (*i.e.,* Hellenistic) civilization.

In paternalistic fashion, Aristotle was arguing that some people were in dire need of enslavement and would actually benefit from such subjugation. In these situations, warfare reputedly would result in a higher quality of life for all parties involved. Aristotelian just wars, therefore, cannot by definition be detrimental to either the victor or the vanquished. Though warfare *per se* was not a desired end in and of itself, it was nevertheless depicted as a legitimate means for achieving such important moral goals as "peace, glory, and strength" (Russell 1979:4).

**Imperial Roman Tenets of Warfare**

Religious tenets provided legitimacy for the Roman state and facilitated the acquisition of political power by the patrician ruling elite. Indeed, religious dogma permeated Rome's political institutions, beginning with the city's folkloric founding in 753 B.C.E. by twin brothers, Romulus and Remus. According to legend, Mars – the Roman god of war - sired the twins and thereby granted Rome divine legitimacy in both domestic and external military pursuits. Roman religion did not emphasize the morality or ethics of warfare in a general sense, but rather focused on the rigid performance of proper worship rituals.

Such religious precepts stressed a kind of dependent relationship, in which the gods rewarded or punished people based on their "correct" performance of such ritualistic practices. This highly conformist ethos covered not only individuals, but also the state, as Rome's continued prosperity and territorial expansion was linked directly to precise ceremonial observances. In order to insure that the Roman state maintained the "peace of the gods," a college of *pontiffs* (high priests) was established. Responsible for administering the *jus divinum* (divine law), the *pontiffs* in effect became *de facto* government officials that were directly involved in military matters (Spielvogel 1997:149-150; Elshtain 2007:45).

Roman magistrates were required to consult so-called *augurs* before undertaking any major governmental act, including military campaigns. A college of *augurs* was established for the stated purpose of interpreting heavenly signs (auspices); such omens potentially would thereby affirm or invalidate any governmental proposal such a planned attack on another city or society. In this respect, *augurs* maintained and frequently exercised a *de facto* veto power that trumped even consular authority. For this reason, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.E.) claimed that *augurs* maintained "the highest and most important authority in the state" (Spielvogel 1997:150).

**Imperial Roman Conceptions of Just War**

Due to the Roman Empire's multiethnic composition, defining a war as either "just" or "unjust" required more than simply asserting an "us against them" rationalization - as the ancient Greeks had originally asserted. For this reason, Roman officials typically invoked a particular *causa beli* ("just cause") to rationalize waging war against another actor, including such reasons as acting in defense of the state (particularly

when attacked or threatened by a hostile power) or enforcing legally binding contracts between parties (Salisbury 2006:910).

Contractual obligations formed the basis of Rome's just war doctrine, as the terms of such pacts between city-states and other actors often clearly specified. Violating those terms therefore would provide the legal justification for initiating a war against the party perceived to be at fault, particularly when appropriate compensation for damages and injuries owed to an aggrieved party were not forthcoming. Thus, defaulting on remunerative commitments would provide official validation for punishing the offender through warfare (Russell 1979:4-5). As Russell (1979) has observed:

> Denial of justice became the primary cause of a just war seen as an extraordinary legal process. The Romans made war more civilized through the mitigating and regularizing effects of a positive law that echoed the *jus gentium* ("law of the peoples") (5).

Notably, the priestly college of *augurs* exercised a great deal of power over declarations of war - particularly during the Republican period. They would determine, for example, whether or not a rival city or state had "wronged" Rome in some capacity (e.g., violating a contractual agreement). After conducting an investigation, the college of *augurs* would render a decision and announce their findings. They would then issue an ultimatum to the state in question if it was found to be at fault, thereby demanding that the state's officials make amends with Rome.

Typically, an offending state would be granted a period of thirty-three days in which to consider Rome's priestly demand. If at the end of this period the offending state had refused to comply with the *augurs'* decision, then the priestly officials would recommend that the Roman Senate issue a formal declaration of war against the

offending state.  Given these circumstances, any such war recommended by the *augurs* was considered "just and pious" under Roman law (Draper 1962:379).

**Cicero's Just War Theories**

More than any other Roman statesman or philosopher, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE) was the primary architect of Rome's just war theories.  He provided specific formal requirements for a just war to occur, including an official declaration of war by appropriate legal authorities (i.e. the Roman Senate).  Cicero enunciated specific examples of just causes for initiating war such as recovering "lost goods," the defense of one's territory and citizens, and/or the maintenance of a state's independence.  Rather than being a "willful exercise of violence," war was depicted as "a just and pious endeavor occasioned by a delict or injustice of the enemy" (Russell 1979:5).

In fact, Cicero maintained that if a party goes to war without a just cause then they are merely engaging in illegal piracy or mercenary activities rather than genuine warfare.  Moreover, he explained that an offending party's juridical "war guilt" would render its cause legally unjust, thereby affording the aggrieved party the right to wage war in just fashion.  Along these lines, the gods would provide support and assistance to a state that was waging a just war.  Cicero also emphasized the importance of soldiers and their leaders waging war on the battlefield appropriately, with virtuous, merciful conduct followed at all times.  As Russell (1979:6-7) explains:

> For Cicero, wars should be won by virtue and courage rather than by base, infamous or treacherous means.  Faith and honor should be maintained even with Rome's enemies, and an oath sworn even under enemy compulsion had to be observed on pain of committing sacrilege.  Once victory was in sight, mercy should be shown to enemies unless they had acted cruelly and barbarously, and when besieging cities only those guilty of resisting Rome were to be punished.

However, Cicero's just war theory was often misused or selectively applied by Roman officials on and off the battlefield, particularly during the Roman Empire era (Draper 1962:380). As the dominant power in the Mediterranean, Rome unilaterally determined the war guilt of their enemies and used such questionable determinations to justify launching wars for purely imperial gain. Like the Greeks before them, the Romans depicted so-called "barbarians" (i.e., those dwelling outside the Mediterranean region) as being excluded from the Roman legal framework, which determined just war standing. Since Rome did not maintain legal relations with "barbarian" tribes and states, there was not any legal protection accorded to them. Even Cicero argued that the rules of warfare did not apply to reputedly illegitimate actors such as pirates and mercenaries (whom he labeled as "lacking in honor") (Russell 7-8).

In sum, the Romans frequently characterized many important political actors in the ancient world as undeserving of just war protection, thus diluting the just war theory in practice. Cicero's just war theories were essentially transformed by Roman administrators into a "code for conquerors – an ethic for empire" (Watt 2004:100). During the last few centuries of Roman imperial rule, there was an increasing concentration of power in the emperor, which led to an effective "abandonment" of the just war conception. Along with a "decline in morals and the growth of tyranny," there was concomitantly a "profound deterioration in the practices of warfare" (Draper 1962:380).

## Early Christian Conceptions of Warfare

During the first few centuries of the Christian era, many believers considered killing on the battlefield as anathema to their religion's traditional pacifist precepts.

Indeed, Christians had traditionally viewed peace as "available to all through the redemptive power of the Christian savior" (Elshtain 2007:45).

Moreover, many Christians rejected military service because Roman authorities were viewed as "pagan" in their religious beliefs and Roman soldiers were seen as notoriously "licentious" in their personal behavior. Though the Church had proclaimed no official prohibition on military service, Christians largely tended to avoid enlisting (or remaining) in the military, at least until the reign of Marcus Aurelius in the later part of the 2nd century. Notably, the Roman army was not particularly interested in recruiting or retaining Christians at this time, since they tended to view them as "obstinate, secretive and disloyal" (Draper 1962:382-385).

In several notable cases, Christians publicly refused to join the military by citing their conscientious objections to Roman authority, despite receiving orders of involuntary conscription. For instance, Maximilian of Tebessa - the son of a Roman soldier in the late 3rd century - was required to sign up for military service on his 21st birthday. He refused to enlist and was later beheaded as a result (Salisbury 2006:204). As he reportedly stated to a Roman proconsul investigating the case, immediately prior to his execution:

> I will never serve. You can cut off my head, but I will not be a soldier of this world, for I am a soldier of Christ. My army is the army of God, and I cannot fight for this world. I tell you I am a Christian.[5]

Nonetheless, for the vast majority of Christian men, service in the Roman military had become a fact of life by that time. As Salisbury (2006:204) notes, pacifist cases such as those of Maximilian and other devout Christian martyrs were exceptional and not

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[5] This quote is partly taken from Salisbury (2006:204). Additional quotations of Maximilian are found on http://www.americancatholic.org/Features/SaintOfDay/default.asp?id=1322

standard fare. In point of fact, countless thousands of Christians served in the Roman army, even before the official Christianization of the empire in the early 4th century. Moral concerns of Christians involving the killing of enemies on the battlefield had apparently diminished for most Christians after the 2nd century, despite longstanding pacifist beliefs stemming from New Testament scripture (Salisbury 204-205).

At the same time, the existence in the military of idolatrous images and symbols on and off the battlefield were an even more important concern for Christian soldiers, sometimes leading to direct conflicts between troops and their pagan superior officers. Early Christian writers such as Tertullian (160-235 CE) encouraged such objections within the military, harshly criticizing "pagan idolatry" and related symbolism (Draper 1962:384).

But the Romans did not countenance such subordination, for whatever reason. There were several accounts of soldiers being executed by military officials after refusing to wear a symbolic representation of the imperial crown on their uniform. A similar fate often befell soldiers refusing to participate in pagan celebratory festivals and various rituals such as the lighting of incense at the altar of the emperor (Salisbury 204-205).

**Early Christian Conceptions of Just War**

Anti-pagan-inspired martyrdom mostly ended with Emperor Constantine's conversion to Christianity and his subsequent promulgation of the Edit of Milan in 313 CE, which decreed that Christianity would henceforth be tolerated throughout the Empire. This accommodation of the Church by imperial authorities effectively ended Christian objections to military service. Since the emperor had embraced Christianity,

symbols of the state had largely become Christianized, thereby removing the most obvious reasons for Christians to refuse military service (Salisbury 206-207).

As a result, Catholic theologians such as Ambrose of Milan (338-397) began to articulate a Christianized theory of "just war" that implicitly combined selected Greco-Roman philosophic traditions - especially Cicero's theories - with Biblical dogma (Watt 2004:100). Courage on the battlefield was not sufficient for a just war, Ambrose argued, since a just cause was necessary for warfare to be sanctioned by God (Russell 1979:14-15). But at this early stage in the evolution of the Christian just war theory, virtually any war was automatically deemed to be "just" and even "holy," as long as the conflict involved Christian soldiers fighting against non-believers. In this respect, just wars were fought by "divine command" with God choosing sides in each and every war, thus "giving the assurance of victory to the just" (Salisbury 206-207).

Moreover, Ambrose argued that otherwise "sinful" practices such as homicide and usury would be acceptable in a just war environment. In contrast to Cicero, Ambrose seemed to indicate that appropriate moral conduct on the battlefield was irrelevant. In sum, Ambrose stipulated, "any viable means of punishing an unjust enemy was licit" (Russell 1979:15).

**Growing Power of the Catholic Church**

As the Roman Catholic Church steadily grew in power after the Edict of Milan, so too did its influence over declarations of war and other forms of statecraft. Though there had been decades of internecine warfare between competing Christian sects, the Catholic Church - in contrast to other Christian sects such as Arianism or Donatism - was recognized as the official religion of the Roman Empire in 380 CE. In the years that

followed, the Church governed virtually every social activity within its spiritual

jurisdiction, including birth rites, food preparation, education, financial transactions,

sexual relations, marriage, divorce, welfare, law, medicine, and philosophy.

In spite of its totalitarian approach, the Church often attended to the actual needs

of its parishioners, acting as both a protector and comforter, albeit in exchange for

dogmatic subservience.  Most importantly, the Church maintained a spiritual monopoly

when it came to granting salvation, with access to heaven being dependent upon a rigid

adherence to established rituals and priestly injunctions.  Consequently, doctrinal

proclamations by the Church concerning warfare were supremely important.  As

Tuchman observes, the Church was undoubtedly the "matrix of medieval life" (1978:32-

35).

The fact that Christianity was a universal religion – open to all social classes,

nationalities, and genders – was a major factor fueling the Church's exponential growth

during the later days of the Roman Empire and the subsequent medieval period.  In this

sense, the Church's universalism ameliorated social inequality and blurred class

distinctions to some extent, on and off the battlefield.  The Church also gained support

among all social classes by framing its message as inherently egalitarian and altruistic;

*i.e.,* helping to alleviate the suffering of those afflicted by poverty, disease, disability, etc.

Significantly, the Church rather than the state assumed this important redistributionist

function.  However, this project was at the same time self-serving, since the Church

claimed that when believers helped the needy they would be assured of gaining a

"foothold in heaven" (Tuchman 1978:32-35).

In many respects, the power and authority of the Catholic Church was linked to the collapse of the Roman Empire. As the Empire gradually disintegrated, a major power vacuum was created that facilitated the rise of a hegemonic Church based in Rome. In contrast to polytheistic religions of antiquity, Christianity promised a "personal relationship" with God and a direct "link to higher worlds" (Spielvogel 1997:202). During this period, an increasingly large number of people embraced Christianity as their primary identity, one that was based on a sense of "belonging" to a highly personalized charismatic movement.[6] Though Christianity initially competed with other "mystery" sects, its relatively simple and inexpensive initiation rites (*e.g.*, water baptism) substantially broadened its appeal among the masses and eventually helped secure a dominant position for the Church (Spielvogel 1997:202).

As the Roman Empire gradually declined in power, the Catholic Church became increasingly influential and established a transnational ecclesiastical bureaucratic structure based in Rome. Though there was initially some resistance from leading bishops in other cities, Rome's preeminent position was soon secured. Claims to monopolistic power made by the Roman *bishopri*c (i.e., jurisdictional area or *diocese*) were buttressed by both political and religious arguments. For instance, Rome's position as the traditional capital of the Roman Empire strengthened the Bishop of Rome's political authority.

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[6] In this respect, Christianity had more of a humanistic appeal than many "pagan" religions of the day since Christ actually existed (or at least reputedly walked the earth) in contrast to purely mythological deities and pantheistic forces of nature endorsed by paganism (Spielvogel 1997:202).

**Papal Domination and Warfare**

The doctrine of Petrine supremacy, which maintained that Christ had entrusted the "keys of the kingdom of heaven" to St. Peter,[7] buttressed the religious authority of the Roman bishop (*i.e.,* the pope) and eventually secured his dominant power base. The alleged infallibility of the Church also fueled the power of the pope. As Thomas of Aquinas (1225-1274) later declared, "The universal church cannot err, since she is governed by the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of truth (quoted in Feldhay 2006:1071).

As a result, the Church played an increasingly active role in the affairs of state, including providing justifications for warfare, particularly as the Roman Empire saw its power diminish. Popes in particular often wielded political power – directly and indirectly – over the institutions of government, including the military. [8] As Calvocerssi (1989) has observed, "The pope, representing God who (as the Old Testament showed) made many wars, was certainly entitled to declare a war" (479). In this respect, the Church was able to use the just war doctrine to provide theological support for military campaigns against not only rival states, but also competing religious movements within Christianity (and eventually "crusades" targeting Muslim infidels).

The Church's unparalleled economic assets bolstered its power further, as it maintained incredible wealth and controlled huge tracks of cultivated land in late Roman

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[7] Because Peter was depicted as the first Roman bishop, his successors claimed a theological basis for their legitimacy. During the 4th and 5th centuries, the so-called Roman "see" became the dominant "father," who referred to fellow bishops as "sons" rather than "brothers." The Roman bishop was soon being described as *papa* (pope), thereby laying the groundwork for later medieval popes to institute "direct, centralized control over all Christians based on this primacy" (Spielvogel 1997:208).

[8] For instance, Pope Gregory I (590-604) directly ruled Rome and the surrounding Papal States. Though church theologians often made the case for papal supremacy over political affairs, they noted that there were two distinct spheres of power, spiritual and temporal. While both spheres were charged with overseeing different societal functions, the spiritual sphere was ultimately "the higher authority since all men, including emperors, must look to the Church for the means of salvation" (Gelasius, quoted in Spielvogel 1997:209. 224).

and medieval society.[9]  In effect, the Church accumulated power as the monopoly "seller" of exclusive information and unilateral access to eternal salvation.  In this regard, clergy acted as "brokers" providing mostly intangible "products" for religious consumers.  The Catholic Church brooked no competitors in this arena and dealt harshly with heretical sects to preclude the growth of any alternative religious markets (Ekelund *et al* 1996:20-21).

At the same time, due to the geographic dispersal of Catholic parishioners, the Church decentralized much of its decision-making power.  With Rome as the "central office" (operating under the papal *curia*), a kind of local franchising of dioceses occurred wherein the Vatican would receive revenues through various local "rents" (*i.e.,* "voluntary" and mandatory contributions) and then redirect those resources for "strategic purposes" (Ekelund *et al* 1996:20-21).

**Augustine's Just War Theories**

The first major Catholic theologian to fully conceptualize and define the Christian just war theory was Aurelius Augustinus[10] (354-430 BCE), who served as the bishop of Hippo in North Africa in the late 4th and early 5th centuries.  Seeking to debunk traditional Christian pacifist notions and at the same time resurrect the Roman just war doctrine (which had atrophied in recent decades),[11] Augustine contended that the spiritual and secular spheres were directly connected and together would provide a moral basis for war.

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[9] As Ekelund et al (1996) notes, "Before the year A.D. 900, the Church owned approximately one-third of all cultivated land in western Europe" (8).

[10] He was posthumously christened "Saint Augustine" by the Roman Catholic Church.

[11] As Russell (1979) has observed: "Augustine took the Roman just war that had atrophied under excessive formalism and imperial legislation and revived it on the moral level while managing to retain its essential Roman legal features" (4-5).

If the purpose of a given war was to restore social order and achieve peace, then war could be moral, Augustine reasoned. He noted that warfare was often caused by sinful behavior, but could also be an appropriate remedy for immorality when needed. In this respect, war was not evil *per se*. Rather, what was truly evil was "the love of violence and cruelty, greed and the *libido dominandi* or lust for rule" that often accompanied warfare (Russell 1979:16-17).

Along these lines, Augustine claimed that there were two ideal social structures: *The City of God* and *The City of the World*. In the ideal realm of heaven, peace reigns and war is nonexistent. However, in the immanent sphere of corporeal existence on earth, peace is much more elusive. While peace should always be the ultimate goal of Christians, war is often necessary for those who live in the City of the World (Elshtain 2007:45).

Paradoxically, Augustine reframed New Testament admonitions such as "turning the other cheek" as an "inward disposition of the heart," rather than an external act of human passivity (Watson 1999:59). He also argued that Jesus' Sermon on the Mount justified warfare since the love of one's enemies would sometimes necessitate direct forms of coercion, including violence (Russell 1979:16-17). As he explained, Jesus never actually condemned military service and did not tell soldiers who inquired about salvation to abandon their units (Kondziela 1987:416). Indeed, Augustine depicted military service as kind of Christian calling that was often praised in the Bible. As he contended:

> Do not think that it is impossible for any one to please God while engaged in active military service. Among such persons was the holy David, to whom god gave so great a testimony; among them was also that centurion who said to the Lord: "I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof." And concerning

whom the Lord said: "Verily, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel" (quoted in Watson 1999:60).

**Targeting Christian Heretics**

In contrast to Saint Ambrose and other early Christian theorists, Augustine sought to construct a comprehensive Biblical framework for justifying war against not only non-Christian pagans, but also Christian heretics. As a Roman Catholic prelate, Augustine faced two vexing problems that were confronting the Church in the late 4th and early 5th centuries.

First, Christianity had been widely blamed for Rome's defeat at the hands of the Germanic Visigoths at the Battle of Adrianople in 376. Such a devastating military loss was blamed by some on the Empire's formal adoption of Christianity under Constantine, thereby supposedly abandoning and insulting the Roman gods of antiquity. The reality of the situation was that the Visigoths were actually not pagans, but Arian Christians (who believed that God the Father had existed prior to his Son). Nonetheless, this incident raised the specter of Rome's loss of divine protection on the battlefield due to excessive Catholic influences (Manchester 1993:9). The sacking of Rome by the Visigoths in 410 further bolstered the arguments of the critics of Christianity, particularly since this was the first time that the city had fallen to her enemies in over eight hundred years (Temes 2003:62).

Second, Augustine had personally experienced an often-bloody conflict in North Africa that pitted orthodox Catholics against the heretical Christian sect of Donatists (named for the maverick bishop, Donatus). This sect preached that Constantine had betrayed the Church and led it down the path to moral depravity. Therefore, the

secularization of the Church by the state was said to have "corrupted" Catholicism's spiritual essence. For these and other reasons, Donatists refused to accept the power and authority of Catholic sacraments, priests, and bishops.

A fringe group of Donatist militant extremists known as Circumcellions employed terrorist tactics against property owners, travelers, and anyone who might presumably have ties to Roman Catholicism. Claiming that they were ready to be "martyrs" while engaging in acts of terrorism that targeted mostly civilians, many Circumcellions committed suicide rather than be arrested for their crimes (Salisbury 2006:208-209).

The response of Augustine to those who would dare challenge Catholic hegemony was to assert that Rome was being overrun due to "sin" that had nothing to do with Church teachings. The Visigoths had been victorious over the Romans not because of any Christian influences, but rather due to Rome's continued pagan decadence and wickedness. Speaking from personal experience, Augustine had himself dabbled in "original sin" as a youth and was well aware of the corrupting influence of Rome's pagan deities of antiquity.

Augustine argued that the ultimate loyalty of Christians was to The City of God. In order to control depravity and maintain order in the world, rulers should be directly influenced by the Christian spiritual sphere (Manchester 1993:9-10). Rome had evidently failed in this respect, thereby losing the theocratic mantle of heavenly protection in its warfare against the Visigoths. As Augustine observed:

> Mankind is divided into two sorts: such as live according to man, and such as live according to God. These we mystically call the "two cities" of societies, the one predestined to reign eternally with God, the other condemned to perpetual torment with Satan (quoted in Manchester 1993:9-10).

**From Diplomacy to Just War**

The original (pre-Augustinian) Christian just war doctrine had asserted that Christians would always have the protection of God on the battlefield whenever they were facing pagan hordes. But the entrance of competing Christian sects engaged in internecine warfare – such as what existed in Northern Africa in the 4th and 5th centuries – complicated this dogmatic assertion considerably. Augustine, as bishop of Hippo, initially sought to reconcile the differences between traditional Roman Catholics (that he represented) and Donatists by engaging in non-violent persuasion and diplomacy. The fact that both sects claimed to have God (and Christ) on their side complicated matters significantly. Terrorism escalated during the years following the start of the schism (though such indiscriminate acts were not endorsed by mainstream Donatists), eventually causing Augustine to lose patience and recommend harsh reprisals (Salisbury 2006:209). As he recalled:

> For originally my opinion was that no one should be coerced into the unity of Christ, that we must act only by words, fight only by arguments, and prevail by force of reason…But this opinion of mine was overcome not by words (as quoted in Salisbury 2006:209).

Simply put, Augustine decided that warfare was justified – even against fellow Christians – particularly when reason and diplomacy had failed to achieve a resolution of differences. Though non-violent means for resolving conflicts are always preferable, violent methods may sometimes be necessary to secure a true and lasting peace. In short, Augustine was arguing that warfare was often a necessary (though unsavory) means for achieving a noble end. As he noted somewhat ironically:

> We do not seek peace in order to be at war, but we go to war that we may have peace. Be peaceful, therefore, in warring, so that you may vanquish those whom

you war against, and bring them to the prosperity of peace (as quoted in Johnson 2003:6).[12]

However, the Augustinian burden of proof for waging a truly just war is significant in this regard, since the initiator of violence will have to "prove the legitimacy of his claim" (Kondziela 1987:416). In the case of North Africa, for instance, repeated terrorist attacks on people and property by "irrational" sectarian extremists had apparently compelled Augustine into supporting war as a form of self-defense. He noted that a just war, by definition, is one that is waged "in defense of the fatherland, its citizens, and their property" (as quoted in Salisbury 2006:911).

Augustine carefully couched his views in Biblical scripture and related moral precepts, noting that truly just wars can be initiated and waged only by sovereign officeholders (rather than those who head non-governmental sects or movements). Such "legitimate" leaders are thereby invested with authority from God, thus linking Augustine's just war doctrine inextricably to divinely sanctioned "holy wars." Accordingly, the Roman state was the legitimate ruling body, which had officially recognized the Catholic Church in North Africa. Under such circumstances, the Donatists were without any form of either secular or spiritual authority. The Donatist leadership, therefore, was denied the moral sanction to conduct a "just war" due to their lack of legitimate state recognition (Salisbury 2006:911).

**Just Cause and Just Wars**

Along with such reputedly Christian precepts, Augustine also incorporated the Roman idea of just cause into his definition, thereby distinguishing between competing

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[12] It is interesting to note that Vegetius, a Roman military theorist, wrote something similar about war and peace at approximately the same time as Augustine. As he stated, "he who desires peace must prepare for war" (quoted in Temes 2003:9).

Christian (e.g., Catholic and Donatist) claims of just war. In this respect, Catholics and Donatists could not both be right in their goals and objectives. Only one side – that which is closest to true Biblical authority – would have a just cause.

In human terms, Augustine claimed that the Donatist extremists had threatened social stability, while the Catholics had sought only to defend themselves. In this regard, he stated that a just war must be conducted with "good intentions." By this he meant that the expected outcome would be beneficial to both sides, at least in the long run. The Donatists would thus benefit by losing the war against the forces of Catholic orthodoxy, since such a loss would inevitably lead to the heretics' restoration as "true" Christians once their reeducation process had been complete (Salisbury 2006:911-912).

Of course, the Donatists saw things quite differently than Augustine, since they also believed themselves to be "true" Christians. In fact, the Donatist Petilian wrote several letters to Augustine imploring him to end the war, claiming that Catholics were behaving more like pagans than Christians. As he wrote:

> Do you serve God in such wise that we should be murdered at your hand? You do err, you do err, if you are wretched enough to entertain such a belief as this. For God does not have butchers for priests (as quoted in Salisbury 2006:213).

**Augustine's Benevolent Warfare**

Despite Donatist complaints of brutality, Augustine noted the importance of waging war with "charity" (*i.e*., Christian love) rather than hatred for one's enemies, since to do otherwise would be sinful and unjust. Punishing or even killing "evildoers" such as the Donatists, therefore, was "charitable" since the end result would be "beneficial" to all. The "benevolent" intent of the ruling authorities for achieving a morally good result was really all that mattered; Augustine indicated (Russell 1979:24).

Citing examples in the Bible of famine and other sufferings experienced by both heathens and heretics, Augustine argued that violence against the enemy was fully appropriate if sanctioned by the proper authorities and well intentioned.  As Augustine noted, "It is better with severity to love, than with gentleness to deceive" (as quoted in Salisbury 2006:913).

In this respect, Augustine constructed a comprehensive moralistic – though sectarian - framework for warfare, effectively synthesizing Old and New Testament admonitions and parables with Roman just war precepts, that was largely lacking in the writings of Ambrose and other early Christian philosophers (Russell 1979:15; Watt 2004:103).

## Comparing Just War Theories

An examination of ancient and medieval just war theories reveals many commonalities with the theoretical framework for just wars found in the contemporary era, but also many differences.  From Aristotle and Cicero to Ambrose and Augustine, just war theorists have contemplated mankind's inhumanity to man and devised a seemingly positive – though limited – rationale for the use of military force.

Though the theories of these great thinkers emerged from somewhat dissimilar religious/national projects, they all agreed that war should be avoided when possible and limited in scope, but nonetheless considered war as necessary when declared to be "just" by officialdom.  Just wars, in this respect, were framed as wars of last resort conducted for reputedly "moral" reasons.  Such wars were depicted as "just" only if specific criteria were met and determined to be valid by religious and/or political authorities.

Paradoxically, the original just war doctrine implicitly combined two seemingly antithetical concepts: altruistic concern for the enemy on the one hand, and the right to punish or kill that same enemy on the other. While theories associated with the just war doctrine have consistently emphasized moral criteria for assessing the appropriateness of warfare, many of these theories were originally skewed in favor of the political/religious in-group. Initiated by sovereign kings and princes - often following the advice and encouragement of prelates – wars were determined to be "just" as long as both "sides" somehow benefited from the final outcome, which in ancient and medieval times often included some form of cultural imperialism (*e.g.,* Hellenization, Romanization, Christianization, Catholicization).

Notably, the major just war theorists cited in this paper justified the brutality and inhumanity of warfare by professing to support the universal goals of peace and love. In this respect, a noble end justified highly questionable means. Of course, "peace" was defined from the vantage point of the victor rather than the vanquished. Whether in Greek, Roman, or Christian variations of the theory, the "just" party in warfare was invariably the one with an ostensibly "superior" nation or religion. In highly paternalistic fashion, just wars were defined as violent but not retributive, punitive but not vengeful, and virtuous but not pacifistic. The moral and ethical core of this nascent doctrine was significant, but was maintained in absolutist fashion by the national-religious keepers of the code.

Morality, in this regard, was pure and unadulterated, which effectively privileged the possessor of large stocks of moral capital; *i.e.*, those who had access to ultimate truth as legitimated by hegemonic religious institutions within a given society. Conversely,

those political actors who were depicted as lacking in moral capital were therefore less powerful or even powerless. Deemed to be without a "just cause" by religious and political officials, the barbarous or heretical "other" was typically subjected to invasion, occupation, enslavement, forcible indoctrination, or even death – ostensibly "for their own good" and "out of charity."

Almost certainly, pagan and catholic thinkers had a two-fold agenda in developing their respective just war theories. On the one hand, they seemed sincerely to believe that war should be limited in scope and avoided when possible. But on the other hand, they were articulating a doctrine that was often self-serving and very supportive of the national/religious status quo. While not being full-fledged apologists for war, they did indeed encourage the use of armed force for highly subjective "legitimate" purposes. Without any intergovernmental bodies or neutral third-party arbiters involved in the deliberative process at that time, a determination of just war and related "war guilt" was highly arbitrary and dubious at best.

**Power Acquisition and Just Wars**

There is little doubt that the Roman Catholic Church increased its power and authority substantially through a strategic employment and dissemination of the just war doctrine. Priestly power (including the power of bishops and the papacy) was directly enhanced as a result of "holy wars" against rival sects and faiths, such as what occurred in North Africa in the 4th-5th centuries. Such holy wars were often cleverly disguised as

just wars, with papal and civil authorities legitimizing the Catholic cause without even considering the real interests or merits of non-Catholics.[13]

The naked power of armaments in such just/holy wars was only one part of the equation. Hegemonic doctrinal justifications for war – bolstered by the prestige and economic power of the Church - helped to mobilize the citizenry for various military campaigns against the "unjust" heretical enemy. The dominant elites in these states – including both princes and priests – frequently used doctrinal invocations to effectively maintain their monopolistic positions of authority. By linking themselves directly with widely disseminated ideas associated with the just war doctrine, the dominant classes were able to acquire an increasingly large amount of political, economic, and religious power.

In the case of Augustine, he gradually maximized his own sect's priestly power (*i.e.,* that of Roman Catholics) at the expense of his religious rivals, the Donatists. However, he did indeed appear to endorse the use of force against the Donatists reluctantly, framing such military action as a "last resort." He claimed to have sanctioned the use of military force once negotiations had proven to be fruitless and terrorist campaigns against Catholic parishioners had escalated.

But the reality was that Donatists by and large had not resorted to terrorism or widespread violence. It was only a fringe movement among the Donatists that had employed such indiscriminate tactics. Rather than focusing Rome's military might on the terrorist fringe, Augustine justified a bloody crackdown on all Donatists, thinly disguised

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[13] This perspective became even more apparent during the "crusades" of the 11th and 12th centuries wherein the Catholic Church made proclamations for holy war that incorporated just war theory. Pope Gregory VII, for instance, stated directly that taking part in a crusade was a penitential act of "charity" for the Muslim enemy (Riley-Smith 8-9).

as a "defensive" measure.  Moreover, since the Donatists lacked any kind of sovereign authority (*i.e.,* existing as a non-governmental religious movement without any official sanction), the just war doctrine denied them any legal standing in the eyes of Roman secular and priestly authorities.

The philosophical dualism of Augustine's just war theory is readily apparent, yet at the same time remains a significant historical and philosophical breakthrough.  As Temes (2003) contends:

> Augustine is as close as we can come to a founder of just war theory in the Western tradition, and in that role he becomes a symbol of the dark side of just war thinking: the function of apologist, providing moral cover to those who wish to make war for their own reasons.  Writing in the age of the first Christian kings, Augustine essentially invented the theory that allowed those kings – the Roman emperor Constantine was the first – to follow the teaching of Jesus on the one hand, and to kill by the hundreds and thousands on the other.  Still, Augustine led mainstream Christian philosophy to a vital point of moral clarity: war is wrong as an end.  In the age of the first Christian statesmen, he codified the idea that peace – what Orwell would later characterize as peaceable slumber – is the only proper answer to the ultimate questions of statesmanship and national leadership, and that was quite an innovation for the fifth century (11).

## Conclusion

The just war doctrine that first crystallized in the later days of Greco-Roman antiquity and the early days of Christendom has continued to develop over the centuries, retaining much of its original moral and ethical core but becoming increasingly objective, nonpartisan, and non-sectarian in its present-day incarnation.  The secularization and denationalization of the doctrine, which accelerated during the Renaissance, has substantially reduced the likelihood that nations, religions, or other actors can interpret the doctrine's principles one-sidedly, as was often the case in the eras of Aristotle, Cicero, and Augustine.

In dialectical terms, the just war doctrine has undergone a progressive synthesis and metamorphosis, as its original dualistic moral/hegemonic essence has interacted with contemporary ecumenical and internationalist concerns.   The early theorists and proponents of the just war doctrine undoubtedly enunciated important moral precepts concerning warfare.  The most important of those precepts have survived; yet have been radically altered and reframed from the particular to the universal in the modern era.

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1. Title of the submission-- The Rethinking after Women's Awakening from Feminist and Psychoanalysis Points of View
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# The Rethinking after Women's Awakening from Feminist and Psychoanalysis Points of View

## Introduction

I choose Kate Chopin's *The Awakening* to analyze because women's awakening is a significant subject in women's development. Some women have undergone a precious awakening process but later they have been led astray and stopped their development as an independent woman. They could have become successful in their lives and careers if they know this process a little bit more and understand Freudian libido theory. In order to understand this awakening process, I have analyzed the heroine, Edna in *The Awakening* from a feminist point of view and try to probe into women's common weaknesses in their awakening process. The rethinking of women's awakening would be helpful for women's development as an independent being in the world.

## Ⅰ Love is unlovely for the awakening women

Kate Chopin is an American pioneer writer of the 1890's. By the time *The Awakening* appeared in 1899, she was the well-known author of over a hundred stories, sketches, and essays appeared in the popular and literary magazines of the period. *The Awakening* met with widespread hostile criticism when it was published; however, this work is becoming highly valued today because of its strong and clear feminist consciousness.

*The Awakening* was the most important piece of fiction about a woman's awakening from the traditional female roles as mother and wife, and her awareness of her own identity as an independent human being. This course is accompanied with her sexual awakening, which, according to the existentialism's view, is to live fully. First, let's see Edna, the heroine's awakening from her marriage and love as an independent being.

1. Edna's awakening from marriage and love

What makes Edna Pontellier extraordinary is her strong sense of self in the universe. Compared to her companions, this is more evident. Most married ladies in New Orleans, where the novel is set, were the property of their husbands. The Napoleonic Code was still the basis of the laws governing the marriage contract. This is the situation Edna finds when she enters the marriage.

As the mother of two children, Edna is treated as a valuable piece of possessions. Her husband, Leonce Pontellier is a successful businessman and a noble lord. Edna, who is fond of music and drawing, is disappointed to find that there is no sympathy of thought and taste between them. In her deepest inner world, she gradually feels "an indescribable oppression, which seemed to generate in some unfamiliar part of her consciousness, filled her whole being with a vague anguish." (Culley, 1976, p. 8) It is the first time Edna became aware of her oppression in marriage after her husband's reproach of her with her inattention, her habitual neglect of the children. Her husband often uses the children and the mother's presumed duties towards them as a means of control and subjugation of the woman, which is quite usual in a patriarchal society.

Mr. Pontellier is a lord. Marrying him is entering into the hierarchal obligations of feudalism. From his birth he has been taught and encouraged to command and he expects to continue when Edna becomes his wife. Edna can't bear to be treated as a passive object but not an equal independent being. The sense of being oppressed is so strong that Edna feels it's a confinement for her in the family. She sees both Leonce and her children as foes, so after Mr. Pontellier and the two children all leave out of the home, she feels a radiant peace.

When Edna was at last alone, she breathed a big, genuine sigh of relief. A feeling that was unfamiliar but very delicious came over her. She walked all through the house, from one room to another, as if she had never sat and reclined upon them before. (Culley, 1976, p. 72 )

Edna has lost her sense of identity as an independent being in the family. Only after she is separated from her family members can she look with her own eyes, not with a wife or a mother's eyes. Since she has gained a sense of self now, no longer is she content to "feel upon opinion" when her own soul has invited her.

Edna's confinement in the marriage is certainly not a single case. Her mother was also a victim in the family. Her father, once a colonel in the Confederate army, thinks that Mr. Pontellier's attitude towards Edna's rebellion is too lenient, "Authority, coercion are what is needed. Put your foot down good and hard; the only way to manage a wife. Take my word for it." (Culley, 1976, p. 71)The Colonel is perhaps unaware that he has coerced his own wife into her grave.

Edna's awakening is a rebellion against the traditional rules set for women only as wife and mother. She seeks for independence and freedom, and realizes that she has her own

position in the universe, and she is not a dependency of man:

A certain light was beginning to dawn dimly within her, –the light which, showing the way, forbids it.

At that early period it served but to bewilder her. It moved her to dreams, to thoughtfulness, to the shadowy anguish which had overcome her the midnight when she had abandoned herself to tears.

In short, Mrs. Pontellier was beginning to realize her position in the universe as a human being, and to recognize her relations as an individual to the world within and about her. This may seem like a ponderous weight of wisdom to descend upon the soul of a young woman of twenty-eight –perhaps more wisdom than the Holy Ghost is usually pleased to vouchsafe to any woman. (Culley, 1976, p.14-15)

Edna has been influenced by transcendentalism in that she feels solitude in the universe. She wants to seek after human life's meaning by herself. She is not satisfied with the traditional rules set for women in the society. This is too much a mission for a woman to bear in a patriarchal society.

Now Edna has got a sense of self and wants to make self-fulfillment. It's Robert Lebrun, a kind young man, who has led her into this road. Robert's role is suggested very early. He takes her swimming. He puts a hat on her head or carries a sunshade over her. These simple actions can be fully accounted for on the realistic level; yet they are also symbolic.

The great incident arousing Edna's awakening occurs at a moonlight night, when Robert suggests of swimming at that mystic hour in the sea. All the people can swim except Edna, who has attempted all summer to learn to swim but fails. But that night she suddenly realizes powers, and walks for the first time alone, boldly and with over-confidence. She enjoys her newly conquered power and swims out alone. This power has also given her great courage to defend herself and refuse to yield as before. What's more, it gives her courage to love Robert overtly. The incident happens because the precious listening to a pianist's theme has aroused Edna's strong feeling and potentials, let her know her hidden strength as an equal human being as a man.

But Robert soon after goes to Mexico, deliberately escapes her passion. Although he has got some valuable properties Edna admires, he is still a loyal supporter of the patriarchy, thinks that Edna is a property of her husband so he can't take it without the host's admission. With passion already stimulated and not responded by her dream lover, Edna feels great agony. "The present alone was significant; was hers, to torture her as it was doing then with the biting conviction that she had lost that which she had held, that she had been denied that which her impassioned, newly awakened being demanded." (Culley, 1976, p. 46 ) Edna's newly awakened being demands an equally strong "object" to express her great passion, but she is discouraged by Robert's deliberate indifference and escape. So when Alcee Arobin, a handsome playboy senses her awakened passion and reacts to it, she accepts it, although she doesn't love him. For her, Arobin becomes this "object" instead of the decent Robert. When Alcee kisses her, she does not repel him, but "clasped his head, holding his lips to hers. It was the first kiss of her life to which her

nature had really responded." (Culley, 1976, p. 83) So she is led astray: after she is awakened spiritually, she turns to the unreliable love, even worse, the loveless sex.

Coincidentally after Edna knows Arobin, she moves to another rented house to live alone. She decorates this new house with her own money and lives on by drawing pictures. It's a courageous act to resist the patriarchal tradition by living independently. Arobin often visits her there. But this loveless sex only brings her a sense of emptiness, and she looks upon and comprehends life as a monster made up of beauty and brutality. Now her awakening is directed towards the physical aspect. Edna now realizes that the physical component of love can stand apart from the spiritual one, and her awakening to the true nature of love makes her understand herself. Instead of blaming the roué, she looks her own animalism in the eye.

Edna's second stage of awakening happens after Robert's returning from Mexico. After that, her good hopes that Robert still loves her and will live with her are shattered. He is such a coward that he doesn't come to see her at all. He has been fighting against his passion after he discovers his love to Edna, just because she is not free, she is another man's wife. Listen to his heartfelt wishes: "Oh! I was demented, dreaming of wild, impossible things, recalling men who had set their wives free, we have heard of such things." (Culley, 1976, p. 106) But Edna now is capable to judge things by her own self, she no longer considers herself as the property of any man, even of her lover Robert:

"You have been a very, very foolish boy, washing your time dreaming of impossible things when you speak of Ms. Pontellier setting me free! I am no longer one of Mr. Pontellier's possessions to dispose of or not. I give myself where I choose. I he were to say, 'Here, Robert, take her and be happy; she is yours,' I should laugh at you both." (Culley, 1976, p. 106-107)

Here Edna declares her subjectivity in the love and marriage. She is not a possession to dispose of. She is an independent woman who has her own idea and independence.

Listen to this self-assertion declaration, Robert is more than astonished. Undoubtedly he still thinks that any women, including his lover Edna are possessions of men. So we can easily imagine what would happen even if they would have got married. He will become another Leonce Pontellier—a type of all the contemporary husbands, a lord in the family. According to the institution of patriarchal marriage, there are hardly any exceptional examples. Robert, who awakes Edna out of a life-long dream, now falls behind her self-development road and can't understand her as before. At last he departs from her forever, only leaves a farewell note: "I love you. Good-by—because I love you." (Culley, 1976, p. 111)

The unexpected result is a heavy strike to Edna, she has waited for him so long only to find that he is still a supporter of the patriarchal society and doesn't understand her. The note is a further illustration of woman's situation in a man's world. Robert's words signify to her not only that he is afraid of braving conventions, but also that he would never understand her, or over accept that kind of independence and equality without which she cannot exist. He is Kate Chopin's example of the ordinary man who cannot tolerate the unusual woman, and his reactions emphasize the reasoning which relentlessly

leads Mrs. Pontellier to her final exertion of responsibility and of her will as she pays the price of freedom.

This accident has put Edna into a hopeless situation. All her seeking for love seems totally vain. Robert's returning from Mexico makes Edna see more clearly of her situation in this society. There is an aspect of the human condition, which Kate Chopin must have seen as destined to plague even the modern Edna. Edna is now awakened to the inevitable loss of illusions, the singular delusion that love is eternal. Romances serve but to feed the imagination of the young; they add nothing to the sum of truth. Mrs. Chopin expressed this idea in this tale: "It was the time when the realities of life clothe themselves in the grab of romance, when nature's decoys are abroad; when the tempting bait is set." In response to Dr. Mandelet's outspoken statements, Mrs. Pontellier remarks: "Yes …To wake up and find ---oh! Well! Perhaps it is better to wake up after all, even to suffer, rather than to remain a dupe to illusions all one's life." What pains Edna is her realization that the idea of the great passion with its lofty, personal attachment, its one-ness with the beloved is largely a fiction, a euphemistic disguise for a basically sexual attraction, an animalistic, impersonal drive. "To-day it is Arobin; to-morrow it will be some one else. It makes no difference to me," she thinks as she walks into the water. (Culley, 1976, p. 113)

The disillusionment of her ideal love is a hard blow to Edna. For a long time she has considered Robert as one of her life goals: love with a man worthy of love, to defy the confinement opposed on her by the patriarchal society. She had thought that she has sought the meaning of life, that is, she has at last found her position in the universe. Her love with Robert has given her the courage to defy the limitations set by the society. But now she has found her ideal lover is nothing but a coward in this society. Losing her love, there is no other choice but to give up the chance to go on living in this society. Since what she seeks after, the idealized love, is only a big illusion in this world, and living for Robert now has lost its original sense, she swims into the sea and never comes back. She has at last realized that love itself is illusory and unreliable in that society. There is no man Edna can live together without losing her independence, even her phantom lover Robert. Realizing this, she chooses death to sustain her independence and individuality.

## 2. Other women images in *The awakening*

Despite of the heroine Edna, Chopin depicts some other women images as well. Chopin has divided them into two groups, one is the traditional mother and wife, like Adele Ratignolle; one is the single woman artist, Mademoiselle Reisz.

The Creole and undoubtedly Catholic Adele is a striking illustration of the patriarchal ideal of the submissive female who writes her history only through her family. As Edna's counterpart, she is a perfect foil for Edna as she becomes aware of her craving for independence and of her sensuous nature. And she is the model of perfect woman in the society.

Edna's half-hearted attempt at becoming an artist is one of her means to escape from this oppression. Mademoiselle Reisz, the musician, is therefore another natural foil to her. She is far from the Bible's idea of woman. She objects to babies, and she is rude and self-assertive. But this disagreeable and unpopular person is at least an individual, and

this fact—together with her music—attracts Edna as she struggles with her own individuation. Reisz is strong enough to live alone on her own terms, giving enough to secure the friendship of Robert and later of Edna, and capable through her music of inspiring passion. She is the only person in this novel who understands and encourages Edna's struggle towards a new state of awareness and independent being; Edna is stirred to passion by Reisz's music and achieves her first mastery over the ocean and swims out far in a spirit of self-assertion. During Edna's seeking for independence, Reisz predicts its difficulty in the patriarchal society, and seriously warns her: "The bird that would soar above the level plain of tradition and prejudice must have strong wings. It is a sad spectacle to see the weaklings bruised, exhausted, fluttering back to earth." (Culley, 1976, p. 82) As an artist, she has got a courageous soul, and has influenced Edna greatly. As with Adele, there are facets to Mademoiselle's leading trait. Though she is career woman with independent opinions, she is full of the female's traditional hero-worship of the man. If she should love, she declares, it would have to be some "grand esprit."

With the above analysis, we can see Edna's whole life as an annotation of the unlovely love. She awakens only to find that love in this patriarchal society is unreliable. The tragedy of Edna is not only her personal tragedy; it is also a miniature of the morbid patriarchal society, a tragedy of the society.

3. The rethinking of Edna's awakening and over-idealization of love

In Edna's life, love, and the seeking for love, is an important part. Love also played a significant role in her awakening. Edna has several love fantasies. Her first love was a dignified and sad-eyed cavalry officer who visited her father in Kentucky. But "the cavalry officer melted imperceptibly out of her existence". (Culley, 1976, P. 19) The second time her affections were engaged by an engaged young man, but she realized that she herself was nothing to him. The third time is a tragedian. She has great passion for him. "The persistence of the infatuation lent it an aspect of genuineness. The hopelessness of it colored it with the lofty tones of a great passion." (Culley, 1976, p. 19 )

Then she met her husband. Her feeling towards her husband is so secured that "she grew fond of her husband, realizing with some unaccountable satisfaction that no trace of passion or excessive and fictitious warmth colored her affection". (Culley, 1976, p. 19-20) Thereby she has no passion for her husband, just marrying him for a secure social and economic status.

That may be the origin of her tragic pursuit of love, a marriage without love. And she has married and gave birth to children before she has found her love, so what she did in her family is not a willing choice, but rather a role assigned to her by the patriarchal society. Even her feeling towards her children is not something that could be called a maternal love—"she was fond of her children in an uneven, impulsive way….Their absence was a sort of relief, though she did not admit this, even to herself. It seemed to free her of a responsibility which she had blindly assumed and for which Fate had not fitted her." (Culley, 1976, p. 20) To a soul seeking for independence and meaning of one's life, children is a burden for which she is

apparently not prepared. She wouldn't accept everything just because others have told her that she should do, such as accepting the traditional role of women in family. She is not like those mother type of women, always "fluttering about with extended, protecting wings when any harm, real or imaginary, threatened their precious brood." (Culley, 1976, p. 10)

With her spiritual awakening's development, Edna has gradually realized that she has great potential when she learned how to swim. "A feeling of exultation overtook her, as if some power of significant import had been given her soul. She grew daring and reckless, overestimating her strength." She even wanted to swim to "where no woman had swum before" (Culley, 1976, p. 28). This, apparently shows her boldness in trying something which is often forbidden for common women, foreshadowing her future abandoning of her family for the sake of being independent and seeking for self-fulfillment.

Encouraged by her success in swimming, she "began to feel like one who awakens gradually out of a dream, a delicious, grotesque, impossible dream, to feel again the realities pressing into her soul" (Culley, 1976, p. 32). She was awaked, only to find the reality so suffocating to a freed soul.

One flaw in the awakened Edna's character is that she seldom asks help from the outside world. As a solitude woman warrior (that's what the novel's original subtitle suggests—a solitude soul), although she admits that "we women learn so little of life on the whole" (Culley, 1976, p.105), she seldom asks about other people's advice, even the advice of the wise doctor.

Another weakness of this solitude warrior is that she is capricious. Brave as she, she is still young and capricious to some degree. After her awakening, she "began to do as she liked and to feel as she liked", and, "so far as she was able, lending herself to any passing caprice" (Culley, 1976, p. 57). This kind of behavior is a childish one which we can easily understand. After all, she was brought up in a family within a patriarchal society. The way of bringing up a daughter at that time was always the one like treating women as they were children—they were not treated like any equal persons with independent thinking. So Edna is still a child even if she has already been awaked from the innocent state. Such a child will probably underestimate the difficulties she is going to confront as an independent woman in that traditional society. But the most difficult obstacle she is going to overcome is her over-idealization of love.

Her love affair with Arobin comes from Edna's failure in the seeking for Robert's love. We easily tend to think that she turns to Arobin's seduction because she was already sexually aroused by him, and with the absence of her true lover, as a capricious woman, she doesn't have much strength to control herself. But the real origin of all of these is her over-idealization of love. If she is not so in deep love with Robert, she won't feel such a great loss after he retreats. In her early period of awakening, Robert has a significant meaning. She has over-idealize him to be a prince, awakening her up from her long dream, just like Sleeping Beauty was awakened from her long dream. But Robert happened to be near her when she was awakened, she has related him with her own awakening process, thus can't get rid of the feeling that he is

destined to be with her, he must be her love. In her rosy fantasy about love, he is the only person who is worthy of her love. She didn't realize Robert's weakness as a common man, let alone his imbued patriarchy thoughts about women's position in marriage.

What a pity that "it was not the kiss of love which had inflamed her, because it was not love which had held this cup of life to her lips" （Culley, 1976, p. 83）. It's also a pity that she didn't turn her great talent and strong libido into art, to become successful in her own life with the outlet of her strong libido. She could have become a great artist, which is a more practical way for such an independent and awakening woman.

Because she does have a talent in art. And she does have an awareness of living a self-fulfilled life after her awakening. "It was not despair; but it seemed to her as if life were passing by, leaving its promise broken and unfulfilled." (Culley, 1976, p. 73) What a precious awakening! She could have become a successful woman in the life after her spiritual awakening.

She could have begun a true love story with Robert if both of them have the same understanding about women's rights. But Robert still thinks a woman in a marriage is the possession of her husband, until her husband set her free, he couldn't fall in love with her. This difference has finally separated them. Her deep love and high expectation of Robert and the disillusionment of that love has led her into a despair situation from which no one can rescue her.

Compared to Edna, Reisz has no fantasies about love, although she said, "If I were young and in love with a man", "it seems to me he would have to be some grand esprit; a man with lofty aims and ability to reach them; one who stood high enough to attract the notice of his fellow-men."(Culley, 1976, p .81) Of course, it's lucky that she hasn't met such a man, or she might deeply fall into love and sacrifice everything for him and lose herself in such a hero-worshipping love. Maybe it's a bigger trap for the awakening women.

This is not sheer imagination. Look at another heroine who is as independent as Edna and Reisz, maybe more intelligent than Edna. In *The Portrait of a Lady*, Isabel Archer is much luckier than Edna in many ways. She has got a large sum of money inherited from her uncle, which gives her a freedom to marry without considering money. She is lucky that she has already been awakened spiritually before her marriage, which is a significant fact, indicating that she will have the chance to marry to somebody whom she loves and can avoid a marriage without love, thus successfully avoid being led astray after marriage. All of these indicate that she could get an ideal love and live happily ever after. But what happened at last? She was trapped in an unhappy marriage, moreover, this marriage is what she herself chose carefully, eyes wide open, but still a trap for an independent and intelligent woman.

*The Portrait of a Lady* is a more complicated story about women's seeking for independence in a male-dominated society. Isabel almost has everything a woman can own in this world: beauty, money and an intelligent mind. It seems that she would get what she seeks after in this world. But the tragedy here is, even she loves the man

whom she marries to, her love was still proved to be an unlovely love. Her husband, a calculated artist with hidden selfishness, entraps her in the name of love, and treats her as an aesthetic object in the family, not an equal being with her own thoughts. Even worse, he forbids her to have her own ideas and thinking. What a gentle violence in the name of love! What an intricate enslavement of women in the name of love!

Isabel escapes the trap pf a loveless marriage what Edna easily falls into, but also falls into another trap, a more intricate trap under the guise of gentle love. Still here, love is proved to be unlovely for women. *The Portrait of a Lady* has revealed a much more profound tragedy than Edna's tragedy: Even if women win their love, she may still live an unhappy life, if she holds an over-idealization opinion about love and lives only for love.

Edna doesn't have such a chance to see this, maybe she is aware of it at last, but it's too late for her to change. In the end she has already being led astray by her over-idealization of love and her uncontrolled libido. Robert's final escape just adds the last straw.

It is now clearer than ever that sexuality without loving is the splitting to which Edna has been doomed by her over-idealization of love and the loss of this love. This is her deepest weakness, she rely on the love too much.

Thus we can conclude that the fatal weakness in Edna's awakening is that she is the victim of the over-idealization of love. With the illusion of love, Edna is still not truly independent.

## Ⅱ Freudian analysis of the awakening women's dilemma

According to Freud's libido theory, "The evidence of analytic experience shows that it is an undoubted fact that instinctual impulses from one source attach themselves to those from other sources and share their further vicissitudes and that in general one instinctual satisfaction can be replaced by another….The relations of an instinct to its aim and object are also open to alterations; both can be exchanged for other ones, though its relation to its object is nevertheless the more easily loosened. A certain kind of modification of the aim and change of the object, in which our social valuation is taken into account, is described by us as 'sublimation'." (Freud, 1973, p. 129) Actually, Edna's sexual instinct could have been exchanged for other instincts, such as artistic instinct. If she has experienced this kind of sublimation, she will be able to walk out of her dilemma after her awakening and avoid her tragic death. Mlle. Reisz, however, is a successful example of sublimation.

Edna's spiritual awakening happened first when she listened to the pianist Mlle. Reisz's playing piano. And significantly, the immediate agent of Edna's awakening is not Robert Lebrun, to whom she ascribes it, but the pianist Mlle. Reisz.

Like Edna, Mlle. Reisz is a woman alienated from Creole society, though for different reasons: the pianist is unequipped with the physical and social charms

society demands. A "homely woman, with a small weazened face," possessed of "absolutely no taste in dress," unmarried and "no longer young," Reisz could easily have become a person of inhibition and asexuality (Culley, 1976, p. 26). Instead, she has channeled her deepest fantasies into art and creative expression, where she has succeeded brilliantly. To many she is "a disagreeable little woman ... who had quarreled with almost everyone"; but this reputation, Edna understands, is in part "owing to a temper which was self-assertive" as well as to "a disposition to trample upon the rights of others" (Culley, 1976, 26).

Reisz is successful in art as a pianist. This is because she has channeled her deepest fantasies into art and creative expression. In Freudian terms, she has successfully got a sublimation of her libido when she pursues her art.

Reisz's success has allowed her a freedom possible for few women. She lives alone in her Bienville Street apartment. But Edna hasn't succeeded in this same try. She also lives alone, trying to be an independent artist, but her intention was ruined by a playboy Arobin.

Edna is different from Mlle. Reisz in that she didn't find an appropriate outlet for her awakened libido. Her pursuit of art is half-hearted. Compared to Edna, Mlle. Reisz is more mature and has a stronger will. She is aware of the harsh reality for an independent woman. In addition to talent, she tells Edna, "the artist must possess the courageous soul." For Reisz, that means "the brave soul. The soul that dares and defies" (Culley, 1976, p.63). As she knew Edna's plan for living alone and seeking her own life, she said, "The bird that would soar above the level plain of tradition and prejudice must have strong wings. It is a sad spectacle to see the weaklings bruised, exhausted, fluttering back to earth."(Culley, 1976, p. 82) In other words, she warns Edna of the price an independent woman is going to pay for her awakening.

Reisz's strength, in short, comes through as a social as well as an artistic triumph. If she is not a successful artist in the society, as a unmarried woman, she could hardly win her independence in a male-dominated society. She has won herself a position in the society through her artistic endeavour. It's wise that she didn't rely on any man's love. She is a good example of Freudian's sublimation theory.

### ‖‖  Summary and conclusion

Edna is an independent woman who seeks for self-fulfillment in a male-dominated society. She is not satisfied with the loveless marriage and seeks after a true love but failed to keep it. Her precious awakening about her position in the universe has been led astray after she loses her love. The disillusionment of her ideal love brings a hard blow to Edna. Robert is Edna's ideal love who gives her a meaning to live in this world. Her love with Robert has given her the courage to defy the limitations set by the society. But soon she has found her ideal lover is nothing but a coward in this society. She has at last realized that love itself is illusory and unreliable in that society. There is no man Edna can live together without losing her independence, even her ideal lover Robert.

From the Feminist point of view, Edna has several weaknesses in her awakening process. Besides being capricious as a child, Edna is the victim of the over-idealization of love. With the illusion of love, Edna is still not independent. During female development, love, or the pursuit of love play an important role. Edna's tragic death reflects that she didn't handle the love theme properly. Her dilemma is a common dilemma of the awakening women. They are not awakened to the fact that the possibility of art can provide an alternative to an over-idealization of love.

In the end of the paper, Freud's psychoanalysis theory is also employed to analyze Edna's dilemma, that is, she didn't find a suitable outlet for her newly awakened energy and libido. According to Freud's theory, Edna's sexual instinct could have been exchanged for other instincts, such as artistic instinct. If she has experienced this kind of sublimation, she will be able to walk out of her dilemma after her awakening and avoid her tragic death. So here comes our natural conclusion:

In order to avoid the various traps for the awakening women, women should give up their over-idealization of love and find a suitable outlet for their newly awakened energy. Only through sublimation can the awakening women find a successful route in the society.

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**Title of Submission: Corporate Social Responsibility, Gender and Development: Critical Issues Arising in the Pacific Region**

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**Abstract:** My research project seeks to examine the ways in which Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is practiced by major corporations in the Pacific. It focuses on the construction of a major liquid natural gas (LNG) pipeline in Papua New Guinea (PNG). Field research conducted with the company and four local communities in early 2008 suggests that women (and young men) in PNG are often sidelined from the potential benefits of key development projects despite the CSR frameworks in which transnational corporations must operate. As CSR frameworks and programmes are designed to protect communities to be impacted the project will research how the drive for CSR in the 21st century has evolved, and how CSR is perceived and used to frame resource extraction operations such as mining, and oil and gas pipelines.

While CSR frameworks and programmes are seen as necessary to secure responsible corporate behaviour to better support social and economic development, it is the sustained pressure by governments and non-government organisations (NGOs) to make companies accountable that is impelling change. It has been argued that there has been a marked increase in the number of NGOs monitoring the activities of resource extraction companies, and seeking to influence the companies' conduct by direct lobbying and by spreading awareness to rally public pressure around key issues.

CSR creates a framework within which social impact assessment is conducted and shapes the ongoing community relations between the community and the company during operations and following closure of the project. However, the PNG LNG pipeline project is planned to last for forty years; four years in construction and over 35 years in operation. What specific challenges arise for a company planning such a long-term project in a nation-state that is actively working to 'modernise' but whose people(s) have profoundly 'non-Western' modes of thought and behaviour? And how are the challenges 'gendered'?

CSR links to gender and development because members of local communities have a direct impact on resource extraction companies as their work is determined by the location of resources. Host communities are often in a position to disrupt or halt operations if they believe they are being impacted negatively, as has occurred elsewhere in PNG at OK Tedi, Lihir Gold, and the Conzinc RioTinto mine in Bougainville. Nonetheless, anthropological theory and field research suggest it is important to examine and analyse the gendered relations of power that pre-exist a project, that are impacted by it, and that are enacted through it. Although support for

the PNG pipeline included social mapping of the clans in the target area, household surveys, reviews of health and education facilities, and gender focus groups to uncover the needs of women, field research suggests the company is struggling to incorporate women into its recognition of 'stakeholders'. Hence, the research project also seeks to examine how gender and development theorists may critically evaluate the social impacts that are likely to follow a project as companies seek to responsibly manage change within and via CSR frameworks.

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**Title:**  Translating Hollywood: Reflections on the cultural and rhetorical impact of re-titling feature film

 **Submission Abstract:**  When Hollywood releases films abroad the titles frequently change. Sometimes they use a literal translation into the foreign language, but regularly the title changes into something unrecognizable. Last summer's biggest hits in Mexico translated to *Knight of the Night, Super Agent 86* and *The End of Time*, you might know them better by their titles in the United States: *The Dark Knight, Get Smart* and *The Happening*. Sometimes the title change is because a term might have an offense meaning in a different culture. For example *Austin Powers: The Spy who Shagged me* had to change it title when released in England because of the slang meaning of "Shag"; recently the film *Capote* was changed to Truman Capote in France because "capote" is slang for "condom". Films released in China often seek titles that work on a phonetic level, but that may alter the title of the film to something completely unrecognizable. My work-in progress is examining film titles as translated into different languages (my initial focus is on films translated from English to Spanish, French and Japanese). I am exploring commonalities based on cultural and linguistic factors. The use of alternative images in the poster will also be explored.

# Productivity and Foreign Direct Investment in OECD Countries

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ABSTRACT
Theoretical and empirical studies concerning the effect of foreign direct investment (FDI) on economic growth have yielded mixed results. Vu and Noy (2009) use sectoral data for six OECD countries and find different effects for different sectors and countries. In this paper, we argue that if FDI increases productivity in developed countries, then it indirectly increases output growth although its direct effect might be negative or insignificant.  Using data for twelve sectors in twenty OECD countries, we find that the effects of FDI on labor productivity and total factor productivity are both positive.

**Keywords:**  Foreign direct investment, labor productivity, total factor productivity.
**JEL Classification:**  F21, F43.

## 1.  Introduction

Theoretical studies on the growth effect of FDI has been inconclusive.  Findlay (1978) finds that the effect of FDI on output growth is ambiguous: an increase in the technology level might be offset by an increase in the dependency on foreign capital. Balasubramanyam et al. (1996) hypothesize that the growth effects of FDI might be positive for export promoting (EP) countries but negative for import substituting (IS) ones: the reduction of foreign import goods in the domestic market reduces competition and efforts to improve efficiency among the domestic firms.  Reis (2001) shows that FDI only adds a positive effect to output growth if the world interest rate is lower than the home interest rate.

Empirical studies on FDI and economic growth have also yielded mixed results. Blomström et al. (1994) and Coe et al. (1997) note that, for FDI to have positive impact on growth, the host country has to attain a high level of development.  In contrast, De Mello (1997) shows that the effect of FDI on economic growth in developed countries is

potentially negative. Balasubramanyam et al. (1996) find results supporting their hypothesis for export promoting and import substituting countries.

Alfaro et al. (2004) and Durham (2004) argue that only countries with well-developed banking and financial institutions gain from FDI. Additionally, Durham (2004) shows that only countries with good governance enjoy the positive effects of FDI, while Hsiao and Shen (2003) add that only countries with high level of urbanization enjoy these benefits. Blonigen and Wang (2005) find evidence of beneficial FDI only for the developing countries, and not for the developed ones; while the crowding out effect of FDI on domestic investment is apparent for the richer countries.

In this paper, we examine the effect of FDI on productivity in developed countries, where productivity is defined as output per worker or total factor productivity (TFP). Using sectoral data for twelve sectors in twenty OECD countries, we find that the aggregate effect of FDI on labor productivity and TFP are both positive. As shown in Islam (1995), higher productivity leads to higher output growth. This implies that FDI can indirectly affect output growth through productivity improvement in developed countries although its direct effect on growth might be negative or insignificant.

## 2. Model and Data

We use a modified version of the "new growth model" in Romer (2006):

$$PRO_{ict} = \alpha_1 + \alpha_2 FDI_{ict} + \alpha_3 CAP_{ict} + \sum_{j=1}^{n} \alpha_j CON_{ict} + v_i + a_c + e_t + \varepsilon_{ict}, \qquad (1)$$

where *PRO* is the log of labor productivity, measured as sectoral value added per worker, *FDI* the stock of inward FDI per worker in log form as a proxy for foreign capital, *CAP* the logs of domestic capital per worker, *CON* the control variables such as education, life expectancy, institutional traits, etc., either in log forms or in levels, $v_i$, $a_c$, $e_t$, and $\varepsilon_{it}$ are the fixed effect and idiosyncratic disturbances for sector i, country c, and time t.

The TFP model is:

$$TFP_{ict} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 FDI_{ict} + + \beta_3 CAP_{ict} + \sum_{k=1}^{m} \beta_k CON_{ict} + w_i + b_c + c_t + u_{ict}, \qquad (2)$$

Data on value added, investment, imports, export, and employment for 32 sectors of each country in OECD group are obtained from the Structural Statistic Analysis (STAN), 2006 edition, for 1980-2003. Data on the stocks of inward FDI for 22 sectors are from the International Direct Investment Statistical Yearbook (IDI), 2004, for 1980-2003. Only twelve sectors match the STAN data: agriculture and fishing, mining and quarrying, food products, petroleum-chemical-rubber-plastic products (henceforth oil and chemical), machinery-computers-RTV-communication (machinery), vehicles and other transport equipment (transportation), electricity-gas-water (utility), construction, trade and repairs, hotel and restaurants, financial intermediation (financial), and real estate.

We use aggregate country annual data on the other macroeconomic control variables from the WDI and data from the ICRG. After removing any country that has data on one variable missing entirely, we obtain data for twenty countries: Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak, Spain, Sweden, United

Kingdom, and The United States for 1980-2003.[1] Because of the relatively short time period, we calculate four-year averages for all variables.[2] Data for TFP is calculated as the log of value added per worker minus one thirds of the log of capital per worker.

Data are converted into constant 2000 US dollars using the implicit GDP deflators. Next, we calculate accumulated investment as a proxy for capital. We use data on public expenditures on education from WDI and divide this data set by the population to serve as a proxy for human capital. Following Carlin and Mayer (2003), we add the initial log of value added per worker to control for the industry's mean reversion.

### 3. Results

We estimate Model (1), carrying out a downward piece-wise specification search in order to avoid omitted variable bias, starting with a list of available variables used in Barro and Sala-i-Martin (2004). The multi-colinearity test, the Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) by Kennedy (2003), reveals no multicolinearity, so we keep all variables temporarily.

We then perform the endogeneity t- test.[3] The results indicate two endogenous variables: FDI, and capital (CAP). Hence fixed effect two stage least squares (FE2SLS) estimations are called for. The first lagged values of FDI and investment (INV) are selected as instrument variables (IVs) for FDI, whereas the first lagged values CAP and INV are selected as IVs for CAP. Performing fixed-effect estimation of each endogenous variable on the respective IVs, we find that they are individually and jointly significant, so the validity condition for the IVs is satisfied. The test results for over-identifying restrictions also show that at least one of the two IVs is not correlated with the residuals for each case.[4] Hence, the exogeneity condition is satisfied.

Performing the FE2SLS estimations, we eliminate any variable with p-value greater than 0.75 and have twelve variables left: FDI, capital (CAP), human capital (HUM), imports (IM), exports (EX), infrastructure (NFRA), initial value added (IVAL), inflation (INFL), corruption (CORR), government instability (GOV), financial risk (FIN), and economic risk (ECON).

The results for the effect of FDI on labor productivity are given in Table 1. Column 1.1 presents the specification without FDI. We add FDI in Column 1.2. The FDI term enters with a positive and significant effect at 5% level. This column also reveals that there is only partial crowding out effect, where the coefficient for capital per worker is still positive and statistically significant although it is slightly smaller than that in the model without FDI. The deceasing effect of domestic capital is more than compensated

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[1] The data set for Germany from 1980 to 1990 are for West Germany only. There are many missing observations, so we have an unbalanced panel.

[2] Rather than the 5-year averages that are more common in much of the growth literature (see Barro and Sala-i-Martin, 2004).

[3] The endogeneity t-test is a variant of the Hausmann (1978) specification test. A right-hand side variable is treated as the instrument in a first-stage regression, and the resulting error is introduced as a regressor in the second-stage regression. If the coefficient on this error term is significantly different from zero, this is taken as evidence of the existence of endogeneity.

[4] Please contact the authors for the results of these tests.

for by the large effect of FDI and its contribution to the increasing effect of export on labor productivity.

We then estimate Model (2) and report the results in Table 2: Column 2.1 presents specification without FDI and Column 2.2 presents the effect with FDI added. The results are similar to those in Table 1, except that the direct effect of FDI on TFP and its contribution to the increasing effect of export on TFP is even larger than those in Table 1, whereas the crowding out effect on domestic capital remains small.

As shown in Islam (1995), higher productivity leads to higher output growth. This implies that FDI can indirectly affect output growth through productivity improvement even though its direct effect might be negative or insignificant in developed countries.

## 4.    Conclusion

In this paper, we use sectoral data from twenty OECD countries and find that FDI has a significant and positive effect on labor productivity, defined either as value added per worker or total factor productivity. This implies an indirect benefit of FDI in developed countries, where existing literature fail to pinpoint its direct effect on economic growth.

Since data are far from comprehensive, more research should be carried out once better data become available. For example, the effect on productivity of the interaction between FDI and any of the institutional variables such as financial risk, corruption, or good governance, is of interesting issue. Also, we focus on the aggregate effect of FDI on productivity, so the effect of FDI on each of the twenty countries, as well as the effect of FDI on each of the twelve sectors, is left for future research.

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**Table 1. Results for Model (1): Effects of FDI on Labor Productivity**

Dependent Variable: Log of Value Added per Worker

| Model | 1.1 (Without FDI) | | 1.2 (with FDI) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coefficient | p-value | Coefficients | p-value |
| FDI | | | .6439** (.3223) | .046 |
| CAP | .3268** (.1506) | .030 | .2158** (.1035) | .039 |
| HUM | .0971** (.0397) | .015 | .2660** (.1097) | .016 |
| EX | .3983*** (.1018) | .001 | .5484*** (.1886) | .005 |
| IM | .3151*** (.0774) | .000 | .3412*** (.0784) | .000 |
| CORR | -.4003* (.2356) | .090 | -.3624** (.1312) | .012 |
| INFL | .4005*** (.1359) | .002 | .3638*** (.1132) | .001 |
| NFRA | 3.05e-07* (1.63e-07) | .061 | 1.51e-07 (2.25e-07) | .503 |
| FIN | -.0208* (.0127) | .100 | -.0437** (.0095) | .042 |
| IVAL | - 1.31e-11 (1.30e-11) | .313 | -7.85e-12 (1.95e-11) | .688 |
| ECON | -.0378** (.0193) | .050 | -.0171 (.0297) | .565 |
| GOV | -.3651*** (.0693) | .000 | -.3354*** (.0841) | .000 |
| Observations | 851 | | 851 | |
| Prob > F | .0000 | | .0000 | |
| R-squared | .5549 | | .4287 | |

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Significance levels are * 10 percent level, ** 5 percent level, *** 1 percent level.

**Table 2. Results for Model (2): Effect of FDI on Total Factor Productivity**

Dependent Variable: Total Factor Productivity

| Model | 1.1 (Without FDI) | | 1.2 (with FDI) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coefficient | p-value | Coefficients | p-value |
| FDI | | | .7409** (.3440) | .032 |
| CAP | .3301** (.1652) | .047 | .2862** (.1402) | .041 |
| HUM | .0732** (.0324) | .024 | .2749** (.1079) | .011 |
| EX | .3624*** (.1226) | .003 | .6003** (.0924) | .000 |
| IM | .3012** (.1508) | .047 | .3119*** (.1032) | .001 |
| CORR | -.4373** (.2152) | .042 | -.3142** (.1513) | .038 |
| INFL | .3965*** (.0782) | .000 | .3697*** (.1183) | .002 |
| NFRA | 3.18e-08** (1.52e-08) | .049 | 2.40e-07 (2.46e-07) | .330 |
| FIN | -.0424* (.0213) | .049 | -.0519*** (.0190) | .006 |
| IVAL | - 1.42e-12 (1.23e-12) | .218 | -1.03e-11 (1.24e-11) | .402 |
| ECON | -.0325** (.0168) | .048 | -.0213** (.0102) | .045 |
| GOV | -.3267*** (.0512) | .000 | -.3291*** (.0900) | .000 |
| Observations | 851 | | 851 | |
| Prob > F | .0000 | | .0000 | |
| R-squared | .4512 | | .4102 | |

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Significance levels are * 10 percent level, ** 5 percent level, *** 1 percent level.

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# ABSTRACT

## Denver Housing Authority's Park Avenue HOPE VI Revitalization Project: Outcome Study Results

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In 1992, the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing was charged with proposing a plan to eliminate the nation's severally distressed public housing communities located in urban centers across the United States. Taking the lead from the results of such studies as Wilson's examination of concentrated poverty in Chicago in 1987, policymakers surmised that if a high density of low-income people in urban neighborhoods results in social problems, then the opposite must have the reverse effect. This hypothesis has led to a new paradigm for the development of public housing policy, known as HOPE VI, which is focused on increasing dispersed housing and building more mixed-income communities that policy makers hope will reduce some of the social problems that have resulted from concentrated poverty in America's urban neighborhoods.

In 2002, the Denver Housing Authority (DHA) applied for and received its third HOPE VI grant award from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), in the amount of 20 million dollars to raze and rehabilitate three public housing developments that were, according to HUD guidelines, deemed "severally distressed." Replacement and renovation of these three apartment complexes was identified by DHA as the Park Avenue HOPE VI

Revitalization Project.  It was designed to create both low-income and market-rate housing, community space to serve elderly and disabled residents, covered parking garages, open green spaces, and 15,000 square feet of space for retail business.  Employing a quazi-experimental research design, that included two experimental and eleven control neighborhoods, the Park Avenue HOPE VI Project has proven to be a major success on a community level.  Analysis of data collected over the course of the five years of the study revealed impressive outcomes in three areas.  These include a decrease in overall as well as violent crime, increased home-buying activity, and increased property values within a quarter mile radius of the Park Avenue HOPE VI site.

The paper begins with background information on the issue of concentrated poverty and the development of the HOPE VI federal policy. Next, an examination of the state of research on HOPE VI projects across the United States is presented; followed by a thorough discussion of the research results of the Park Avenue study, including the overall design, the specific methodology, and outcomes of the study.  The paper concludes with a discussion of the study's major limitations along with recommendations for future research.

**Presenter: William Cloud**

**Title of submission: From Teenage to Motherhood: A Case Study of Unwed Mother**
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**Abstract:**

Unplanned pregnancy and birth may happen to both married and unmarried couple. However, only childbirth out of wedlock would be considered as illegitimate. Statistics showed that in most part of the world, the numbers of childbirth out of wedlock are increasing and this phenomenon in the West is related to high cohabitation. In Malaysia, teenage pregnancy may be related to crimes such as rape, incest, and sex before marriage. Issues discussed in this paper in relation to unwed mother are all based on cases in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia. The profiles of the teenagers involved in this study and their family background, including how they respond to the situation, were presented. Issues related to healthcare during pregnancy, birth, and child care are also discussed. Data presented are based on records taken from the Department of Medical Social Work, Medical Centre, National University of Malaysia.

Key words: unwed mother, illegitimate child, social factors, mother and child care.

**Title of submission: Family and Community Care: The Case of Informal Care for Mental Health Patients**

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## Abstract

Family is an integral institution in the society. One of its functions is to provide care for young, aged, and disabled. These functions were traditionally performed by women who also perform their roles as wives, mothers, daughters, and daughter-in-laws. However, the ability of families to perform their function as caregiver have been constrained by the lack of economic resources, the availability of time, and the lack of knowledge. Nowadays, many women participate in the labor force outside the family and more of the young people migrate to look for jobs in the urban areas. Yet, most families are unable to perform their care-giving role. The insufficient support systems also contribute to this downfall. Sending family members to institutional care would be beyond their means, considering most are of poor background and lack knowledge in regard to mental disabilities. This paper discourses on the role of family in providing care for their mentally ill relatives. Issues which are deliberately highlighted in this paper are the profile of the carers, how the care-giving role is provided, and how the community acts as support systems to families with mentally ill patients. Data presented are based on the case study done in a community care for mental health service in the town of Ipoh, Perak, Malaysia.

Key words: carer, care role, family and community care

# A Study on the Situation in which Reputations Formed on the Internet Contribute to Smooth Transactions

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Abstract

This study aims to describe the situation in which reputations formed on the Internet contribute to smooth transactions. When conducting retail transactions, the reputation of the seller plays an important role. The economic implication of this role is that the reputation contributes to economizing transaction costs. The reason people often purchase the products of well-known manufacturers and retailers is because they have already evaluated them and the result of the evaluation is satisfactory. In other words, the evaluation of manufacturers and retailers is done based on one's personal experiences in the past, and one's decision-making is based on this evaluation. However, the method of evaluation based on one's past experiences involves a fundamental drawback: the case where an individual has no past experience of conducting transactions with a manufacturer and retailer. This issue can be resolved by instead using others' experience of dealing with the manufacturer or retailer. In this case, an evaluation is formed through considering others' experiences, thus building the retailer's reputation. Further, this reputation contributes in subsequently conducting new transactions. Nowadays, individuals conducting transactions are able to send information via the latest information and communication technologies such as through the Internet. Therefore, as compared to earlier, it is now easy to build a reputation, not to mention in the course of a shorter period. Because the networks among the potential parties to transactions expand through Internet technology as compared with before, the importance of maintaining stable reputations has accelerated in order to ensure smooth transactions.

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**An Exploration of the Relationship between Music Genres and Fashion Styles**

Many investigators study on how music affects impulse shoppers (Adelaar, Chang, Lancendorfer, Byoungkwan Lee, & Morimoto, 2003; Mattila & Wirtz, 2001), how music increases the client's health, sleep, reduce anxiety (Hui-Ling & Good, 2006; Magee, 2005; On Kei Angela, Yuet Foon Loretta, Moon Fai, & Wai Ming, 2005) and how music influences customer spending (R. E. Milliman, 1982; Ronald E. Milliman, 1986; North, Shilcock, & Hargreaves, 2003; Smith & Curnow, 1966).  In the music industry, the emotional connection between the fans and musicians is displayed by the way consumers dress in the same fashion styles of their favorite music genres or bands. Everyone from Britney Spears, Madonna, Elvis Presley, the Rolling Stones, the Spice Girls, and many other artists have influenced fashion in more ways than one can imagine. The objective of this study is to explore how music has directly influenced fashion, especially how consumers make emotional connections with bands and musicians which lead them into emulating their favorite music genres style of clothing.

To fully understand the connection between music and fashion, one first has to understand the fashion of a few main genres of music. In this research, the researchers will investigate four types of music: rock-n-roll, punk, country, and hip-hop.  These genres were chosen due to their popularity as reflected in the media. The methodology of this study will be secondary data analysis. Both music and fashion magazines and books will be utilized in order to compare the musician/band/group outfits in music magazines such as Rolling Stone, Billboard, and Fashion Rocks with the styles in fashion magazines and the Internet such as Vogue, W, Elle, and WWD.  Each genre's fashion will be discussed and connected to music in some way solidifying the relationship between music and fashion.  The ways in which designers such as Calvin Klein, Marc Jacobs, Ralph Lauren, and many are more influenced by music will also be discussed. Furthermore, the analysis of interviews in fashion magazines will reveal how artists' fashion styles influence their fans.

Fashion designers, music stylists, marketers, brand promoters, retailers, consumers and publications will benefit from the results of this exploration.  It will assist scholars in understanding the connection and influence between music and fashion industries. For the industries, the outcomes of this analysis will provide a better understanding of how music influences their fans and help improve their marketing strategies. It will also allow artists forecast the fashion style that will make them a trend setter. For consumers, the results of this study will offer an explanation of the marketing strategies used by the music industry which will help prevent unnecessary purchases.

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Proceedings Submission for Hawaii International Conference on the Social Sciences
Submission ID: 223
Submission Title: Creating a Professional Learning Community in the College Classroom: Producing Teachers Who Will Lead in the Pursuit of Student Learning Outcomes
Topic Area: Education
Presentation Format: Paper

Title: Creating a Professional Learning Community in the College Classroom: Producing Teachers Who Will Lead in the Pursuit of Student Learning Outcomes

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Abstract:

Teacher education programs need to engage pre-service teachers in a learning environment that creates a professional learning community (PLC).  A PLC environment enables the pre-service teacher to experience a high level of engagement to affect student learning and develop as novice teacher leaders. Several factors influence the pre-service teacher's pedagogy and its development: 1) metacognitive practice combined with an authentic learning experience, 2) the understanding of Responding to Intervention (RTI) which allows for close examination of student learning,  problem solving, and planning with interventions that are purposeful and direct  to meet the needs of the student, and 3) an environment that promotes inquiry, and the development of collegial relationships which depict a learning community where students are free to engage and take risks.  The outgrowth of such an environment is beginning teachers who view inquiry as a means to understanding the students they encounter. The purpose of this correlational study was to determine whether a relationship exists between course grades in an undergraduate literacy course modeled after the one described above and the passage of the Praxis II exam for teaching certification. Data was collected from the university assessment system, and a Pearson correlation was done using SPSS.  Results showed there is a significant relationship between these two variables. Conclusions drawn from the study support creating a PLC at the undergraduate level as a model for teacher preparation that affects not only the pedagogy of the pre-service teacher, but the learning outcomes of the students they teach.

# Youth Day in Los Angeles:
# Connecting Youth and Nature with Technology

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## Introduction

In a statewide survey in Oregon, parents indicated how much time their child spent
outdoors relative to their own outdoor childhood experiences. The results indicated
children spent as much time as their parents did as children in structured outdoor
activities (such as organized sports), but they spent much less time than their parents did
as children in outdoor chores and outdoor play (Lindberg 2007). The same study found
that outdoor skills have changed over the generations, with younger generations having
fewer nature-based outdoor skills (such as pitching a tent or cooking outdoors) in
comparison to their parents as children (Lindberg 2007). Louv (2005) also suggests that
children today suffer from a nature-deficit disorder. His thesis was that children deprived
of the spiritual, emotional, and psychological benefits of exposure to nature are more
prone to depression and attention disorders, and miss out on improved cognitive
development, creativity, and cooperative play.  What can be done to change that trend?
This paper reports findings from an exploratory research effort examining whether

children's outdoor activity could be increased or enhanced by the infusion of technology into outdoor activities.

**Setting up Youth Day**

The U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service hosted a recreation forum series across the United States in 2007. Regional in focus, the forums were meant to obtain information about needs and opportunities for success in meeting those needs from members of the public and outdoor recreation partners. During the Partners Outdoors Conference (Lake Arrowhead, CA in January 2007) more than 30 persons participated in planning the regional forum to be held in Los Angeles in March 2007. A subset of the planning committee formed to conduct an exploratory study to engage children in outdoor recreation activities, to determine the success of the effort, and then to develop a process for others to follow. The result was Youth Day, March 2007, in Los Angeles. The ages of the 38 youth participants at Youth Day ranged from age 6 to age 17. There were 20 boys and 18 girls.

The need for active participation (Sebba 1991) directed the actions taken on Youth Day. For the exploratory study, to determine if kids are attracted to the outdoors by technology, four activities were offered—two were dependent on technology and two were not; further, we "matched" a technology dependent activity with a similar non-technology dependent activity. Thus, the technology dependent activity of camera safari (where each child borrowed a digital camera and took pictures of things that interested them as they took a short hike) was "matched" with the non-technology dependent

activity of etching/rubbings (on paper of natural surfaces of their choice). Both of these

can be considered artistic expression activities (see Table 1). The technology dependent

activity of geocaching for treasure (where each participant used a global positioning

system unit to locate hidden treasure along a trail) was matched with the non-technology

dependent activity of a nature scavenger hunt (where each child had a list of items to

locate along a trail). These can be considered a treasure hunt. Our purpose was to

determine if technology matters in youth outdoor participation.

**Table 1. Type of activity at youth day by dependence on technology.**

| Type of Activity | Technology Dependent | Non-technology Dependent |
|---|---|---|
| Artistic expression | Camera safari | Etchings/rubbings |
| Treasure hunt | Geocache | Nature scavenger hunt |

## Methods

Data were collected on two areas: (1) votes by activity and (2) observer notes by activity.

### Votes by Activity

Korpela, Kytta and Hartig (2002) used scales with images of faces that represented levels

of agreement (happy face) and disagreement (sad face). These were tested on youth from

ages 8 to 13. Similarly, we used cards (green, yellow, and red) for the participants to rate

each activity. The data collection team has a script card they read to participants. The

participants selected green to indicate if they liked the activity ("it was cool," "it rocked")

and red if they did not ("it was dumb," "it was a waste of time") Yellow indicated they

were undecided ("not sure," "it was alright").

**Observer Notes by Activity**

We also had adults observing each group of children, reporting back what they heard. We assigned observers to particular activities rather than have them trail a group of children all day. This was done so the observers would be experts at a specific activity and would not bond with a particular group of children. We asked observers to restrict their activities to observations (rather than assist the kids with activities, for example) and to look for: interest in the activity (e.g., did the activity hold youth attention for the entire time?), ease of understanding (e.g., was the activity easy to do?), ease in the outdoors (e.g., were the youth comfortable in the out-of-doors?) and social interactions (e.g., did the youth talk about the activity amongst themselves?). We provided notebooks for the observers to take notes and had them debrief with research team members after each round of activity.

## Results

**Votes by Activity**

As Table 2 reports, the majority of youth voted "green" (or "it was cool," "it rocked") on every activity. However, more voted "green" for the activities of geocaching for treasure (92%) and camera safari (86%) which were the technology dependent activities, than voted "green" for the non-technology dependent activities of nature scavenger hunt (76%) and etching/rubbing (62%). Only one person voted "red" (or "it was dumb," "it was a waste of time") for any activity. The etching/rubbing activity received the highest percentage of yellow (or "not sure," "it was alright") votes.

**Table 2. Youth votes by activity.**

|                        | Red | Yellow | Green |
|------------------------|-----|--------|-------|
|                        |     | *Percent* |     |
| Geocaching for treasure | 0   | 8      | 92    |
| Camera safari          | 0   | 14     | 86    |
| Nature scavenger hunt  | 3   | 21     | 76    |
| Etching/rubbings       | 0   | 38     | 62    |

Key:
Green was used to indicate the youth liked the activity ("it was cool," "it rocked")
Red was used to indicate the youth did not like the activity ("it was dumb," "it was a waste of time")
Yellow indicated the youth were undecided ("not sure," "it was alright")

**Observer Notes by Activity**

We asked the observers to watch and listen to the youth to determine if the activity held youth attention for the entire time, if the activity was easy to do, if the youth appeared at ease in the outdoors, and if social interactions were occurring among the youth. Some of the observer statements are below. For the technology dependent activities (camera safari and geocaching for treasure) the observers said that the youth displayed a lot of interest in the activities and the technology, and some interest was displayed toward animals. They also spoke of the excitement of the youth for these activities and said that the youth thought the activities were fun. The observers also thought the camera safari was easy for the youth to do but it took more effort to teach them how to geocache. Most felt the kids displayed a lot of comfort in the outdoors, although some trails were steep especially for the younger participants, and they reported that some social interactions were occurring.

*Camera safari*

- "Kids were very interested."

- "Kids were fascinated by lizards and were chasing them."

- "Kids easily operate the camera."

- "They only needed brief instructions to get it."

- "They were careful when going up the steep areas of the trail."

- "[The youth]…seemed to like the views"

- "The oldest group went the fastest, farthest and was more social with less nature-oriented discussion."

- "The older ones seemed to like being with each other."


*Geocaching for treasure*

- "[There was] excitement due to activity being a treasure hunt."

- "Several kids, with no one prompting, stated geocaching was the 'funnest' one of day."

- "At the end of the hunt the kids wanted more information on the GPS unit—how to program it and what else to use it for."

- "Younger group needed more basic explanations with repeated frequency."

- "They all needed explanation of how to hold the GPS unit out front and move in one direction until the unit receives a signal from the satellites."

- "Liked being outdoors and seeing things."

- "[The youth are] sponges taking up nature and all surroundings."

- "Problem solving among the entire group enhanced the experience."

For the non-technology dependent activities (etching/rubbings, nature scavenger hunt) there was less consistency in the observations. Some observers thought the activities were too childish while other observers said the older youth were quite interested. All observers thought the kids found the activities easy to do, while some said they were too easy. Most observers felt the youth were at ease in the outdoors. There was little consistency on social interactions with some observers remarking that little interaction was taking place and others saying there was quite a bit of interaction, even when discussing the same activity.

*Etching/Rubbings*

- "Younger kids seemed more interested."

- "The [older youth] were reluctant to stop."

- "One kid said 'Foil is for more than wrapping food—it is for art!'"

- "Tasks were easy to do."

- "It was too easy for some kids."

- "…kids all seemed comfortable outdoors."

- "Not much interaction between kids when etching but [interaction] increased at art center."

- "The teen girls talked a lot together, but not about activity."

*Nature scavenger hunt*

- "The youth really paid lots of attention and focused on their activity."

- "The youth were most excited about seeing a lizard—boys more than girls."

- "Some were taking time to do very detailed drawings in their booklets."

- "It was very easy for the kids to follow instructions and keep up with the activity."

- "They liked the environment."

- "The children would talk to their partner, but not talk to many others."

- "The kids were talkative and asked questions."

## Conclusions

A survey of Los Angeles County (southern California) residents found that less than half the respondents had visited a national forest, state park, or open space preserve outside of a city during the height of travel season for even a 1-hour excursion (Tierney, Dahl and Chavez 1998). In a study of 50 years of use of various public lands in the U.S., national parks in Japan, and national parks in Spain, Pergrams and Zaradic (2008) reported an ongoing and fundamental shift away from nature-based recreation. At the same time, consider that the primary role played by diet and physical activity in emotional and physical well-being is complemented by secondary roles played by connections to nature and social communities (Pretty, Griffin, Sellens and Pretty 2003). These authors suggest that closeness to nature increases sense of well-being, as well as the likelihood of understanding of and care for nature, and its rediscovery, can lead to transformations in people and nature. It also suggests that disconnections are harmful – both to individuals and to societies. How then do we make the reconnections?

The data evaluated here suggest the use of technology to get youth outdoors. However, these findings are based on an exploratory study of 38 youth. The results cannot be generalized beyond the youth who participated. Much more research needs to be conducted with youth to confirm and refine these results. For example, exact replications of the study conducted (four specific activities) can test technology versus the non-technology dependent activities. In addition, follow-up studies might examine if the interest in these activities continues beyond the testing day. Another set of studies might examine age and use of technology in outdoor settings and specifically whether some activities are better suited to older or younger youth.

As well, future studies might examine Barnett and Weber's (2008) thesis that benefits accrue to young children from their participation in extracurricular recreational activities, and in particular, they might examine natural area activities. The future work might also examine physical activity during outings such as Youth Day, especially for adolescents (Bradley, McMurray, Harrell and Deng 2000; Caspersen, Pereira and Curran 2000), but also for the influence of technology on engaging or disengaging youth (Allison et al. 2006, Dwyer et al. 2006, Greiser et al. 2006).

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# Diverse Users of Four Urban National Forests: Participation, Preferences, and Perceptions

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## Introduction

In natural areas, families and friends can come together to have fun, celebrate important occasions or just relax and take time out. This immense social value is part of the 'glue' of a healthy society (Landy 2008). Several researchers have identified values from natural area visits to include social cohesion, improved mental health, improved physical health, stress relief, and psychological well-being (Gobster 2005, Manning & More 2002, Williams 2006).

The values to be gained from natural area visits may nowhere be as important as for urban residents, whose lives are so busy that little time remains for natural area visits. In a study of urban residents, Tierney and colleagues (1998) found several constraints to use of natural areas. These included time commitments, financial situations, as well as perceptions that nearby areas are too crowded or that few friends or family members recreate in natural areas.

The benefits of natural area visits may be disproportionately accrued by visitors who are White and more affluent (Gobster 2002; Loukaitou-Sideris & Stieglitz 2002; West 1989; Wolch, Wilson & Fehrenback 2005). Because of the distribution gap, some researchers are beginning to examine differential use of natural areas from a social justice or environmental justice paradigm (Byrne, Wolch & Zhang 2009).

Several researchers have found that people of color exhibit different participation patterns and have different motivations to visit natural areas (Baas, Ewert & Chavez 1993; Chavez 2001; Chavez, Winter & Absher 2008; Sasidharan, Willits & Godbey 2005). There is also a propensity for people of color to visit urban-proximate outdoor recreation sites for day-long visits as these sites are nearby their residences (Chavez 2001; Chavez, Winter & Absher 2008).

It is important to evaluate use of urban-proximate outdoor recreation sites by diverse groups and obtain visitor points of view about those sites. Of particular importance are day use sites, which receive a large amount of use but little research emphasis. Day use sites are those in which people visit for some portion of a day but they do not stay overnight. Managers of urban-proximate day use sites can better manage with detailed information about participation patterns, site preferences, and visitor perceptions. These urban sites have

several distinguishing characteristics (Hartley 1986) including significant amounts of day use and visitation by diverse populations.

The following reports participation, preference, and perception results from day use visitor contact surveys conducted on four urban national forests in southern California between 2001 and 2004 with a focus on areas where Latinos recreate.

**Urban-Proximate National Forest Descriptions**

The Angeles National Forest (ANF) is situated primarily in Los Angeles and San Bernardino Counties. The ANF is more than 656,000 acres in size. The ANF offers year-round opportunities for camping, hiking, swimming, boating, picnicking, and sightseeing. Over 800 miles of forest trails lead hikers, mountain bikers, equestrians, and off-highway vehicle (OHV) riders across rugged backcountry, along high, scenic ridges, and through shady, tree-lined canyons. During the winter, visitors can ski at one of the five ski areas or cross country ski, snow camp, hike, snow-mobile, or just play in the snow.

The San Bernardino National Forest (SBF) covers about 820,000 acres within San Bernardino and Riverside Counties. Of this area, about 162,000 acres are in private, county, state and other federal agency ownership. The forest lies within 2 hours driving distance of more than 16 million residents of southern California. The SBF is one of the most heavily-used in the Nation

and was ranked 12th in recreation use among national forests in 1995, with 6.3 million visitor days (it was ranked third in California). Developed recreation sites on the SBF frequently exceed their design capacity during weekends of high season use (includes summer and winter). General forest recreation accounted for 4.5 million visitor days in 1982 and has increased since then. It is important to examine use of recreation sites and get visitor points of view about those sites.

The Los Padres National Forest (LPNF) is situated primarily in Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Ventura Counties. Populations in these counties are extremely diverse. The LPNF is characterized by a mediterranean climate, with cool winters and hot, dry summers, and has more than 1.7 million acres on the Coast and Transverse Ranges, providing a variety of terrain, vegetation, and recreation settings including ocean beaches, forest, chaparral, and desert. The LPNF was one of the most heavily used in the state and ranked fifth in 1995 for recreation visitor days, with 5.0 million recreation visitor days. About 30 percent of the recreation use in the forest is in developed sites. These include public facilities such as campgrounds, picnic grounds, and observation sites. General forest recreation opportunities include undeveloped areas and roads and trails. About 70 percent of recreation use occurs in general forest areas.

The Cleveland National Forest (CNF) includes three distinct mountain ranges adjoining the urbanized lowlands of Orange, Riverside, and San Diego Counties. Los Angeles County is within an hour's drive of the northern part of the forest. More than 420,000 acres in size, the CNF encompasses much of the Santa Ana, Palomar, and Laguna Mountains. Elevations range from 400 to 6,140 feet. Chaparral is the most abundant vegetation type, covering about 88 percent of forest lands. The forest's developed recreation facilities can accommodate about 4,200 persons at one time. These facilities include 5 picnic areas, 16 family campgrounds, 7 group campgrounds, and 2 information stations. The forest has experienced great demand for general forest or non-facility-based recreation opportunities, particularly for hiking and horseback riding.

## Methods

All four studies reported here (ANF, CNF, LPNF, and SBF) are based on results from day use studies at those sites. The instrument used for the four studies reported here closely followed the questions first asked of day use visitors in 1992. The survey instruments were available to participants in English and Spanish, and were collected by bilingual research teams. All visitors (age 18 or over) onsite were asked for their voluntary participation in the survey. Visitors were assured confidentiality of their responses.

Dates of data collection were randomly selected throughout the summer months 2001 through 2004. Day use sites within the planning places were also randomly selected from a list provided by each forest of developed picnic areas, general day use areas, and trailhead sites.

The primary objectives of each day use study were to:

- Report participation in outdoor recreation activities.

- Report on the relative importance of site attributes.

- Report visitor perceptions about their recreation experiences.

Results were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences.

## Results

### Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents

We found significant differences in racial and ethnic group use across the forests. For example, there were more Latino respondents at the ANF (40%) and SBF (47%) day use sites, and more White respondents at the CNF (71%) and LPNF (65%) sites. There were also fewer respondents who spoke English and read English as their primary language at the ANF (spoke 63%, read 69%) and SBF (spoke 52%, read 57%) day use sites.

We also found that Latinos tend to recreate at particular locations and are not found across various forest sites. In order to focus on Latino respondents, and make more reasonable comparisons, we have selected areas within each forest

where Latinos were found in the greatest numbers. On the ANF that is the San Gabriel Canyon (n=82) where 73 percent of the site respondents were Latino. Palomar Mountain (n=25) on the CNF had 24 percent Latino respondents. On the LPNF the area with the most Latino respondents was Santa Ynez (39 percent) (n=28). The Applewhite Picnic Area (n=80) had the highest percentage of Latino respondents (78 percent) for the SBF.  Group and visit characteristics were similar between these places with most respondents reporting they were recreating in a family group, most had plans to stay at the site for more than 4 hours (except CNF where most reported planned visits of 1 to 3 hours), and most were on repeat visits to the areas.

**Participation in Outdoor Recreation Activities**

Respondents were asked what activities they usually engaged in while on the national forest where they were contacted. The respondents could report more than one activity as "usual." Activities that respondents usually engaged in did not differ much by these sites frequented by Latinos (table 1). At all four areas, respondents reported picnic/barbecues and stream playing to be among the activities usually engaged in. For example, 66 percent of the respondents at the Applewhite Picnic Area said they usually engaged in picnicking/barbecuing when onsite which was similar for the respondents at the San Gabriel Canyon (60%), Santa Ynez (61%). The percentage was even higher at Palomar Mountain (96%). Similarly, stream play was a "usual" activity across the sites, ranging from 35 percent to 79

percent reporting this as a usual activity. At three areas, respondents said watching wildlife, driving for pleasure, and camping were activities in which they usually engaged. Day hiking, fishing, and OHV riding rounded out the list. Some of these activities are development dependent (picnicking/barbecuing, camping, and OHV riding), natural area dependent (watching wildlife and driving for pleasure), or water dependent (stream play and fishing).

**Table 1. Activities engaged in while on a forest visit, by area.**

| Area | | Activity | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| SBF | Applewhite (n=80) | Picnic/barbecue (BBQ) | 66 |
| | | Stream play | 65 |
| | | Day hike | 48 |
| | | Wildlife viewing | 38 |
| | | Drive for pleasure | 36 |
| ANF | San Gabriel Canyon (n=82) | Picnic/BBQ | 60 |
| | | Camp | 42 |
| | | Drive for pleasure | 40 |
| | | Stream play | 35 |
| | | OHV[1] riding | 20 |
| LPNF | Santa Ynez (n=28) | Stream play | 79 |
| | | Camp | 64 |
| | | Picnic/BBQ | 61 |
| | | Wildlife viewing | 50 |
| | | Fishing | 32 |
| | | Drive for pleasure | 32 |
| CNF | Palomar Mountain N=25) | Picnic/BBQs | 96 |
| | | Fishing | 52 |
| | | Day hiking | 48 |
| | | Stream play | 48 |
| | | Camp | 44 |
| | | Wildlife viewing | 44 |

Note: ANF = Angeles National Forest; CNF = Cleveland National Forest; LPNF = Los Padres National Forest; SBF = San Bernardino National Forest; OHV = Off-highway vehicle.

**Preferences about Site Attributes**

Respondents at the forest areas were asked the importance of having particular facilities and amenities onsite (cooking grills, fire pits/rings, group facilities, law enforcement and patrols, parking areas, restricted use levels, telephones, trash cans, water faucets, other). Fifty percent or more of the respondents at each site rated each of the items as important or very important (table 2). Common responses to these areas included trash cans (with percentages ranging from 56% to 84% reporting these as important or very important) and water faucets (with percentages ranging from 54% to 80% reporting these as important or very important). Other responses differed by site contacted with respondents at two of the four areas selecting cooking grills (Applewhite Picnic Area and Palomar Mountain), picnic tables (Applewhite Picnic Area and Palomar Mountain), and parking areas (San Gabriel Canyon and Santa Ynez). The respondents at Santa Ynez reported that law enforcement and patrols of the area were important.

**Table 2. Top four preferences rated as "important" or "very important" for site development and amenities, by area.**

| Area | | Amenity | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| SBF | Applewhite (n=80) | Trash cans | 84 |
| | | Water faucets | 80 |
| | | Cooking grills | 80 |
| | | Picnic tables | 79 |
| ANF | San Gabriel Canyon (n=82) | Trash cans | 67 |
| | | Telephones | 65 |
| | | Water faucets | 61 |
| | | Parking areas | 61 |
| LPNF | Santa Ynez (n=28) | Trash cans | 57 |
| | | Parking areas | 54 |
| | | Water faucets | 54 |
| | | Law enforcement and patrols | 50 |
| CNF | Palomar Mountain (n=25) | Cooking grills | 60 |
| | | Water faucets | 60 |
| | | Trash cans | 56 |
| | | Picnic tables | 52 |

Note: ANF = Angeles National Forest; CNF = Cleveland National Forest; LPNF = Los Padres National Forest; SBF = San Bernardino National Forest.

**Perceptions about the Recreation Experiences**

The respondents provided their impressions about their recreation experience (table 3). They were asked if these statements were true (or false) about them: "Being at this site reminds me of childhood recreation experiences" (reminder of childhood), "I plan to tell at least one other person about my trip here" (tell others about trip), "I want to return here again," "I was disappointed with some aspects of this site," "My experience was not as good as I had hoped," "The employees were helpful," "The site was safe and secure," "This is a great recreation

experience," "This trip was well worth the money I spent to take it" (well worth the money). A large percentage of respondents (70 percent or more) at all four areas said the following were true about them: "I want to return there again," "It was well worth the money expended," and "It was a great recreation experience." At three of the four areas, the respondents also said they would tell others about their trip.

**Table 3. Perceptions about the recreation experience, by area.**

| Area | | Recreation experience | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| SBF | Applewhite (n=80) | I want to return here again | 79 |
| | | Well worth the money | 74 |
| | | Tell others about trip | 71 |
| | | It's a great recreation experience | 70 |
| ANF | San Gabriel Canyon (n=82) | I want to return here again | 85 |
| | | Tell others about trip | 82 |
| | | Well worth the money | 71 |
| | | It's a great recreation experience | 70 |
| LPNF | Santa Ynez (n=28) | Tell others about trip | 82 |
| | | I want to return here again | 79 |
| | | It's a great recreation experience | 71 |
| | | Well worth the money | 71 |
| CNF | Palomar Mountain (n=25) | I want to return here again | 88 |
| | | The site was safe and secure | 88 |
| | | Well worth the money | 84 |
| | | It's a great recreation experience | 80 |

Note: ANF = Angeles National Forest, CNF = Cleveland National Forest, LPNF = Los Padres National Forest, and SBF = San Bernardino National Forest. "Percentage" is the percentage who said each statement was "true" about them.

## Discussion

In 1995, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, identified 14 Urban National Forests located in 8 U.S. states. In 2005, they identified an additional 10 Urban National Forests. Management of these sites may differ from the management of other forests (Hartley 1986) including significant amounts of day use and visitation by diverse populations. Studies like the ones reported here provide land managers insights to better serve Latino visitors to outdoor recreation at urban-proximate day use sites.

The findings reported here indicate many similarities among Latino visitors to four Urban National Forests in southern California. There were commonalities in participation in outdoor recreation activities, the relative importance of site attributes, and in perceptions reported about their recreation experiences. For example, there was a breadth of activities in which the respondents typically engaged. Some of these activities are development dependent (picnicking/barbecuing, camping, and OHV riding), others were natural area dependent (watching wildlife and driving for pleasure) or water dependent (stream play and fishing). This suggests that management decisions about serving these groups consider the range of activity options identified.

Visitors rated most facilities and amenities as important or very important. This is consistent with other studies reporting a desire by Latinos for development of sites (Chavez 2002). Trash cans and water faucets were common responses to

all the areas studied, whereas other responses were site specific. These findings

suggest a consistent desire for facilities and amenities.

Visitors at all four of these urban national forest areas said they wanted to return

to the area again, thought it was well worth the money expended to take the trip,

and said they had a great recreation experience. These data suggest that the

Latino and other visitors are likely to continue to recreate in these places and will

tell others about it, suggesting increased use by these respondent groups in the

future.

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### Color and Your Emotions

Color has a great influence in hundrends or thousands of ways to individuals, groups, products, services, cultures and so on (Fehrman & Fehrman, 2004). Human beings associate emotions with colors even before the brain registers what color is visually observed by the eye. The range of colors can effects human emotions in different ways, ranging from excitement to fear. Hupka, Zaleski, Otto, Reidl, and Tarabrina (1997) conducted a study on visual color stimuli and found that humans

associate colors with adjective emotions. For example, red is associated with excitement (Hupka, et al., 1997). Moreover, gender and ethnicity contribute to the affect of colors. Women are more sensitive to brightness and men to saturation. Valdez and Mehrabian (1994) reported that women more emotionally to different levels of brightness and saturation. Hupka, et al. (1997) and Fehrman and Fehrman (2004) also state that culture and ethnicity impact perceptions of color. In addition, Hupka, et al. (1997) found that besides the differences in symbolism, each culture associates associate colors and emotions in different ways.

Color can be described in two ways, achromatic and chromatic colors. Achromatic is defined as designating colors perceived to have zero saturation and no hue, such as neutral grays, white or black (www.dictionry.com., n.d., n.d.). Using color names to describe achromatic colors they range in order of white, light gray, gray, dark gray, and black. They are also referred to as colors that are desaturated or hueless. Linking achromatic color with adjective of emotion, white represents the differences between good and evil (Keller, 1999). Since humans have both negative and positive emotions, white also has both effects on human emotions. Positive effects of white are the feeling of peace, comfort, freedom and openness while the negative effects are the feeling of separation, isolation, and can be indicative of cold weather like snow (Color Psychology, n.d.). Many people also relate white with purity and innocence since it is the symbol of the wedding dress. Black represents emotions as being serious, negative, mysterious, and ominous (Keller, 1999). It also associates with evil, death, mourning and threatening acts (Color Psychology, n.d.).

Fehrman and Fehrman (2004) define chromatic colors as relating to color perceived to have saturation greater than zero. Chromatic colors are considered opposite of achromatic colors due to the fact that they contain color and are descried in terms of huesuch as red, red-yellow, yellow, green-yellow, green, blue-green, blue, and violet. Red is associated with vitality, ambition, eroticism (Color Psychology, n.d.) anger, passion, love and irritation (Keller, 1999). The positive effects to human emotion of red are excitement, stimulation, power, sexuality, warmth, passion and strength while the negative contributions are cheapness, vulgarity and assertive and demanding behavior (Color Psychology, n.d.). Different shades of red have diverse effects on human emotion. A bright red contributes to feeling of excitement, warmth and joy. While pink, a tint of red, evokes feeling of calmness, protection, warmth, joy and tenderness (Color Psychology, n.d.). The positive effect of pink is light-heartedness and feeling of youth, both sweet and lovely. Orange has positive effect on an individual's emotional state by acting as an anti-depressant for an individual's mental state (Color Psychology, n.d.) and open up emotions (Fehrman & Fehrman, 2004). Orange also is known to be receptive and warm (Fehrman & Fehrman, 2004).

Yellow is associated with brightness and warmth and is known as a happy and uplifting color. Yellow can be used to build self-confidence and encourage optimism since it is related with intellectual thinking, discernment, memory, clear thinking, decision-making and good judgment (Color Psychology, n.d.). A darker tone of yellow tends to be less cheerful, where a lighter tone brings on fear (Keller, 1999). Violet is known to be deep and mysterious and is associated with spirituality and compassion (Color Psychology, n.d.). The deep and dark shades of purple portray taste, wealth,

distinction, and discretion as well as the characteristic of being overbearing and pompous (Keller, 1999). Blue is related with night and the color of the sky, making a person feel relaxed, calm, secure, comfortable and soothed (Keller, 1999). Depending on the shade of blue, however, blue can also be associated with negative emotions like sadness, quiet, seriousness or depression (Color Psychology, n.d.). A blue-black is associated with mourning, moodiness, and cold, whereas ultramarine tends to offer a feeling of calmness, peacefulness, passivity and agreeability (Keller, 1999). Green is associated with a feeling for comfort, laziness, relaxation and calmness. Whereas darker shades of green have the opposite effect. Brown is connected with earthliness, home, stability and security (Keller, 1999) and brown can also be warm, relaxing, unexciting and powerful.

The aim of this study is to compare the effect of perceptions of colors, both achromatic and chromatic, on human emotions of individuals from different cultures. Results of this study will help enhance the understanding of how colors are associated with emotions. Data will be entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and the statistical analysis will be applied. Alpha is set at 0.05. For significant variables, post hoc analysis will be used to determine where significant differences between the mean occurred. The estimated effect size of the study will be calculated.

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**What Goes Around Comes Around: An Investigation of Reoccurrence of Fashion Styles from 19th to 20th Centuries on Fashion Designs from 2000 to 2008**

Recurring of styles can be seen in many costume periods. Fashion industry becomes more complex in the nineteenth and twentieth century due to changes in its organization and function. The objectives of this study are 1) to examine past fashions that either influence or reoccur in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries fashion cycles, particularly between years 2000 and 2008 and 2) to investigate how street fashions influence the reoccurrence of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries fashion cycles in years 2000-2008.

The historical secondary data sources, including fashion magazines and books, academic text books, and online resources will be utilized in this study. The Survey of Historic Costume by Phyllis G. Tortora and Keith Eubank will be utilized as a main guideline of fashion styles for the nineteenth and twentieth century. To accomplish an accurate study, Vogue Magazine will be used as the key source in this research. The correlation and comparison between the recent fashions in the period from years 2000 to 2008 and the ninetieth and twentieth centuries fashion will be drawn from the comparisons of pictures from these sources.

The expected outcomes of this study are 1) to determine which styles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries still influence the recent fashion styles, 2) to provide a

better understanding of how often a fashion is revised or reproduced, 3) to recognize which street fashions influenced the reoccurrence of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries fashion cycles in years 2000-2008 and 4) to forecast the new fashion styles that are the consequences of the influence from nineteenth and twentieth centuries fashion. The results of this exploration will be beneficial for both scholar and industry. For scholars, there are only a few studies focusing on the reoccurrence of nineteenth and twentieth century's fashion on a recent fashion styles. This research will broaden and deepen the knowledge in both design and historic costume areas. For the industry, the outcomes of this study will assist fashion designers and retailers to analyze trends, understand trends change and the effect publications on consumers and how often a fashion is revised or reproduced.

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### Secondary traumatic stress in juvenile justice workers:
### An assessment of DJJ education staff and exposure to trauma imagery

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## Abstract

*Background/Purpose:* Exposure to trauma is more frequent amongst juvenile detainees than youth in the community. Ninety-six percent of offenders have experienced one "potentially traumatizing" event while over eight-two percent have experienced multiple events, compared to 4.5% of the normal population (Costello et. al., 2002; Ruchkin, Schwab-Stone, Koposov, Vermeiren, & Steiner, 2002). Given the frequency and violent character of the traumas encountered by juvenile offenders, staff with whom these juveniles interact regularly while in custody is at risk of developing secondary traumatic stress. Secondary traumatic stress (STS) has been documented in several professions that engage with traumatized clients, including mental health-care workers and sexual abuse and domestic violence agency staff (Baird & Jenkins, 2003; Collins & Long, 2003).

Diagnosing and treating STS is vital. Left untreated, STS is related to higher rates of substance abuse, burnout and agency turnover (VanBergeijk, & Samiento, 2006; Baird, & Jenkins, 2003; Collins & Long, 2003). Thus, more research is needed to establish the prevalence of STS in agencies that often work with traumatized youth. The purpose of this study was to determine to what extent Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ) education staff experience STS. Therefore, the research was guided by the following research questions: (1) To what extent do teachers and staff perceive that youth in detention have experienced traumatic events and traumatic stress symptoms?; and (2) To what extent to do DJJ teachers and staff experience secondary traumatic stress?

*Methods:* DJJ teachers and staff that were attending a statewide annual conference were administered a cross-sectional survey, including the Secondary Traumatic Stress Scale, which is comprised of three subscales (Intrusion/Avoidance/Arousal) that are congruent with the DSM-IV-TR PTSD symptom clusters (APA, 2000). 118 participants completed the surveys.

*Results*: Approximately 95% of the DJJ staff and teachers indicated that their students were traumatized. Forty-three percent of respondents felt that the students were moderately

traumatized, 30% were severely traumatized, and 7.1% were very severely traumatized. Regarding STS, the most frequently reported symptom was intrusive thoughts related to work with clients, with 61% of respondents indicating that they thought about their work with traumatized clients without intending to. Endorsement of the seven avoidance symptoms ranged from 53.4% for sense of foreshortened future to 50.9% for avoidance of clients. Among the five arousal symptoms, irritability and concentration difficulties were reported by 41.5% and 47.5% of the sample, respectively. Despite working with traumatized clients, 18.6% of respondents did not meet any of the diagnostic criteria for PTSD other than exposure. However, 81.4% met at least one, 55.1% met two, and 39.8% met all three core diagnostic criteria.

*Conclusion:* Juvenile justice workers often characterized their clients as traumatized and indicated that their work with detainees was traumatizing. Given the frequency of STS in DJJ staff, agency mechanisms such as supervision and debriefing need to be implemented to treat or buffer the development of STS in juvenile justice workers. A focus on trauma-specific education and training that focus on psychological trauma or treatment should also be considered. Finally, more research is needed to examine the extent to which STS impacts employee health, effectiveness and burnout in these agencies.

***Violence and health risk behaviors of youth in DJJ:   A statewide assessment of offenses and
self-destructive activities before incarceration***

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## *Abstract*

*Background and Purpose:* According to the U.S. Department of Justice Juvenile Arrests 2005,
2.1 million juveniles were arrested by police (Snyder, 2008).  Persons under the age of eighteen
accounted for sixteen percent of all violent crime arrests and twenty-six percent of property
crime arrests.  Differences in age, race, and gender were found in arrests rates for juveniles. One
third of all violent and property crime arrests were for youths under the age of fifteen years
(Snyder, 2008). Thus, the majority of arrests were for youths between fifteen and eighteen years
of age. A disparity between arrests rates exists in terms of race as well. Black juveniles were the
most likely to be arrested of all races, with the rate of violent crime arrests of black juveniles
being five times greater than that of white youths. Finally, females accounted for twenty-nine
percent of all juvenile arrests, eighteen percent of arrests for violent crimes, and thirty-four
percent of arrests for property crimes (Snyder, 2008). While females are arrested less often than
males, growth rates for simple assault, aggravated assault and weapons violations arrests were
greater for males than for female youths (Snyder, 2008).

The CDC (2008) reported that many high school students continue to engage in behaviors, e.g.,
violence, unsafe sex, that place them at risk for the leading causes of mortality and morbidity.
The investigation aimed to 1) determine the statewide prevalence of violent activities of youth in
detention; 2) identify any variance of demographic factors related to the offenses and 3) explore
priority health-risk behaviors (according to the CDC) among youth in detention - behaviors that
contribute to unintentional injuries and violence; alcohol and other drug use;  and sexual
behaviors that contribute to unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, including
human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection.

*Methods:* There were two methods of data collection for the study: 1) archival data of a 5 year
span to review the type of offence type, description of groups, and trends among youth detained;
and 2) a cross-sectional design implemented by administering a questionnaire to a small sample
of committed youth to capture their risk behaviors before incarceration.

*Results:* Approximately 15000 youth records were examined in the archival data analysis.
Race/ethnicity groups included African American (n= 10155), White (n= 3874), Hispanic (n=
724), and Other (n= 213). Supporting the literature, the most serious offences included property
and violence charges. There was also a notable occurrence of violent sexual charges. The pilot

sample of high schooled-aged youth in long term detention facilities reported considerable activities related to violence, substance use and sexual behaviors.

*Conclusion:* Externalizing behaviors of youth such as aggression, violence and risky behaviors are a behavioral problem that is a major risk factor for juvenile delinquency and increasingly viewed as public health problems. These risk behaviors contribute markedly to the leading causes of death, disability, and social problems among youth and adults in the United States. The next phase of research should address the development and implementation of health promotion interventions and establishing continuity of care for the youth in detention and in the community as a whole.

# FASHION AS A REFLECTION OF PERSONALITY AND ROLE

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## Introduction

*How to Lose a Guy in 10 Days* is a Paramount motion picture. The film was released in July of 2003 (Petrie, 2003). The film was directed by Donald Petrie and is based on a short cartoon book by Michele Alexander and Jeannie Long. *How to Lose a Guy in 10 Days* is geared mainly towards women so the movie is considered a "chick flick." The film makes women aware of some of the annoying things that men do in relationships, and makes men appreciate their girlfriends. The film tells the story of journalist Andie Anderson and her relationship with an advertising executive named Benjamin Barry. The two are enaged in rival, secret plots with their friends to make the other fall in love with them other for two very different reasons. Andie Anderson is a journalist at *Composure* magazine and writes a "How to..." column.

Andie's plot is to date a man and do all the things that women tend to do wrong when they are in relationships in order to get more freedom in her writing and elevate her column to a new level. If Ben can make any woman fall in love with him in just ten days, he will get to be in charge of a new company account. The two meet by chance and the bets are on, Andie trying to get Ben to break up with her and Ben trying to get Andie to fall in love with him.

In the film, Andie maintains three central roles: career woman, friend, and girlfriend. Each of Andie's roles controls her choice of adornment. This paper examines Andie's adornment and shows how her fashion choices are congrugent with her behavior and roles. In all, Andie undergoes 22 costume changes, which are outlined in Table 1.

[Table 1 here]

**The Character Analysis**

Andie uses her personality and roles as a guide for choosing her adornment. In accordance with Flugel's theory of modesty in dress (Storm, 1987), Andie chooses garments with differing levels of modesty depending on the place she is going and the activity in which she is going to engage. For example, her adornment at work is more modest than when she is in social situations. Andie's achieved role as a columnist at a major fashion magazine in New York requires her to dress fashionably and professionally (Table 1, Scene 1, 3, 12). On the other hand, Andie is a young, attractive woman and dresses sexy at night when she is having drinks with her friends or is on a date with her boyfriend (Table 1, Scene 2). Women tend to enjoy dressing up and think of dressing as an activity and a process that in some cases may take hours to complete.

According to Storm (1987), dress is the first thing people see and, as a result, our appearance is used to develop assumptions and expectations as to our personality and behavior. When meeting her boyfriend's parents for the first time, Andie dresses casually and less professionally. (Table1, Scene 15). Andie's clothing choice in this scene shows her desire to make a good first impression. Andie is attempting to manage Ben's parent's impressions of her

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by choosing clothing that shows she is young and attractive and that she cares about her appearance.

Nonverbal communication is a part of fashion, whether intended or not. Appearance and adornment choices have the ability to convey the message you wish to send. Our appearance is the first thing people see, and, as a result clothing is often used as the basis for opinion. Andie uses fashion as nonverbal communication to show how she wants to be viewed by others. As she moves from one role to another she communicates differing messages effectively with her adornment. For example, Andie wore sexy dresses when she was at a bar (Table, Scene 2). Andie dresses this way in order to be seen and picked out from the crowd. The reason for this choice in dress could be related to Maslow's hierarch of needs. Perhaps she is really looking for love and belonging or maybe she is seeking to enhance her self-esteem by getting others to notice her (Storm, 1987). Regardless of the purpose, the message is clear.

Gender roles also play an important part of dress. Dress is one of the most significant markers of gender identity and serves as a reminder of gender roles and societal expectations (Storm, 1987). Men's and women's dress differ tremendously from each other in Western culture. What a woman thinks is casual, a man may assume is dressy. Women also tend to be expected to dress up more than men. During the film, Ben wore a t-shirt while Andie wore a skirt (Table, Scene 15).

Social class and status can be portrayed by clothing. Andie is a successful journalist in New York City. Her clothing choices indicate that she is upper-middle or upper class due to her career (Table1 , Scene 3). Although Andie's social class is noticeable in some scenes, she does not always show it in her clothing choices. When Andie is wearing her work clothes or an expensive evening dress, she is portrayed as upper class, but when Andie wears jeans and a tank

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top, she is looked on as middle class (Table 1, Scene 17). Social class can be difficult to distinguish. Dominance mimicry is used today in order to disguise a person's real social status. Many people are sacrificing financially in order to buy a designer bag or pair of sunglasses. By purchasing an item that is above their social status they are able to send false communications to those who see a designer item as indicative of membership to a specific social class (Storm, 1987). In this way they are communicating their desire to elevate themselves to a higher social class.

**Conclusion**

Fashion is a personal mode of expression and changes with each role a person has to balance. Andie is a good example to show how everyday roles are communicated through clothing. Each role uses a clothing to send a different message; career-wear is different from evening-wear and casual-wear and so on. Andie's wardrobe provides her with dress congruency. We learn to "dress" for our occupation, group membership, status or desired status (Storm, 1987). We watch how our peers and others dress and learn the language of adornment (Urban Programs, n.d.). Andie lives in New York which is the fashion capital of the United States and works for a high fashion magazine. Andie dresses professionally yet fashionably, which is what the audience would expect of the character.

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Table 1: Andie's costume changes by scene

| Scene | Hair | Makeup | Outfit | Accessories |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Wavy/straight parted down the middle | Natural looking-pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | White button down blouse tucked into a khaki skirt. Navy blue high heels. | Blue/brown purse Gold ring |
| 2 | Wavy/straight parted down the middle | Darker- darker eye shadow | Grey dress: sleeveless, v-neck, low back. Black high heels. | Black clutch Gold bracelet, gold earrings, gold ring |
| 3 | Straight, pulled half up | Natural looking-pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Blue striped button down blouse over a black tank top and black skirt. | Silver earrings, gold ring |
| 4 | Wavy/straight parted down the middle | Natural looking-pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | New York Nicks jersey. | Big foam finger Watch, gold ring |
| 5 | Pulled up | Natural looking-pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Black spaghetti strap dress. | |
| 6 | Wavy/straight parted down the middle | Natural looking-pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Off the shoulder, cream shirt with khaki and white striped pants. | |
| 7 | Straight, pulled half up | Natural looking-pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Tan dress. Tan high heels. | Gold earrings |
| 8 | Straight, pulled half up with a black clip | Natural looking-pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | White sun dress with purple design. Purple high heels. | Watch, necklace with purple stone, gold ring, bracelet, earrings |
| 9 | Wavy/straight parted down the middle | Natural looking-pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Beige short sleeve turtle-neck shirt. Black skirt. | Plaid scarf, white bracelet |
| 10 | Wavy/straight parted down the middle | Natural looking-pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Tan button down blouse over a white tank top and jeans. | Necklace with brown stone, gold ring |

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Table 1: Andie's costume changes by scene, continued

| Scene | Hair | Makeup | Outfit | Accessories |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | Wavy/straight parted down the middle | Natural looking- pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Pink Celine Dion t-shirt and jeans. | |
| 12 | Curly, pulled back | Natural looking- pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Tan quarter length shirt with a brown shirt | Necklace with brown stone, sunglasses |
| 13 | Straight/wavy, pulled half up | Natural looking- pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | White dress with polk-a-dots | Watch, earrings, gold ring, white purse(matches dress) |
| 14 | Wavy | Natural looking- pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Pink sleeveless shirt with a black/white printed skirt | Gold ring, watch, gold bracelet |
| 15 | Straight | Natural looking- pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | White tub top with a white skirt | Silver/pearl earrings, watch, gold bracelets, gold ring |
| 16 | Straight then curly | Natural | White tank top and jeans. White sneakers | Gold ring, watch, bracelets, motorcycle helmet |
| 17 | Curly | Natural | White tank top and jeans, White sneakers Black jacket. | Gold ring, watch, gold bracelet |
| 18 | Straight/wavy, pulled half up | Natural looking- pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Black short sleeve, v-neck dress | Grey pearl necklace, gold ring |
| 19 | Pulled back into a bun | Natural looking but darker eyeliner, pink/red lipstick ,rosy cheeks- evening makeup | Yellow/gold evening dress: v-neck, low back | White clutch, diamond earrings, yellow diamond necklace |
| 20 | Curly | Natural looking- brown/nude lipstick | Black jacket over a white tank top and black pants. | Necklace with brown stone |

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Table 1: Andie's costume changes by scene, continued

| Scene | Hair | Makeup | Outfit | Accessories |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21 | Curly | Natural(may not have any makeup on) | Olive green/tan/black/white tank top | Gold ring, blanket |
| 22 | Curly | Natural looking-pink lipstick, rosy cheeks | Brown sports jacket over a white tank top and white skirt | |

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# FROM GEEK TO SLEEK:  THE USE OF FASHION TO TRASFORM AN OUTCAST INTO PROM QUEEN

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## Introduction

A few of Hollywood's promising young stars come together to star in the 1999 teenage movie sensation *She's All That*. Zack Siler (Freddie Prinze Jr.) is stunned when his gorgeous and popular high school girlfriend dumps him. Zack bets with a classmate that he can transform the school's biggest geek, Laney Boggs (Rachel Leigh Cook), into the prom queen. (Abrams, Gladstein, Levy  &  Iscove , 1999.)

Laney Boggs is a shy, unpopular, and misunderstood teenage girl in a high school full of beautiful and popular coeds. Her Mother's passing leaves Laney devastated and the sole female in the house which also includes her Dad and brother.  In an effort to deal with her feelings of pain and grief, Laney paints dark and disturbing pictures at home and in her art class at school. As a result, her fellow students believe she is strange. Laney's lack of desire to be attractive is evidenced by her choice to wear mostly mismatched

clothing with paint splatter on them. Because of her dress and personality, she is looked at by her pears as a geek.

However, the attention Laney receives from Zack, as a result of the bet of which she is unaware, her adornment and outlook on life begin to evolve until she is transformed into a fashionable and popular woman. The purpose of this paper is to show how adornment is used to communicate the changes in Laney's personality and self-image.

## The Transformation of Laney Boggs

The costumes chosen for Laney are important to understanding the history, personality and body image of the character. Her clothing and lack of attention to her appearance indicate that she is much more involved with other aspects of her life and does not conform to the typical standards of high school (Table, Scenes 1, 2, 5-9, 10-11). Laney often holds her head down and very rarely smiles which is her own way of communicating with her fellow classmates that she is not interested in socializing. Because of her grief, Laney has retreated to the point that her ability to interact with her classmates is impaired. The lack of interest in socializing and lack on interaction form a cycle that has impacted her self-image (Storm, 1987).

Throughout the film (Table, Scenes 1-3, 6, 10, 11, 15-17, 19, 20) a gold chain necklace with a gold band ring can be seen hanging around Laney's neck. This piece of jewelry is the only piece of jewelry that the character wears consistently. Although it is not addressed in the film, the audience senses that the item belonged to her deceased Mother. Perhaps Laney wears it as an amulet of good luck, as a constant reminder of her

loss and as an attempt to remain connected to her Mother (Storm, 1987). It also implies that Laney is still in the grieving process and the item brings her some comfort (Storm, 1987)

[Insert Table here]

In scene 3 (see Table), Laney is working in a Mexican restaurant, and the audience sees her in a uniform, in flamboyant Mexican colors and style, that is in direct contrast to what they know by now is her preferred style of dress. Her embarrassment and dislike of the uniform is made obvious when Zack shows up at the restaurant. In a way her reaction is surprising since she never appears to care about her appearance. This allows the audience to see that deep down she really does care, if only a little, about the way she looks, especially to a love interest. This may also be explained by the fact that the uniform is not something she would normally choose to wear, causing discord between a requirement of employment and her self-image (Storm, 1987).

Scene 4 (see Table) shows Laney performing at arts night. She has extreme makeup and a tight fitting leotard. Wearing both makeup and tight clothing is very unlike Laney and possibly shows that she is most comfortable when she is performing and "being someone else." If this is true, it would seem to be further indication that Laney is experiencing dissatisfaction with her life and self, possibly stemming from the loss of her Mother. Art allows Laney the ability to freely express her feelings, acting as a release valve for emotions that she would otherwise keep within.

In scene 8 (see Table), Laney is, for the first time, dressed semi-fashionably. She has a one-piece black swimming suit on that is a little mature for her age but a vast improvement from her usual style. This is the first time Laney's figure can be seen, and the first time she is really noticed by the other teenagers. Surprisingly, Laney seems comfortable with her body, which is in contrast to how the character has been presented thus far. Through this it is evident that Zack is having an impact on Laney's body image. Perhaps she is letting go of her grief and normal stresses just long enough to feel like a regular teenager.

In scene 12 (see Table), Zack's sister gives Laney a makeover. It is obvious that Laney is out of her comfort zone but likes the way she looks in these clothes. She has finally stepped into her gender role by dressing to accentuate her best features. The red dress, a power color, is a wise choice for Laney. It gives the audience that sense that Laney is gaining power over herself and her life. The fact that the outfit is a dress and accentuates her figure serves as further evidence of the same.

Finally, Laney begins to show signs of individual development in her appearance. She is wearing a fashionable brown dress with a gold belt as seen in scene 14 (see Table). Her new found desire to be fashionable is most likely a result of her increasing desire to impress Zack. With Zack's and his friends' interest in Laney and her increasing comfort in their company a spark of desire to be accepted by this group has been ignited. This behavior falls in line with Maslow's hierarchy, in which people are theorized to desire group membership and belonging based on their motivations and desire for eventual self-actualization (Storm, 1987).

In scene 17 (see Table), Laney is back at work wearing her usual tacky, Mexican style uniform. It is more obvious in this seen that she is more uncomfortable in the uniform than she appeared in the previous work scene (see Table, Scene 3).  In several scenes after the makeover takes place (e.g., Scenes 15, 16, 18, 19) Laney's fashion sense evolves.  She is seen wearing pieces from her previous wardrobe paired it with more fashionable, tight fitting pieces.  The apparel chosen for the character provides additional cues that Laney is evolving from her geekish style into a more fashionable and peer-worthy form of dress.  As the film progesses, Laney learns to use dress and her body to her advantage.  In Scene 20 (see Table) Laney, still unaware of the bet Zack has made with his friends to transform her into a popular girl, is dressed in a tight and trendy t-shirt with Japanese writing on it the day before the prom. Laney most likely dressed in a more alluring way to persuade Zack to ask her to the dance.

Scene 21 (see Table) is obviously Laney's crowning moment. She has reached her achieved role of being Zack's date to the prom. She has a gorgeous, tight black dress, her hair and accessories are perfect.  It is evident that she spent a great deal of time choosing the outfit and styling her hair.  She cares what Zack thinks of her and her looks. She walks in the room for the first time throughout the whole movie, with absolute confidence and determination. She is beautiful and she knows it. She is a new Laney (Abrams, Gladstein, Levy and Iscove, 1999).  Laney, however, is not voted prom queen, and Zack looses the bet.  If that is not bad enough, Laney's newly found self-esteem is quickly put to the test when she discovers the bet made between Zack (who has developed genuine feelings for Laney) and his friends.  In the end, the two work out their differences and a real relationship ensues.

### Conclusion

The character, Laney Boggs, provides an interesting study of how adornment is used to advance the audience's understanding of the character. As her confidence grows and her self-esteem positively increases so, too, does her interest in her appearance and her use of appearance to manage others' impressions of her. She manages to find her own style, which is a combination of her artsy, pre-transformation self and the more confident and social teen she becomes. Watching the way adornment is used in the film, both directly (the makeover) and indirectly (the subtle changes that lead to the eventual transformation) gives insight into how people use adornment in real life to communicate to others how they feel about themselves.

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Table 1:  Laney Boggs' Adornment by Scene in *She's All That*

| Scene | Hair | Make-up | Accessories | Shirts |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Pony tail | None | Black eyeglasses, gold necklace with gold ring on it | Tie-dyed orange/yellow shirt with brown sleeves, brown halter apron with paint splatter,  army-green bell-bottom pants with paint splatter on them |
| 2 | Pony tail | None | Black eyeglasses, gold necklace with gold ring on it, black over the shoulder school bag | Tie-dyed orange/yellow shirt with brown sleeves, brown halter apron with paint splatter,  army-green bell-bottom pants with paint splatter on them |
| 3 | Pony tail with black scrunchie | None | Gold necklace with gold ring on it, black eye glasses, silver name tag, straw beret hat with red & yellow silk roses around rim | Yellow ¾ length puff sleeve shirt with blue, white, and yellow plaid on the collar and down the front button line,  Brown clunky boots with paint splatter on them |
| 4 | Down | White make-up covering face and neck, black lipstick | Black eyeglasses | White full body  silk leotard with white silk wrap around the waste tied in a knot on the left |
| 5 | Down | None | Black eyeglasses, Black over the shoulder school bag | Baggy, white, long sleeved shirt with green ivy design around the v-neck collar and wrists |
| 6 | Down | None | Black eyeglasses, gold necklace with gold ring on it | White cotton long sleeve shirt with light blue rose pattern  with sleeves pushed up to the elbow,   blue jean overalls |
| 7 | Pony tail braid | None | Black eyeglasses | White cotton long sleeve shirt with light blue rose pattern  unbuttoned over the top of blue jean overalls rolled up to the ankle, one piece black swimming suit on underneath |
| 8 | Pony tail braid | None | Black eyeglasses | Black one piece swimming suit |

Table 1:  Laney Boggs' Adornment by Scene in *She's All That*, continued

| Scene | Hair | Make-up | Accessories | Shirts |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | Pony tail braid | None | Black eyeglasses | White cotton long sleeve shirt with light blue rose pattern  tied around waist over overalls,  Blue jean overalls rolled up to the ankle, one piece black swimming suit on underneath |
| 10 | Pony tail braid | None | Black eyeglasses, gold necklace with gold ring on it | Light blue long sleeve Indian style shirt with gold and black decoration, brown halter apron with paint splatter all over it, blue jeans |
| 11 | Down | None | Black eyeglasses, gold necklace with gold ring on it | Light blue long sleeve Indian style shirt with gold and black decorations, brown halter apron with paint splatter all over it, blue jeans |
| 12 | Cut short and worn down, with flip at bottom | Foundation, red lipstick, mascara | Black satin purse held in hand | Short and tight red cotton dress with spaghetti straps, red satin open-toed shoes with two inch heels and ankle strap |
| 13 | Cut short and worn down, with flip at bottom | Foundation, red lipstick, mascara | | Short and tight red cotton dress with spaghetti straps, tan man's jacket draped over shoulders, red satin open-toed shoes with two inch heels and ankle strap |
| 14 | Down | | Black draw string bag over shoulder | Brown v-neck dress with gold satin belt at the waist, brown short sleeve oversized shirt with red diamond pattern unbuttoned |
| 15 | Hair up in pony tail, yellow scrunchie | Light red lip gloss | Gold necklace with gold ring on it | Light blue Indian style v-neck shirt with dark blue square pattern around the neck,  brown halter apron with paint splatter |
| 16 | Down | Light red lip gloss | Gold necklace with gold ring on it | Yellow short sleeved shirt with black boots printed on the right shoulder, light blue shirt  with yellow tropical flowers covering it open over the yellow shirt, brown, clunky,  paint splattered boots |

Table 1:  Laney Boggs' Adornment by Scene in *She's All That*, continued

| Scene | Hair | Make-up | Accessories | Shirts |
|-------|------|---------|-------------|--------|
| 17 | Down | None | Gold necklace with gold ring on it, black eye glasses, silver name tag, straw beret hat with red & yellow silk roses around rim | Yellow ¾ length puff sleeve shirt with blue, white, and yellow plaid on the collar and down the front button line,  brown, clunky,  paint splattered boots |
| 18 | Down | None | | Light blue short sleeve shirt with frog closures down front & dark blue line around sleeves and down button line, brown, clunky,  paint splattered boots |
| 19 | Down | None | Gold necklace with gold ring on it | Green loose fitting shirt with sleeves rolled up to the elbow pink pattern on the chest, over black tank, blue jeans |
| 20 | Pony tail | None | Gold necklace with gold ring on it | Yellow shirt with Japanese writing on back and on the right breast,  blue jeans |
| 21 | Hair up in fancy banana clip, bangs down and to the left | Light makeup on eyes and cheeks | Black dangle earrings | Black floor length spaghetti strap dress tight fitting with sparkles |

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# PERSONIFICATION OF POWER AND PURPOSE:  APPAREL AS AN EXTENSION

# OF SELF

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Catwoman, a fictional character first conceived in the year 1940, has endured many costume changes. However, it was in the motion picture, *Catwoman*, released in 2004, that the costume of this character was taken to new adorned heights through the creative mind of costume designer, Scott Blackie (Berman, et al., 2004).  Blackie conveyed the physical and mental transformation of an uninspired woman into a female fatale through the execution of costume design. The costume of Catwoman represents the dual abilities of the character and communicates the importance of the acceptance of one's body image. Ultimately, costume design in this film was utilized to communicate the power that adornment has on one's perception of self.

Sleek, mysterious, dangerous, and sexy, Catwoman originally strutted on the scene in 1940 as a villainess the popular superhero, Batman. Catwoman is a fictional character who represents, what some women want to be (*Catwoman*, n.d.). She is a woman who is free, confident, unapologetic yet sympathetic, mysterious, and an owner of sex appeal. Embodying all of these characteristics Catwoman has been a favorite character for many women and an adored

poster for many men. As a motion picture, this film is obviously targeted to all demographics;

children who love super heroes, women who want to be empowered, men who love to look at

curvaceous bodies, and of course all races, with starring roles played by an Hispanic American

and an African American.

Directed by the award-winning director, Pitof, and released through Warner Brothers

Studios, Catwoman proved cats really do have nine lives when the character was reincarnated for

her starring role in her debut movie *Catwoman* (Berman, et al., 2004). Because Catwoman

initially starred alongside Batman, the costumer for the movie felt it was important to drastically

change Catwoman's appearance, to signify a new and different mood for the character.  Changes

to Catwoman's costume are not new.  Though Catwoman has maintained her sex appeal

throughout the years, the costume has undergone several reincarnations, with Blackie's design

elevating Catwoman to new heights. With a completely different silhouette compared to previous

versions of the costume, the external adornment of Catwoman was intensified with leather that

was tailored to the body like skin, diamond claws, a different mask, bright red lips, gloves,

leather boots, and of course, a black leather whip (Table 1, Scene 9). Taking place during the

modern day era, the extreme sex appeal of the costume was appropriate because the current,

appealing erogenous zones of women are the breast, buttocks, and legs; all of which were

exposed through the costume (Storm, 1987).


[Table 1 here]


In Berman et al's. depiction, Catwoman's alter ego is a shy, always apologetic, lackluster

woman named, Patience Phillips, who slowly transforms into the whip-cracking femme fatale,

Catwoman (2004). Initially, Patience struggles to control the personality conflict between her old and new selves. The two personalities of the character and their conflict are conveyed through subtle costume changes that intensify as the persona of Catwoman overtakes that of Patience (see variously: Table 1, Scenes 1, 4-9).

The film opens with Patience Phillips, a hopeful artist who works in the advertising department for a cosmetic firm (Table 1, Scene 1). Her adornment in this scene communicates to the audience that Patience does not view herself as a "sexy" woman, but manages to express her artistic personality through the use of color. Her personality is also communicated through her hairstyle, which is long and curly, and worn somewhat sloppily, indicative of her meekness and monotonous life. As the movie progresses, we learn that Patience is apologetic for her life, shy, and soft-spoken. However, Patience proves her ability to be valiant when she climbs out of the window of her apartment to save a cat; this courageous act is the "cat"alyst to her eventual transformation into the superhero, Catwoman.

On the following morning that Patience wears the same outfit she wore the day before as she rushes to work. This suggests that Patience has little regard for fashion or for others' perceptions of her adornment. Her inattention to her appearance is not confused with confidence, rather, the audiences senses the opposite. In this same scene the audience also learns that Patience is terribly shy when her crush visits her at her job. Patience employs nonverbal communication with him by looking down smiling with only a slight grin. As the day ends so does the life of Patience Phillips; who was murdered by the jealous wife of her boss. At this end, the transformation to Catwoman begins.

When the audience next sees Patience she is wearing clothes that are not "sexy" but tight-fitting; a slight contrast from the previous days. (Table 1, Scene 4). However, because Patience

has not yet realized her new abilities and new found womanhood, a subtle power struggle

between personalities ensues, marked by changes behavior and apparel.  Patience manages to

maintain true to her personality in the next scene which is indicated by adornment more typical

to her (Table 1, Scene 5).

The film continues, with Patience's sweet-toned, shyness still evident, but with noticeable

changes in her body language, her movement, choice of words, and her flirtatious suggestions to

her crush. Catwoman is slowly seeping through. As evidence of these changes, Patience's

adornment changes, in congruence with her evolving personality and perceptions of self.

Apparel has the ability to increase confidence, enhance self-esteem and improve one's self-

concept (Storm, 1987).   Catwoman's costume helps reveal Patience's newly changed

perceptions of self-worth, self-reliance and power. Typically self-concepts are difficult to

change, however, in the case of Patience Phillips she is helped along by the metamorphosis

taking place.  With these changes the audience sees Patience's body image undergo a

transformation as well.  Prior to Catwoman's appearance Patience viewed her body in a negative

way, however with the emergence of Catwoman her body image becomes increasingly positive.

Though the costume exemplifies and enhances these traits, it also serves the functions of

being utilitarian and providing protection for Catwoman. The color (black) helps camouflage her

in the night, while the mask protects her true identity. The spandex leather allows for flexible

movement, and her diamond claws and leather whip aid her in protecting herself from enemies

(Table 1, Scene 9).  Although the costume is formfitting, the claws and whip serve as extensions

to her body, lending power and commanding attention.

The final stages of the transformation of Patience into Catwoman are apparent in the next

few scenes when her attitude takes a complete turn and she becomes unapologetic for her strong

emotions. To make her feel more like this "new woman" she has become, like many other

women resolve, she has changed her appearance almost entirely, including a change in hairstyle.

The shorter style is feminine, but gives Catwoman an air of strength. The added highlights

complete the look: a unique hairstyle that is fitting for an audacious woman (Table 1, Scene 7).

The change in hairstyle is an indication that the personality of Catwoman is overtaking Patience

at a deeper level than apparel alone. Hair is communicative, and whether or not she reverts back

to Patience, the style, uneasy to alter, will project an image of sassiness and sleekness. Also, the

introduction of the "cat costume" occurs in this scene (9). Catwoman pulls out an old, black

leather outfit gifted to her by a close friend and makes it her signature style. Catwoman then

prowls the streets and robs a jewelry store for sartorial adornment for her new wardrobe. Of the

many jewels that she steals, the one piece essential to her costume is a necklace connected by

diamond claws; she breaks the necklace and uses the pieces as her own cat claws.

As morning arrives, Patience awakes and dresses in a modified version of her typical self;

however the tight fit shows that Catwoman is gaining ground in the power struggle taking place.

(Table 1, Scene 10). It is now that Patience becomes aware of Catwoman. Wanting to know

more about the roles of catwomen, Patience visits a lady who tells her of her new destiny and

also gifts her with a black mask. Patience accepts her new destiny and Catwoman is now on the

prowl in her tight leather pants that look as if a lion has ripped through them, a leather, breast

bearing bustier that connects with two straps to her pants, a black, leather mask, bright red

lipstick, and of course her new diamond claws (Table 1, Scene 9 and others).

For the remainder of the movie, Catwoman is in full action, with the exception of a

couple of scenes when she is briefly shown wearing "upgraded" Pateince-type clothing (See

variously Table 1, Scenes 10-16). The alteration of Patience's adornment to be in line with

Catwoman's adornment is evidence that the stronger personality of Catwoman has achieved victory in the internal power struggle. With this victory Patience emerges with new found confidence and a much more positive body image and self-concept. The audience is left to assume that a harmonious co-existence of these two egos has evolved.

## **Conclusion**

Catwoman, is a great character to analyze because she embodies the strengths that women would like to possess in wholeness without being apologetic. The wardrobe of Patience Phillips and Catwoman are non-congruent, though they were worn by the same person. This difference in adornment was important to advancing the audience's understanding of the inner conflict present. Subtle at first and then more drastic, adornment showed the differing roles of the two characters and helped advance the plot.

Costume design is the design of the appearance of the character in cinema or on stage. Scott Blackie, the costume designer for the film, performed an excellent job of using adornment to communicate the character's personality and power conflicts as well as individual expression. This film communicates many truths about life, and among those truths it shows the power of adornment. Costume design in this movie was strategically used to convey the individuality and purpose of the character. Perfectly executed, Catwoman's costume symbolizes the sex appeal, confidence, and independence of the character.

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Table 1: Costume changes for Patience/Catwoman in the motion picture *Catwoman*

| Scene | Costume Changes | Significance of Costume |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Loose-fitting brown pants, a long-sleeved, baby blue shirt worn under a yellow and brown print shirt. Her hair is long with sloppy curls. | Communicates character's artistic spirit and suggests she is not a "sexy" woman. Her tossed hair indicates her dispassionate approach to life. |
| 2 | Same as Scene 1 | Verifies that Patience is indeed a woman that is not in touch with her feminine wiles. |
| 3 | Blue flannel pajamas with clouds throughout. | Shows Patience's one-dimensional life; her night clothes are also lackluster. |
| 4 | Fitted brown pants and a fitted long sleeve shirt. | This outfit begins the transformation of Pateince into Catwoman. The fitted clothes indicate the slight acceptance of her body. |
| 5 | Brown velour pants and a red, cardigan worn under a black, leather jacket and over a blue shirt with peach geometric shapes. | Patience struggles with her new identity; she wears this outfit because she has not fully embraced Catwoman. |
| 6 | Fitted cream and black striped pajama pants with a fitted, long-sleeved, light blue night shirt. | Catwoman is slowly budding out; her night clothes are even becoming more fitted and feminine. |
| 7 | Hair is cut, with added golden highlights, black, leather pants with a matching leather jacket, black gloves, and black stiletto boots. | The corporal transformation of Catwoman is complete and this transformation is seen through the costume |
| 8 | Polka-dotted brown, khaki, blue, and purple shirt with an added sartorial accent of fur. Also worn, fitted blue jeans and black flat, round toe shoes. | Due to the struggle to accept her new identity, Patience dresses herself in typical "Patience" clothing. |
| 9 | The reincarnated Catwoman: black leather suit with a tailored fit with rips all along the pants and buttocks. Also, her stomach and back are exposed as well as much cleavage. The bustier is held in place with leather straps that connect to the pants. Also, she wears long black leather gloves, diamond claws, open toe sandals, and a black mask complete with cat ears, and whip, bright, red lipstick and dark, black eye-liner. | The complete reincarnation is fashioned in this scene. It exposes much of the body, communicating new found confidence with the character's body image. The tight fit of the costume, diamond claws, and mask are used to allow flexible movement, provide protection, and aid in masking her identity. Now Patience has become her ideal self, a confident and sexy woman. |

Table 1: Costume changes for Patience/Catwoman in the motion picture *Catwoman*, continued

| Scene | Costume Changes | Significance of Costume |
|---|---|---|
| 10 | Jeans, long-sleeved poplin shirt, sweater. | Here, it is obvious that Patience has accepted her new identity. She wears clothes similar to what the "old" Patience would wear but sports them with confidence. Also, her hair still plays a major communicative role. |
| 11 | Dark, fitted denim jeans, fitted purple thermal jacket. | Again, the acceptance of her new identity is communicated through her dress. |
| 12 | Cat costume. Description in Scene 9 | Same interpretation as Scene 9. |
| 13 | Low-cut, V-neck, black dress worn with black stiletto heels, silver and red vintage, chandelier earrings and red polished nails. | Yet again, Patience/Catwoman is portrayed. The dress fits her body nicely and is very feminine. |
| 14 | A white gown adorned with lace. | The complete transformation of Patience Phillips is even more clear. Her night clothes changed from flannel pajamas to a laced silk, white nightgown; very sexy and feminine. |
| 15 | Form fitting, cream-colored jump suit with black stripes traveling down the side, basic tennis shoes. | A basic outfit that is comfortable for Patience/Catwoman. |
| 16 | Cat costume. Description in Scene 9 | With the cat costume visible throughout the remainder of the movie it is obvious that Catwoman has completely transformed and will not revert back to personality of Patience Phillips. |

9

# FROM SCHOOL UNIFORMS TO TIARAS: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE

# MEANING OF FASHION

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## Background

*The Princess Diaries*, released on August 3, 2001, is a great story of adventure. Its main target audiences are kids and families seeking a great comedy and wholesome Disney fun. This film is about the life of a teenage girl named Mia Thermopolis who is currently living in San Francisco with her mother. While trying to endure the peer pressures of high school world, Mia discovers that she is next in line for royalty. Her Grandmother arrives in town to inform Mia and her Mother of the great news. Mia, being the Granddaughter, is heir to the throne, which means that she will become the princess of Genovia if she chooses to do so (Chase, 2001).

Mia is forced to sit through lessons of royalty and mannerisms taught by her Grandmother, in hope that she will one day choose to take up the position. As the story progresses, Mia's friends as well as the entire high school, find out about the news and ridicule her for it. Due to the pressures that she feels, she tries her best to conform to the

society that she is in.  This is seen through the use of the different styles of adornment throughout the movie (Table 1).  Toward the end of the film, Mia begins to realize that she truly has what it takes to take be Princess of Genovia.  She becomes more self-confident and determined to achieve her goals in her life, and to not be as concerned with what others think about her (Chase, 2001).

[Table 1 here]

## Description of the Character

Mia Thermopolis, played by actress Anne Hathaway, is a fifteen year old girl who is simply trying to survive in a world filled with daily pressures typical to high school students (Chase, 2001).  She tries her best to fit in with those of the "in crowd" and hopes that they will accept her.  Although she enjoys a variety of activities, such as rock climbing and helping her mom paint, she often has low self-esteem and little confidence.  Overall, Mia is a young girl whose unsuccessful struggles to be accepted by the popular crowd lead her to spending much of her time with those she loves, including her cat Louie, her Mother, and her two best friends.

## Mia's Roles

In this film, Mia takes on many roles.  Some are ascribed, leaving Mia little to do but accept them, for example, living with her widowed Mother, attending school, and being a teenaged girl.  Other roles held by Mia are learned, or achieved, and consist of specific duties or functions, for example being a friend to a chosen few and her close

relationship with her Mother (Storm, 2007). Mia's eventual role of princess is harder to categorize. It is an ascribed role in that she doesn't she is entitled to it by birth, but it is also an achieved role in that she must work to achieve credibility and ultimately acceptance as the heir. Also, though she is entitled to the role of heir, it is not thrust upon her. Rather, she is given a choice to remain with her Mother or participate in the training for the role of Princess. This is an example of how situational influence impacts or decisions (Storm, 2007).

### Other Traits

Mia Thermopolis is not very adept when it comes to socializing with those outside of her family and small circle of friends. She has poor posture and tends to walk slumped over as if she has no confidence (Table 1, Scene 6 and 11). This fact is exaggerated by her adornment, which is slouchy, and confirms her lack of confidence. According to Storm (1987), fashion is used as a means of self-expression and help to regulate how others view us. Mia's daily appearance is not fashionable and it often gives off the impression that she is a nerd or outcast (Table 1, Scene 1).

### Fashions Worn by the Character

Mia is not very fashionable. Her attire is appropriate for the situation (rock climbing; painting) as far as function is concerned, but they display her obvious inability to select fashionable garments (Table 1, Scenes 2, 7, 13, and 28). Additionally, Mia does not wear any fashionable name brand clothes or accessories. The audience is given the impression that, although Mia wishes to be popular, she doesn't know how to look the

part. In more than half of the costume changes throughout this movie, Mia is wearing her glasses, her school uniform, the same bulky, black shoes, and her favorite charm bracelet. Even while wearing her school uniform she manages to look out of place compared to her peers. Her adornment paints a complete picture, telling the audience that there is little hope for her social future.

Because the apparel Mia chooses is loose and rather modest, the audience is cued to an underlying dissatisfaction with her self-concept or body image (Storm, 1987). She does, however, wear a lot of variations of the color blue and clothes that are not too revealing or form fitting (Table 1, Scene 1). The color blue can serve as an indication to the audience that Mia is a genuine and trustworthy individual (Storm, 1987), thereby indirectly signaling to the audience that she is worthy of the throne. It is suspected that this is a cycle, where it is difficult to determine which caused the other, poor self-concept leading to her unfashionable appearance, or the unfashionable appearance leading to the poor self-concept. If fashion is used as a non-verbal communicator of our beliefs and opinions (Storm, 1987), it is reasonable to assume that her choice in fashion is the result rather than the cause.

Many examples of styles, external adornment, local adornment, stimulators, power extenders, as well as intrinsic adornment are used by the character. External adornment, according to Storm (1987), is a temporary change in our appearance, and on that can be easily altered or reversed. Mia does not change too much as far as external adornment is concerned. Her daily dress usually consists of her school uniform (Chase, 2001). Even so the audience is given some insight into the character's lowly view of herself through her mannerisms and choices of accessories and shoes.

Power extenders consist of those objects that help the person's body to take up more space, and thereby increasing the power they assert over others or their environment (Storm, 1987). Mia uses power extenders when she is carrying an umbrella, wearing her book bag to school (Table 1, Scenes 1, 4, 8, 12, 17, 25-26, 32), as well as when she is in gym class with her softball bat (Table 1, Scene 42), and when she is riding in the car and adds a pair of sunshades and a sun hat (Table 1, Scene 30). The blazer of Mia's school uniform and shirt are adorned with school emblems (Chase 2001), which could either suggest that Mia's family has wealth that isn't obvious by the way they live (middle class) or that there is a great sacrifice being made to insure Mia is educated in a private school.

According to Storm (1987), adornment is a widely accepted theory of the first function of dress. It is more so a social concept that helps one to figure out who he or she is in a world of constant changes. Mia does not have much self-confidence and does not feel as if she is socially attractive (Chase, 2001), but through the use of the different styles of adornment and the ascribed roles that she takes on throughout the movie, she is able to boost her confidence (Storm, 1987).

## Conclusion

The transformation of Mia from social outcast to royal heir relies heavily on the use of adornment to reinforce the audience's perceptions. Dress can provide nonverbal communication, implying mood, revealing self image, or even our level of confidence in front of others (Storm, 1987). Throughout the film apparel is used to show Mia's positively improving self-esteem and her increased confidence, which in turn show the

improvement of her self-concept (Storm, 1987). Towards the end of the film Mia has learned how to use fashion to her advantage, and, although she maintains her individuality the audience can see through her appearance that she is no longer the nerd/outcast that it seemed so likely she was doomed to be. Mia's status is elevated when she embraces her destiny of royalty, but it is through her adornment that the audience is let to believe that the transformation is real.

## References

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Table 1: Description of Mia's Adornment by Scene in *The Princess Diaries*

| Scene | Description of Adornment |
|---|---|
| 1 | Mia is wearing a school uniform, which consists of a long sleeve blue blazer with gold buttons; a long sleeve baby blue collar shirt; a dark blue tie; a blue and white plaid skirt with pleats; black knee high socks; and her favorite bulky, black shoes that she wore with basically every outfit.  She also carries a dusty, old, black book bag.  She has big, frizzy dark hair that she always wears half up and half down; dirty fingernails; no jewelry except a watch and her favorite charm bracelet and glasses.  She does not wear any makeup, and her eyebrows are thick and bushy. |
| 2 | Rock climbing gear; no glasses; blue old tee shirt with a red vest and harness; red Capri pants; old, dirty sneakers; hair pulled back into a pony tail with a blue scrunchie. |
| 3 | School uniform minus the blazer; basically the same plain attire and features. |
| 4 | School uniform with book bag; glasses on; half painted nails; favorite charm bracelet; necklace with Genovian charm (given to her by her grandmother. |
| 5 | School uniform with blazer; charm bracelet; glasses |
| 6 | Collar shirt is now un-tucked and wrinkled; no jacket; bracelet and watch is still worn; still in plaid skirt; hair is a mess as if she has had a rough day |
| 7 | Pink and blue flannel pajamas with pictures of cats on them.  Long sleeve top and pants. Sleeves are rolled half way up.  Hair down and pulled back with a headband |
| 8 | School uniform; backpack; glasses |
| 9 | No glasses; no bracelet; no watch |
| 10 | Gym class uniform: baby blue short-sleeve tee shirt with school logo, dark blue gym shorts, white socks, and old dirty sneakers.  Her hair is pulled back with a scrunchie; softball make and glove; no jewelry; no glasses |
| 11 | School uniform; no jacket; book bag; shirt un-tucked and wrinkled; watch; tie loosened up; hair is big and messy |
| 12 | School uniform; neater appearance; glasses; jacket is on and buttoned; book bag |
| 13 | Big comfortable red sweatshirt; pink plaid pajama pants; hair pulled back with scrunchie; no glasses |
| 14 | Gym class uniform |
| 15 | Baby blue collar shirt; ties; hair pulled back with blue headband; tights; dressy black heels; glasses; watch and favorite charm bracelet |
| 16 | School uniform; no jacket; black socks; bulky, black shoes; no glasses |
| 17 | School uniform; book bag; glasses; tights; heels |
| 18 | No jacket; broken glasses; contacts; waxed eyebrows; manicure and pedicure; facial |
| 19 | Silky straight hair; school uniform; tights; heels; makeup |

Table 1: Description of Mia's Adornment by Scene in *The Princess Diaries,* continued

| Scene | Description of Adornment |
|---|---|
| 20 | No make up; hair is neat and straight; school uniform; light lip gloss; watch; new book bag |
| 21 | School uniform; grey hat; tucks hair underneath hat; contacts |
| 22 | School uniform, no jacket; no hat; long, silky hair |
| 23 | School uniform with jacket; tights; heels; hair is down |
| 24 | Hair is braided to the back; old tee shirt; maroon lounge pants; plastic rain coat; gloves |
| 25 | School uniform; book bag; bracelet; watch |
| 26 | Umbrella is added |
| 27 | Periwinkle blue dress; very elegant look; revealing neck line; diamond necklace and earrings; hair is done up; light makeup; charm bracelet |
| 28 | Flannel pajamas; long sleeve top and bottom; hair pinned up; retainer in mouth |
| 29 | Casual look; hair down with a simple part down the middle; natural look; no makeup; red and pink striped top; brown corduroy jacket; blue jeans; same black shoes; simple necklace |
| 30 | Adds grey hat, black sunglasses |
| 31 | Removes sunglasses and hat |
| 32 | School uniform; book bag; jacket is un-buttoned; no hat |
| 33 | No jacket; book bag |
| 34 | Hair is pinned up; more revealing clothing; olive and black v-neck swim tank; wrap skirt around bottom; pink flip flops; earrings |
| 35 | Barefoot; flip flops in hand; light blue jeans; purple v-neck top with floral designs; black sunglasses |
| 36 | Turquoise bathing suit; hair up; earrings; turquoise and green wrap skirt; lavender cardigan; pink flip flops |
| 37 | Jeans; purple v-neck top with floral designs |
| 38 | Green skirt wrapped around to cover her up |
| 39 | Baby blue cotton robe |
| 40 | School uniform; hair pulled back into a neat ponytail; no earrings; no makeup |
| 41 | book bag is added; basketball in hand; bracelet and earrings are added |
| 42 | Gym class uniform; ponytail; no jewelry; dark blue sweat pants instead of gym shorts; softball bat |
| 43 | Red and pink striped long sleeve top with grey cargo pants; watch; hair half up and half down; flip flops |
| 44 | School uniform; grey hat; black socks; bulky shoes; hair is up underneath hat |
| 45 | Work out clothes; black tank with shorts and tights underneath; barefoot; hair pulled to the back with scrunchie; no jewelry |
| 46 | Blue jeans; hair is down; periwinkle long sleeve v-neck top; black shoes; no earrings; watch only |
| 47 | Adds a grey pull over; wet hair; wet clothes |

Table 1: Description of Mia's Adornment by Scene in *The Princess Diaries,* continued

| Scene | Description of Adornment |
|-------|--------------------------|
| 48 | A tiara made of diamonds is added |
| 49 | A red and gold royalty cloak is added |
| 50 | White and gold ball dress; intricate gold designs; hair is pinned up with diamond tiara; light makeup; diamond earrings; white opera length gloves; white heels |
| 51 | Lavender women's dress suit; jacket with skirt; tights; heels; earrings; hair down; favorite charm bracelet. |

# FASHION AS AN INDICATOR OF BEHAVIOR AND STEROTYPE

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## Introduction

*Grease* was the word on June 13, 1978 with its premiere in New York and public release on June 16. *Grease* has captivated audiences for over 20 years with its catchy show tunes and lovable high school characters. *Grease* was the craze for high school teenage girls everywhere in the late 1970s. Targeting teenagers was the original plan, but once *Grease* was released, people of all ages fell in love with this entertaining musical/film combo.

Olivia-Newton John plays the virginal character of Sandy Olsson who meets Danny Zukko (John Travolta) at the beach on summer vacation. After parting ways to finish high school, Sandy is transferred to Rydell High where they are surprised to see one another. Danny tries playing it cool around his "T-bird" buddies, which upsets Sandy.  Sandy attempts to befriend the "Pink Ladies," the female version of the "T-birds," but is met with skepticism by Rizzo, the leader.  After a series of ups and downs Sandy decides that she must change her image and ways if she is going to attract and keep Danny's interest.  Sandy transforms herself into a "T-bird" dream girl.  Sandy and Danny come together again during the graduation carnival, and

Danny is blown away by Sandy's new bad girl image. The movie ends with Danny and Sandy

riding off into a crowd of their friends in his hot rod car (Carr and Stigwood, 1978).

**Analysis of the Character Sandy**

Sandy Olsson was chosen for adornment analysis because of the transformation she

makes, not only mentally, but physically as well. Sandy's adornment is examined to show how it

is fitting with her behavior and personality. This analysis will also show congruency between her

dress and other's expectations of her and of her innocence and loss of it in the end. Sandy

undergoes a metamorphosis at the end of the movie, making her the most dynamic character of

the film.

Early in the film Sandy's adornment is a perfect match to her sweet, innocent personality

(Table 1, Scene 7). It is obvious that Sandy is very different from the "Pink Ladies," the clique

into which she tries to fit. Sandy is reserved, with respect for herself and high morals which are

demonstrated throughout the movie. In the film, Sandy is often faced with peer pressure to do the

"wrong thing" in her eyes, but she always stays focused on her principles. She is very strong in

these beliefs until the end of the movie when we hear, "Look at me, I'm Sandra Dee" (reprise)

(Carr and Stigwood, 1978). This is the start of the change she has been battling throughout the

movie. This transformation (Table 1, Scene 24, 25) is motivated by her wants and needs to

change, knowing she does not fit in with Danny and his friends. She gives up the never-ending

fight of moral constitution and converts. Sandy's clothing transformation is illustrated from head

to toe in Table 1.

[Table 1 here]

Sandy's ascribed roles are different from her peers at Rydell as her dress and speech convey.  Sandy comes from a family where certain roles are more prominent. Rizzo, the leader of the "Pink Ladies" sizes her up immediately upon being introduced (Table 1, Scene 7) and decides she is not one of them.  Rizzo knows by her adornment that Sandy is not "Pink Lady" material (Table 1, Scenes 7, 12, 14, 17, 20).  This makes Sandy an outcast among them. Because of Sandy's ascribed roles she struggles with her desire for acceptance from the "Pink Ladies" and the need to maintain continuity with her self-concept.  This ascribed role also limits her from achieving recognition from Danny and his "T-bird" friends. Because of this Sandy is unable to fulfill her psychological need of belonging to a group (Storm, 1987).  So, after much contemplation (Table 1, Scene 21-23) Sandy decides there is need for a change.  Sandy's portrayal of her gender role changes (Table 1, Scenes 24, 25) and she adapts to the people around her and her "new" self.  This new gender presentation was not only influenced by her wants to change but also by how others' viewed her.  Sandy wanted everyone's outlook of her to change, and she did this by changing her full appearance.

The audience senses that Sandy is comfortable with her body image and has a positive self-concept at the beginning of the film, which is initially reinforced by the attention she is given by Danny.  However, as they meet again under different circumstances (high school) she begins to doubt who she is and who she wants to be, an experience common to many teens.  Sandy struggles to be true to her principles while trying to gain acceptance from various peer groups (e.g., "Pink Ladies," cheerleaders).  The use of adornment exemplifies her struggle (Carr and Stigwood, 1978; Storm, 1987).

**Dress as a Means of Controlling Behavior or Expectations**

In *Grease* the difference between the good girl and the bad girl is very obvious by the way they dress. Sandy comes from a high class family and is expected to play that ascribed role in her speech, actions, and outward appearance. Sandy uses minimal makeup (Table 1, Scenes 1-13,17-23) and wears Keds throughout the film ( Table 1, Scenes 8,12,17,21). While wearing these conventional outfits Sandy's behavior reflects what is expected with this type of dress (Storm, 1987). She is a polite and respectful looking young woman. But when Sandy transforms in the end, her new attitude and behavior shines through. Rizzo's dress, on the other hand, fits her part perfectly, but is totally opposite of Sandy.  Rizzo wears tight pants and low-cut blouses, which is stereotypically congruent with her bad-girl, foul-mouth manner.  Because of Rizzo's adornment, her behavior is anticipated.  Her behavior and personality are as uncontrolled as her dress.

Sandy's and Rizzo's dress provide these cues through nonverbal communication, which is used by many to reflect their personality, moods, desires and so on. Sandy's dress communicates her status, social class and sophistication.  Rizzo, the bad-talking, fast girl from the "Pink Ladies" is the total opposite of Sandy, and this is very evident in her dress and stance. Rizzo is experienced, likes to test the rules, loves the boys, and she is a leader. These two different appearances nonverbally communicate opposite traits and this is picked up on in the first twenty minutes of the film.  These two characters compliment each other in shaping the audience's understanding of the characters, and the distance that Sandy will have to go to become accepted by Rizzo's clique.

### Sandy's Adornment and Social Status/Class

Sandy's adornment is perfectly congruent with her personality, and matches everyone's initial impressions of her.  Her use of pastel colors and white (Table 1, Scenes 10, 15) coincide with the innocence of her personality (Storm, 1987). Her dress and speech also reflect her social class and status. Sandy is very conservative in her dress, wearing mainly cardigans and calf length skirts (Table 1, Scenes 7, 12, 14, 17, 20).  In an attempt to fit in and gain Danny's attention, Sandy becomes a Rydel High cheerleader (Table 1, Scene 9), but finds that being a cheerleader brands her as an outcast from the very group to which she longed to be a part.

Sandy is obviously in a higher social class than Danny.  Sandy asks Danny to have tea with her family to which Danny replies that he doesn't do tea (Table 1, Scene 14). He is threatened by her, especially around all his friends.  Danny does, however, attempt to change himself into an athlete to please Sandy.  His attempts fail, partially due to a lack of social ability. Even though he attempts to dress the part he is unable to adapt his behavior to match, leading to incongruence between the character's appearance and his behavior (Storm, 1987).

All of the changes Sandy goes through with her costume changes symbolize her character at that time. In the beginning her personality is much like her wardrobe, (Table 1, Scenes 7-23) white and pastel, often thought of as virginal and sweet (Storm, 1987). In the song "Look at me, I'm Sandra Dee" (reprise) Sandy sings about being "wholesome and pure, scared and unsure" (Carr and Stigwood, 1978) and this reflects her use of conservatism in the scene (Table 1, Scenes 21-23).  In the end Sandy is not happy and wants to change.  After making this decision she transforms her outward image in a "tough girl" kind of way.  This new dress reflects this change inside of her (Table 1, Scenes 24, 25).

### Conclusion

Sandy is the most dynamic character in *Grease*. Sandy goes through a major mental and physical change during this film. She becomes aware of who she really wants to be, therefore changing her roles and status. The new Sandy soon finds happiness and acceptance with Danny, the "T-birds," and the "Pink Ladies." Change or no change Sandy Olsson is accepted worldwide.

## References

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Hall.

Table 1:  Description of Sandy's Adornment by Scene in *Grease*

| Scene | Apparel | Shoes | Accessories | Hair | Makeup |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | gray hoodie | | | half up | mascara/blush |
| 2 | red/white one-piece short outfit | barefoot | white patent leather belt, watch | half up with curls | mascara/blush |
| 3 | red/white one-piece short outfit | barefoot | striped towel | half up with curls | mascara/blush |
| 4 | gray hoodie | barefoot | | half up | mascara/blush |
| 5 | gray hoodie, white shorts | barefoot | | half up | mascara/blush |
| 6 | white terrycloth robe | | | half up | mascara/blush |
| 7 | white short sleeve blouse, yellow cardigan, long yellow skirt | white flats | yellow hair pins, white belt, brooches lapel | pulled up on each side | mascara/blush |
| 8 | same as Scene 7, removes cardigan | | | | mascara/blush |
| 9 | cream long sleeve sweater with appliqué and red collar, long red skirt | white Keds, white socks | red pompom, white pompom | ponytail, red ribbon | mascara/blush, lip gloss |
| 10 | white lace long sleeved night gown (modest) | | | down with white satin headband | mascara/blush |
| 11 | white lace long sleeved night gown (modest) | | | all down with white satin headband | mascara/blush |
| 12 | long sleeved cream men's letterman sweater, peach dress with white collar | white flats | white patent leather belt | high ponytail, white hair ribbon | mascara/blush, peach lipstick |
| 13 | short sleeved red poplin button down shirt with "R" on left pocket, white knee length skirt | white Keds, white socks | | pulled back on each side | mascara/blush |
| 14 | white cardigan, yellow button front dress | | | pulled back on each side | mascara/blush |

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Table 1:  Description of Sandy's Adornment by Scene in *Grease*, continued

| Scene | Apparel | Shoes | Accessories | Hair | Makeup |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | white lace capelet over white tea length dress, nude pantyhose | White, open toed, T-strap heels | Flowered belt, white flowers in hair | half up, with twist knot, white ribbon | full make-up |
| 16 | same as Scene 14, removes capelet | | | | |
| 17 | green short sleeved sweater with white collar | white Keds | | hair in ponytail with curls, green bow | mascara, blush, eyeliner, lip gloss |
| 18 | green short sleeved sweater with white collar | white Keds | class ring from Danny | hair in ponytail with curls, green bow | mascara, blush, eyeliner, lip gloss |
| 19 | green short sleeved sweater with white collar, dark green skirt | white Keds | takes ring off | hair in ponytail with curls, green bow | mascara, blush, eyeliner, lip gloss |
| 20 | red t-shirt dress with white collar | | belt | pulled back on each side, 1 red hair pin, 1 white hair pin | shadow, mascara lip gloss |
| 21 | red t-shirt dress with white collar | white Keds, white socks | belt | pulled back on each side, 1 red hair pin, 1 white hair pin | shadow, mascara lip gloss |
| 22 | red t-shirt dress with white collar | white Keds, white socks | belt | pulled back on each side, 1 red hair pin, 1 white hair pin | shadow, mascara lip gloss |
| 23 | red t-shirt dress with white collar | white Keds, white socks | belt | pulled back on each side, 1 red hair pin, 1 white hair pin | shadow, mascara lip gloss |
| 24 | off-shoulder black top, black leather jacket, black spandex pants | red sandals, with high wooden heels | gold hoop earrings, red nails, black belt with gold buckle | pulled back on each side, curly all over, plain hair pins | thicker eyeliner, shadow, red lips, darker blush |
| 25 | off-shoulder black top, black leather jacket, black spandex pants | red sandals, with high wooden heels | gold hoop earrings, red nails, black belt with gold buckle | pulled back on each side, curly all over, plain hair pins | thicker eyeliner, shadow, red lips, darker blush |

# Initial Evidence for Distinct Personal and Social Aspects of Religious Identity

Debbie Van Camp[1], Lloyd Sloan[1], and Jamie Barden[1]

Religious identity remains an extraordinarily understudied identity in the social psychological literature. Of most interest to the current research is whether religious identity is experienced as a personal or as a social identity. It is proposed that religious identity may be experienced as a personal or as a group identity, or perhaps as both. Sixty-two undergraduate participants answered a series of questions about their religious identity as well as measures of religious identity centrality, church involvement, collective self-esteem involving their religious group, intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity scales, need to belong, religious commitment, and self-construal. Factor analysis of the responses to the religious identity items suggested at least three separate and reliable factors, one individual and two social. These factors developed correlated with other previously established scales in meaningful ways to support the notion that there is a personal and social aspect to religious identity. These results represent important early steps toward understanding the personal and social aspects of religious identity and how this part of the self relates to other aspects of one's personality and religiosity.

Religious identity remains an extraordinarily understudied identity in the social psychological literature. However, it is an important topic for research because of, (1) the significance of religion in the lives of so many, (2) the behavioral consequences of certain religious identities, (3) the intersection of religious identity with other identities, and in particular because of (4) the unique dimensions and characteristics of religious identity. For example, religious identity may be visible or hidden, achieved or ascribed etc. Of most interest to the current research is whether religious identity is experienced as a personal or as a social identity.

This personal/social distinction is the cornerstone of social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), social psychology's dominant model of identity, and yet this theory has not been adequately applied to the study of religious identity. The roots of social identity theory can be traced to the work of sociologists such as Cooley (1902) who posited that the self is inseparable from social life, and Mead (1934) who argued that we can experience ourselves only indirectly from the standpoint of others. Some decades later Turner (1987) put forward a set of assumptions regarding the functioning of the social self-concept and the basic processes underlying the psychological group which are together are referred to as social categorization theory. While self-categorization theory is a general theory about how we categorize ourselves, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) focuses more specifically on the intergroup processes that result from the existence of a social self. Social identity theory suggests that an individual's self-concept is in part derived from one's social identity, and in part from one's individual identity. Two levels of self are therefore thought to exist within an individual, the personal self

and the social self. The personal self is the "I", it consists of a personal self-concept regarding what we as an individual are like, interpersonal social comparison is the source of information, and we evaluate ourselves based on our individual traits. The social self on the other hand is characterized by "we", is influenced by how valuable our group membership is, and intergroup comparisons provides this information. Until now, social identity theory has rarely, if ever, been applied to religious identity. We do not have any theoretical or empirical answer for whether religious identity is a personal or a group identity, or both. As such we cannot apply any understanding gleamed from decades of social identity work to religious identity. Those few social psychologists who do consider religious identities in their studies typically consider it to be a social identity (for example Greenfield & Marks, 2007), presumably because of the existence of religious groups. But is it the case that this social element prohibits the experience of this identity as a personal one? The major premise of the current research is that religion may be experienced as an aspect of the self (personal identity) or as a group membership (social identity), and furthermore which it is experienced as has implications for the mechanisms by which religious identity drives behavior and attitudes (Brewer, 2008).

The broad objective of this research is to contribute to social psychology's understanding of identity by studying religious identity, a previously understudied domain. A complementary contribution is to the field of religion, which has not received as much psychological attention as it warrants. It is proposed that religious identity may be experienced as both a personal and a group identity, and that it is possible to measure these dimensions. Furthermore, these dimensions are expected to correlate with other established religiosity variables in meaningful ways.

Method

*Participants*

One-hundred and seventy three Howard Undergraduates participated in return for partial course credit. After initial analysis concerns regarding the validity of some participants' responses suggested the exclusion of those participants who did not identify as religious. Therefore, only those participants with centrality of religion composite scores of 4 or above on a 7-point scale were included in the final analysis. This resulted in a dataset of 127 participants for analysis. Seventy-five percent of the sample were women. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to over 40, although 82% were 18 or 19. Seventy-four percent of our sample were 1$^{st}$ years, 20% were 2$^{nd}$ years, and the remaining 6% were 3$^{rd}$ year and beyond. Ninety-percent of participants self identified as African or African American. The most frequently identified religious affiliations were Baptist (33%) and Christian non-specific (43%) as well as Catholic (6%), Methodist (5%) and Pentecostal (6%).

*Procedure*

Data collection tool place in a research lab and participants provided all of the data via computer using medialab software (Jarvis, 2006). To encourage participants to provide

frank answers to the questions, computers are visually isolated via cubicle walls. A detailed preamble, generally outlining the purpose of the study, assuring confidentiality, and providing contact details for follow up questions, was handed out. Participants then completed the questionnaires on the computer in the order they are indicated under the materials heading above.

*Materials*

*Personal-social Religious Identity Measure*. This scale was developed for this research with the use of factor analysis. Participants answered 23 questions designed to assess the extent to which their religious identity is a personal aspect of the self and the extent to which it is a group membership. Some of the items in this measure were designed especially for this scale, and others are adapted from other religiosity scales (e.g. Hilty & Morgan, 1985; Worthington et al, 2003). Responses to the 23 items were given along a 6-point scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). Factor analysis, details of which appear below, resulted in an individual identity measure consisting of 5 items with an alpha of .63, and two social identity measures, one general consisting of 6 items with an alpha of .70, and a specific social with 4 items and an alpha of .61. These items makeup the personal-social religious identity scale presented in appendix A and used in all further analysis.

*Bidimensional Scale Items*. In addition to the separate subscales of the personal-social religious identity measure participants also answered 4 scale items designed to measure the extent to which they experience their religion as a personal or social identity. Specifically, they were asked "do you mostly pray alone or with others", "to what extent do you prefer to be around others when expressing your religion", "when you are feeling the most religious, are you typically alone or with others" and "is your faith and religious experience more a shared relationship with other people, or is it more an individual relationship between you and God?" Participants responded to each along a scale of 1 (alone /individual) to 5 (with others)[2].

*Centrality of Religious Identity*. The centrality of participant's religious identity was measured using a modified version of the centrality subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, et al, 1998). The MIBI is well established and the centrality subscale is among the most widely utilized. This 8-item scale is designed to measure the extent to which religion is a core part of an individual's identity. An example item is "In general, my religion is an important part of my self-image". Responses are made on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). A person's centrality score is the mean of their responses to all 8 items after three are reverse coded. A higher score indicates that religion is a more central part of that person's identity.

*Religious commitment*. This 10-item measure is designed to serve as a brief and ecumenical screening of religious commitment, which consists of an intrapersonal and

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[2] When these items were entered into the factor analysis along with the 23-items of the personal-social religious identity measure they formed a fourth independent factor.

interpersonal religious commitment dimensions. Overall, the scale has good internal consistency (alpha coefficient = .93), test-retest reliability (reliability coefficient = .87) and evidence of both construct validity and discriminant validity (see Worthington et al, 2003). Example items include "Religious beliefs influence all my dealing in life" and "I enjoy working in the activities of my religious organization". Responses are given made along a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all true of me*) to 5 *(totally true of me)*. A person's commitment score is the mean of their responses to all 10 items, a higher score indicates that the person is more committed to their religion.

*Church involvement*. The church involvement subscale of the religious involvement inventory (Hilty & Morgan, 1985) assesses the degree to which an individual is actively involved in church activities such as meetings. The original subscale is 14-items, however a number of these refer directly to financial contributions made to the church. In light of our samples limited incomes as students we considered these items to be less appropriate and so most were dropped resulting in a shortened 11-item measure. Example items include "If not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, I attend church", and "I enjoy working in the activities of the church". Responses are given made along a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 5 with the labels wording reflecting the particular question.

*Collective Self-Esteem of Religious Group*. Participants were asked to rate the degree to which they evaluate their religious in-group in favorable terms by responding to items on Luhtanen & Croker's (1992) Collective Self-esteem Scale (CSES). The CSES includes 16-items and asks participants to indicate the extent to which they agree with each along a 7-point Likert scale from 'strongly disagree (1)' to 'strongly agree (7)'. The scale is designed to measure a variety of social memberships based on ascribed characteristics such as sex, race, religion, and ethnicity. For the purposes of this study a modified version will be used which asks only about participants religious group. It consists of the following 4-item subscales: (a) Membership (individual judgment of one's worthiness in one's social group), (b) Private (personal judgment of one's group), (c) Public (one's judgment of how one's social group is viewed by others), and (d) Importance to Identity (importance of one's social group membership to one's self-concept).

*Extrinsic – Intrinsic Religious Orientation and Quest Interaction Scale.* This 26-item scale includes Allport and Ross' (1967) Intrinsic and Extrinsic scales as well as the purportedly related third dimension of Quest (Batson, 1976). These scales are designed to measure how religious someone is in a manner that is not specific to any one religion or denomination.  The scale incorporates the notions of intrinsic religion, social extrinsicness, personal extrinsicness, and quest. Example items include "I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life" and "The church is most important as a place to formulate good social relationships". Responses are made along a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

*Self-construal Scale*. Participants completed the revised self-construal scale (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, M, 1995) which assesses the strength of the respondent's independent and interdependent self. Respondents are asked to rate their agreement with

30 statements. Example items include "I do my own thing, regardless of what others think" and "I will sacrifice my-self interest for the benefit of the group I am in". Responses are made on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

*Need to Belong Scale*. Participants completed Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, and Schreindorfer's (2005) need to belong scale. Respondents are asked to rate their agreement with 10 statements. Example items include "If other people don't seem to accept me, I don't let it bother me" and "I do not like being alone". Responses are made on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

*Demographics*. We also gathered general demographic information from our participants including their age, gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and socioeconomic status.

## Results

To develop the measures for the personal and social aspects of religious identity, principle components analysis with varimax rotation was run on all 23-items in the personal-social religious identity scale. This means that the variance of all of the questionnaire items were analyzed, and that the underlying constructs identified were constrained to be orthogonal. The maximum number of factors was initially requested and then the eigen values and associated scree plot were examined, which suggested a three factor extraction. Items with loading of less than .40 were excluded and so the final three factor solution consisted of 15 items. This final model was retained based on its ability to (a) satisfy Kaiser-Guttman (Guttman, 1954; Kaiser, 1960, 1970) criteria of eigen-values exceeding 1, (b) have all factors retaining more two or more items with salient loadings, where loadings greater than or equal to .40 are considered adequate,

Table 1

*Exploratory Factor Analysis Structure for Personal-Social Religious Identity Items*

| Item* | Rotated | loading |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Communality | | |
| *General social* (alpha = .70) | | |
| Spending time with others of religious affiliation | .66 | .58 |
| Well informed about / influence on local religious group | .54 | .46 |
| Make financial contributions to religious organization | .61 | .45 |
| Frequently feel very close to God during public worship | .54 | .34 |
| Faith is very private and don't talk about it with others (R) | .74 | .55 |
| Religious identity a private thing? (R) | .61 | .49 |
| *Specific social* (alpha = .61) | | |
| Attend church to help make friends | .74 | .48 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Attend church to spend time with my friends | .72 | .49 |
| Attend church because I enjoy seeing people I know there | .77 | .47 |
| Religious identity is a group based thing | .51 | .45 |

*Individual* (alpha = .63)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Private religious thought and contemplation is important | .56 | .42 |
| Read bible / other religious texts when alone | .56 | .41 |
| Pray privately in places other than at church | .50 | .32 |
| Frequently feel very close to God during private worship | .74 | .53 |
| Religious identity an aspect of individual self | .59 | .45 |

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\* For convenience of presentation, item wording have been abbreviated

(c) represent a relatively simple structure such that most items load highly on only one factor. This three-factor solution accounted for 45% of the variance[3]. Table 1 describes the three factors, their loadings, and alpha coefficients. Based on the wording of the items which loaded on each factor, the three factors were identified as follows. Factor 1 is 'general social' and includes 6-items referring to group worship and church involvement. Factor 2 is 'specific social' and includes 4-items which refer to church attendance motivated by friendships and social connections. Factor 3 is 'individual' and includes 5-items all referring to individual religious experiences. Eight items did not load simply on an appropriate factor and so were excluded.

The three factors identified in the factor analysis were used to create three scales based on averaging those items which loaded together. Therefore participants have a 'score' on general social religious identity, specific social religious identity and individual religious identity. The correlation of these scales, and the bidimensional scale, with other more established individual difference scales that may relate to the personal-social religious identity experience are presented in Table 2.

Both the individual and the general social subscales correlated significantly with centrality of religious identity suggesting that how central religion is to ones sense of self is not differentiated by whether ones experiences this identity as individual or social. However, the specific social subscale which represents religious involvement based on social connection was not significantly correlated with religious identity centrality suggesting that someone may attend church to socialize and not feel that religion is something central to who they are.

Both the individual and social religious identity scales were significantly positively correlated with overall, interpersonal and intrapersonal religious commitment, while the specific social subscale was only correlated with interpersonal religious identity. Notably, the positive correlation of the personal/social differential scale with all of these suggests

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[3] A second factor analysis using direct oblimin rotation suggested an almost identical solution.

that the more one experiences their religion as a group based phenomenon, then the more committed they are in general as well is intra and interpersonally.

Table 2

*Correlations of the new Personal-social Religious Identity Measure Subscales with*

*Preexisting Religiosity and Individual Difference Measures*

|  | Individual | General social | Specific social | Bi-dimensional scale |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Individual | . |  |  |  |
| General social | .35** | . |  |  |
| Specific social | -.11 | .04 | . |  |
| Bi-dimensional scale | -.02 | .25** | .22* | . |
| Religious centrality | .29** | .47** | .08 | .06 |
| Church involvement | -.16 | .47** | .18 | .42** |
| CSE membership | -.09 | .10 | -.21 | .06 |
| CSE private regard | .04 | .06 | -.23 | -.22 |
| CSE important | .23 | .27 | .09 | .24 |
| CSE public regard | -.08 | .16 | -.13 | .14 |
| Intrinsic religiosity | .34* | .51** | -.51** | -.10 |
| Extrinsic religiosity | -.18 | .03 | .33* | .37* |
| Extrinsic social subscale | -.22 | .04 | .46** | .45** |
| Extrinsic personal subscale | -.05 | .04 | .12 | .16 |
| Quest religiosity | .30 | .10 | -.01 | .29[a] |
| Need to belong | -.01 | -.08 | .07 | .09 |
| Religious commitment | .50** | .51** | .11 | .19* |
| Intrapersonal commitment | .54** | .39** | .00 | .10 |
| Interpersonal commitment | .36** | .58** | .24** | .28** |
| Independent self-construal | .15 | .00 | -.04 | -.08 |
| Interdependent self-construal | .07 | .07 | .21* | .17 |

The general social religious identity scale and the bidimensional scale were both significantly correlated with church involvement and social extrinsic religiosity suggesting that the more one experiences their religious identity in social terms then the more involved they are in the church and the more their religiosity is socially driven.

Interestingly all three of the individual-social subscales (individual, general social and specific social) were significantly correlated with intrinsic religiosity. The individual and general social were both positively correlated while the specific social was negatively correlated. This suggests that, like centrality, how intrinsically oriented ones religion is, isn't differentiated by whether ones experiences this identity as individual or social. The intrinsic religiosity scale seems to measure the importance of religion in the individual life. The correlation of this with both the individual and general social subscales suggests that one may experience their religious identity as personal or social and have This suggests that However, the specific social subscale was negatively correlated suggesting that if one attends church to socialize then they are not intrinsically oriented in their religion.

<div align="center">Conclusion</div>

Factor analysis was used as a tool to successfully identify the distinct personal and social aspects of religious identity. Furthermore, the resulting scales correlated with other previously established scales, in some predictable and some surprising ways to support the notion that there is a personal and social aspect to religious identity.
These results represent important early steps toward understanding the personal and social aspects of religious identity and how this part of the self relates to other aspects of one's personality and religiosity. Future research must now explore the consequences of having a more personal or social religious identity, for example for individuals cognitions and behaviors as well as interpersonal relationships.

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Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences
POSTER SESSION PRECEEDINGS

**Title:** Getting the most out of your college's communication center: How this resource can be utilized to its fullest potential across the Social Sciences discipline.

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**Submission Abstract**

During this poster session, participants will be introduced to what a communication center is, some strategies for establishing a communication center on campus (if there is not one already), some insights into how to operate the communication center after it has been established, and the many ways that Social Science disciplines can take advantage of the communication center.

## Specific Areas of Discussion that will be addressed during the Poster Session

### Section One:  What is a Communication Center?

Communication Centers are on-campus tutorial facilities where students can get individualized assistance and feedback from trained communication consultants or peer tutors and/or where faculty can receive assistance and explore teaching options for communication-oriented curricular planning (National Association of Communication Centers).

Communication Centers provide tutoring and assistance with all communication related activities.  Students and faculty can get assistance with topic selection, outlining, research, management of speech anxiety, rehearsal techniques, audience analysis, and the creation of visual aids.  Additionally, faculty can utilize the center to gain useful tips for effective oral delivery of course content.  Faculty can also use the center to practice and video tape their lectures.

### Section Two: Strategies for Establishing a Communication Center on Campus

In unstable economic times like these, approaching college administration with a proposal to develop a Communication Center can be a challenging task.  However, there are some strategies

that just might make your request a reality.  Using a simple "Cost vs. Rewards" strategy, you can gain acceptance and "buy in" for a new Communication Center from college administration. Recognizing a Communication Center's true potential takes a team effort—an effort that begins with a faculty/administration partnership.

**Section Three: The Day-to-Day Operations of a Communication Center**

Once a Communication Center has been established, there are several things that should be considered in an effort to operate the center to its fullest capabilities.  The fundamental day-to-day operational things to consider include: staffing the center with qualified consultants, tutors and faculty, establishing optimal operating hours, acquiring and utilizing the best equipment available, establishing operating rules for the center, and advertising to the campus community everything the center has to offer.

**Section Four: Restructuring the Communication Center to Serve Students and Faculty Across the Social Science Disciplines**

Most Communication Centers focus on serving the public speaking student. While this population may represent the largest pool of participants, it is not all-inclusive. With minor tweaking the Communication Center can be adapted to address needs of all students in a myriad of courses across the disciplines. These changes may also help to increase the viability of the Communication Center as a useful tool for students registered in courses outside the Communication discipline.

**Conclusion**

We anticipate that a poster session will allow for great free flowing dialogue surrounding the many cross-discipline benefits that communication centers have to offer. This poster session would bring interested parties together to dialogue about what communication centers are, the strategies for establishing a communication center on campus (if there is not one already), some insights into how to operate the communication center after it has been established, and  the many ways that the Social Science disciplines can take advantage of the communication center. Thank you for considering this poster session proposal.  We are looking forward to hearing back from you.

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# Finding a Fair Balance between Protecting Individual Property Rights and the Public Good

# A Policy Analysis of Valuation Methods Under Property Rights Laws

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**Field Area Paper 2008**

## Executive Summary

Oregon has long been known for its land use system intended to protect farm and forest land by restricting urban growth.  In recent history, Oregon has received notoriety for its aggressive property rights ballot measures.

Oregonians first approved a property rights ballot measure (Measure 7) in 2000. After the Oregon courts ruled this measure unconstitutional, a second successful ballot measure (Measure 37) was approved by the voters in 2004.  Ballot Measure 37 required state and local governments to either compensate property owners for lost value caused by land use regulations or waive those regulations adopted after the property owner acquired their property.  The response to Measure 37 was astounding; with 6,857 claims filed with the state seeking compensation in the amount of more than $19,844,379,986. No evidence to support claims of loss in value under Measure 37 was required. Compensation requests were based on the market value of the property in question absent regulations, as opposed to the loss in value caused by the regulations, resulting in what appeared to be a windfall for claimants.  This windfall was caused by the fact that, removing regulations from one property while remaining in force on surrounding properties concentrates the demand for residential development on the claimant's suddenly "scarce" property.

In reaction to the amount of claims and compensation sought under Measure 37, in 2007, the legislature put Measure 49 to vote.  Measure 49 was approved by a margin of 62% to 38%.  Measure 49 represents an attempt to find a better balance between protecting the public good without overburdening individual property owners.  The measure has two remedies:  (1) the fast track, which allows construction of up to three

houses (including existing houses) or lots, if allowed when the claimant acquired their property, without a need to show a loss in value; or (2) claims for 4 and 10 houses, if allowed when the claimant acquired the property, if such a loss in value is documented by an appraisal of the fair market value one year before and one year after the enactment of a specific land use regulation.

This purpose of this paper is to explore how the effects of government actions on real property can be valued. The goal is to find a fair and balanced method of valuing the impact of land use regulations and other government actions affecting property values. To be "fair and balanced," a method of valuation must take into consideration the rights of the individual property owner, neighboring property owners, the public good and government interests. If possible, a fair and balanced method will not overly burden one of these interests over others.

The first section of the paper will summarize Oregon's land use regulatory history so as to gain an understanding of the tensions that gave rise to the property rights movement in Oregon. The second section contains an analysis of valuation under Measure 37 and 49, as well as valuation under statutes both adopted and proposed in other states, to see what insight these regulations and proposals offer on finding a fair and balanced method of valuation. The third section evaluates four methods of valuation: (1) monopoly method; (2) economist approach; (3) appraisal method; and (4) Measure 49. Criteria used for this evaluation are: (1) clarity – how easily understood is a given valuation method; (2) cost – both to a claimant and the government; (3) fairness and accuracy – the goal is to avoid under or overvaluing the effect of a regulation; and (4) implementation – how burdensome is implementation in terms of time and resources.

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How we measure the effect of government actions is only part of the equation. As illustrated by property rights laws in Florida and Texas, additional factors to be considered in drafting a property rights regulation include (1) prospective versus retroactive application, (2) short statute of limitations for filing a claim, (3) use of appraisals in support of a claim of lass of value, (4) options of relief that the government may offer a claimant and (5) in the case of Texas, as well as Louisiana and Mississippi's right to farm laws, the use of thresholds before compensation is due for reduction in value caused by government action. This paper will explore these factors, as well as consideration of value added by regulations, recapture of tax credits and other incentives and the need for proportionality between compensation and the loss of value caused by government action.

The final section contains recommendations for drafting property rights laws. The recommended method for valuing loss caused by government action is the appraisal method. However, this, alone, does not answer the question of how we can fairly balance the potentially conflicting interests of property owners, neighboring property owners, the common good and government. To fully answer this question, recommendations include:

- The prospective application of property rights laws;

- The need for a relatively short statute of limitations for filing a claim after a regulation is adopted;

- Consideration of value added by government regulations;

- The use of thresholds to recognize both inherent risks in owning property, as well as benefits of government regulation and actions;

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- The need to recapture direct benefits, such as tax abatements or credits, once a claim for compensation is filed;

- The need for relief to be proportional to the loss;

- Flexibility in the methods for granting relief; and

- Exemptions for certain types of government action.

These factors will help frame the conversation as to what constitutes a fair and balanced approach to measuring loss of value caused by government actions and providing compensation. However, any conversation concerning property rights laws should include efforts to reeducate the public about the benefits of government regulation and action, as well as the interdependency of property rights. In addition, when adopting new land use regulations, governments should consider performing assessments of the impacts of the regulation and providing such information to the public for comment.

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## Problem Statement

Oregon has faced a turbulent past 8 years with the rise of the property rights movement. While Measure 49 has returned some semblance of normalcy to land use in Oregon, the property rights movement has taken hold in other states. It is unlikely the issue of how much government regulation on real property is too much will go away any time soon.

One of the crucial factors in property rights regulations is to determine loss of value. This paper will explore various methods of valuation. In addition, this paper will explore additional significant factors, including timing of measurement, value added by regulations, recapture of benefits, such as tax credits and incentives, and percentage loss threshold.

The purpose of this exploration is to find a fair and balanced method of valuing the impact of land use regulations and other government actions affecting property values. To be "fair and balanced," a method of valuation must take into consideration the rights of the individual property owner, neighboring property owners, the public good and government interests. If possible, a fair and balanced method will not overly burden one of these interests over others.

To be fair, the method must not create a windfall for the property owner but must, instead, compensate the owner for the reduction in value actually experienced (plus interest, where applicable). Fairness must also take into account the benefits of property regulations, as well as effects of "waivers" of land use regulations (such as those granted under Measure 37) on neighboring landowners. This last factor is important because both Measures 37 and 49 create a special class of property owners, as only those who owned

their property at the time of adoption of a regulation are eligible to file a claim. Thus, only long-term property owners are eligible for a waiver to allow a use that is inconsistent with existing land use regulations. Such uses can potentially give rise to land-use conflicts.

While this paper will focus on valuation of the effects of land use regulations in Oregon, the intent is that this research will have broader applicability and will be of use to other states that may consider (or reconsider) property rights legislation.

## Introduction

### *Measure 37*

On November 2, 2004, Oregonians overwhelmingly passed Measure 37 by a margin of 61% to 39%. Measure 37 (ORS 197.352) became effective on December 2, 2004, and required state and local governments to either compensate property owners for lost value caused by land use regulations or, in the alternative, waive those regulations adopted after the property owner acquired their property. By judgment dated October 24, 2005, the Marion County Circuit Court declared Measure 37 unconstitutional and invalid. This decision was reversed by the Oregon Supreme Court on February 21, 2006, and Measure 37 was reinstated on March 13, 2006.

As of December 5, 2007, the deadline for filing claims based on historic regulations, the State of Oregon received 6,857 claims seeking compensation in the amount of more than $19,844,379,986 (oregon.gov/LCD/MEASURE49/ summaries_of_m37_claims.shtml). This number made valuation of claims a crucial issue.

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### Measure 49

On November 6, 2007, Oregonians had a second chance to speak on property

rights legislation with Measure 49. Measure 49 was approved by a margin of 62% to

38% (Secretary of State). Measure 49 allows for the construction of up to three houses

(including existing houses) or lots, if allowed when the claimant acquired their property,

without showing of loss in value. A claimant may seek to build between 4 and 10

houses, if allowed when the claimant acquired the property, if such claim is supported

loss in value caused by regulations, which must be shown by an appraisal showing the

fair market value one year before the enactment of the land use regulation that was the

basis for the claim and the fair market value of the property one year after the enactment

(Oregon Ballot Measure 49).

Measure 49 arose out of the need to make reason out of the chaos Measure 37 left

in its wake. While Measure 49 should help Oregon deal with the onslaught of claims

filed against the state, given the rise in popularity of property rights laws nationwide, the

question of valuation remains important. Indeed, given the rise in popularity, it may be

even more important to find a far and balanced method of valuing the impact of land use

regulations and other government actions affecting property values.

## The Growing Popularity of the Property Rights Movement

Since the approval of Measure 37 in 2004, six other states (Washington,

California, Idaho, Arizona, Montana and Nevada) proposed property rights legislation.

Washington, California and Idaho defeated their ballot measures. Arizona approved its

ballot measure, and courts threw out the ballot measures in Montana and Nevada,

preventing them from going to vote. The 2006 elections illustrate that we have,

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undoubtedly, not seen the end of this aspect of the property rights debate. While one can hope that the tide has been stemmed with the Oregonians' 2007 approval of Measure 49, the property rights movement has, if nothing else, raised the call for greater fairness in land use regulation. Fairness must be balanced between the rights and interests of property owners, neighboring property owners, the public and good and governments.

## The Shift Away from the Common Good

The property rights movement represents a shift from the common good and has distorted the notion of property rights beyond anything our founding fathers envisioned. While the social dimension of property rights has been "long integral in our legal system" (Cordes), "the idea that we can use our property in any way we choose is not, and never has been, a constitutional right" (Pease). With regard to individual property rights, what we see protected throughout history has an emphasis on *existing* uses rather than potential future uses (Cordes). Property rights laws have turned this emphasis on its head, focusing on potential future uses, as opposed to existing uses.

Although we are not constitutionally guaranteed the right to use our property as we see fit, the property rights movement that has emerged in recent years has attempted to ensure this right. The result is that land is no longer seen as something to use for the common good but, rather, for one's own benefit, irrespective of the cost to society (or even one's own neighbor). Such a stance ignores that property rights are "interdependent" and that the use of one's property in a manner inconsistent with a neighboring use can give rise to land-use conflict (Freyfogle).

It is disheartening to see how far the property rights movement has deviated the focus away from the common good in terms of property use. The movement has lost

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sight of the fact that, while land use regulations may restrict the ability to use our property in any conceivable manner, they likewise restrict neighboring property owners from using their property in a manner that may be offensive or in a manner that may diminish our property value. In short, it has been forgotten that, while land-use regulations may restrict us in the use of our property, they also protect us from conflicting uses. While it may be argued land use regulations diminish property value, they also protect that value. In Oregon, this protection has resulted in the preservation of farm and forestland for farm and forest uses from encroachment of residential, industrial or commercial uses.

The dichotomy that a given regulation can both benefit and burden a property is referred to as "specific reciprocity" (Cordes). As explained by Cordes, specific reciprocity occurs in zoning in that an individual landowner may be burdened by restrictions placed on his or her land, but the landowner also receives some benefits from neighboring property having similar burdens. "General reciprocity" represents the "reciprocal burdens and benefits of regulatory life" (Cordes). Thus, while one regulation may diminish an individual's property value, that individual may benefit from other regulations.

An example of the struggle society is having in grasping both the overall benefits and burdens of government action until they are directly affected was relayed to me by Alwin Turiel, former planning director for Klamath County, Oregon. Apparently, there was a citizen in Klamath County who appeared at almost every Measure 37 hearing to testify in favor of letting the claimant do as they wished with their property. Much to the surprise of the County Commissioners, this citizen appeared in one case to testify in

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opposition of granting the waiver. Why? Because this claimant was his neighbor. This epitomizes the problem with Measure 37 and its progeny – it's ok to let people use their property as they see fit *unless* that property is next to us, in which case, the use of it should be restricted. The irony of this example is that such protection is the purpose of land-use regulation: to protect the public welfare. In contrast, property rights laws neglect the public welfare in favor of the individual. The property rights movement focuses solely on personal gain and rarely considers individual actions in terms of the public realm.

## Inflexibility of the Oregon System

While the Oregon land use system is a good model, it is 35 years old. The passage of time has diminished the memory of why the system was adopted. In addition, the system has become increasingly rigid.

Until recently, there has not been a comprehensive review of the system and changes have made it more cumbersome. The system originated with simple concepts – preserve valuable land, including farm and forest land, and create urban growth boundaries for compact urban forms. Despite these simple concepts, the system has grown to contain voluminous statutes and regulations. The result is it is not easily navigable by a layperson. Applications filed under the system often require the assistance of planners and lawyers, as well as time and money.

In addition to changes in the system causing it to become more rigid, attempting to govern every foreseeable threat to the land use system, changes have not taken into consideration changes in methods of farming. One example of changes in agricultural methods that has received public discussion is the wine industry. Such an endeavor may

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not necessarily require 80-acres.[1]  Regardless of the size of the vineyard, the proprietor is

forced to cultivate the vineyard for at least three years until he or she will be permitted to

build a farm dwelling.  This may have a chilling effect on a person making the large

investment required.[2]

As outlined in the following history of the Oregon land-use system, the laws and

regulations adopted since 1973 have, for the most part, placed additional restrictions on

the use of farm and forest land.  This evolution may help explain the rise of the property

rights movement in Oregon.

## Oregon's Land Use Regulation History

Oregon's land use system was born out of the recognized need to preserve

valuable resource land, which had been threatened by urban sprawl and growth.  In

addition to the loss of resource land, uncontrolled growth gave rise to concerns over the

ability to efficiently provide public services and infrastructure.

Senate Bill 100 (SB 100), adopted in 1971, was the predominant measure to

address the future of urban growth and resource protection.  SB 100 and the subsequent

Statewide Planning Goals were preceded by extraordinary public outreach efforts

throughout the state.

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[1]  In his article, RETIREMENT PLAN COMES FROM NEW LOOK AT OLD FARM.  FARMER DEVELOPS A DIFFERENT
TAKE ON RETIREMENT, The Capital Press  (January 11, 2007), Mitch Lies reports on a farmer in The Dalles
who, after realizing that hay farming was not profitable and, wanting to retire on his farm, started to lease
and/or sell his land for more profitable crops.  The idea came when the farmer learned of a vintner looking
for 40 acres in The Dalles.  With regard to the 160-acre lot restrictions, the farmer commented that
"Oregon's zoning laws do not accommodate agricultural transition to higher-value land . . . When low-
value agricultural land is not sustainable, people have to be able to transfer to high-value agriculture."
[2]  The farmer in Lies' article had to dig a well 220 feet deep, build roads, construct an irrigation system to
pump water from the bottom of the property at an 850 elevation, to the top at 1,100 feet.  Additional
improvements include running power lines to the new portions of the property, and constructing a 4 million
gallon reservoir.

Subsequent amendments to the land use system include restrictions on the ability

to construct farm and forest dwellings, including increasing minimum lot sizes, adopting

income tests and limiting the development of nonfarm dwellings.   As outlined below,

these restrictions have led to numerous challenges to the land use system both within the

legislature and through ballot measures, including Ballot Measures 7, 37 and 49.

## *Senate Bill 100 – Oregon's Land Use System is Born*[3]
### Conditions Leading to Senate Bill 100.

The movement towards the adoption of the Oregon land use system began in the

1960s.  Nationally, urban sprawl was consuming land seventy percent (70%) faster than

population growth (Nelson).  Sprawl in Oregon caused threats to:

- The local agricultural economy by way of development of farmland and
  increased taxes to neighboring farmland, making it difficult for those farms to
  stay in business (Mid Willamette Council of Governments); and

- Farm uses by way of negative influence of urban development on agricultural
  productivity, including reduced hours for operation of farm equipment,
  constraints on the use of certain fertilizers or pesticides and inability to expand
  farm operations (Nelson).

During the 1960s and 1970s, Oregon's population was growing at a rate roughly

twice the national average, making it the sixth fastest growing state (Nelson).  An

estimated 66 percent of Oregon's population settled in the Willamette Valley, which was

the center of growth for Oregon (Kvarsten 1974; Nelson 1983).  It is claimed that the

Willamette Valley lost 500,000 acres of farmland to development between 1955 and

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[3] This section is adapted from Roland, Shawn, Jeannine Rustad, URBAN CONTAINMENT:  A COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF PORTLAND, SEATTLE, AND VANCOUVER B.C. (March, 2006).

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1970 (biodiversitypartners.org/reports/Wiley/Overview.shtm). Based on the growth rate during the 1960s and 1970s, it was estimated that urban land in the Willamette Valley would increase by 75 percent (or 250,000 acres) between 1966 and 2000, with another 370,000 acres devoted to uses such as garbage sites, airports, roads, parks and water storage (Nelson).

In addition to this fast growth, Oregon was experiencing growth patterns with a trend of "increasing fragmentation and [scattering] i.e. a constant division and re-division of the properties on the city's periphery and beyond" (Kvarsten). Pressures in the suburbs resulted in the spread of development into farmland (Kvarsten). Coupled with this spread of development into farmland, there was inefficient use of urban land (Mid Willamette Council of Governments). This inefficient use of land gave rise to the additional concern of the efficient provision of public services, such as sewer and water.

In 1966, communities in the Portland region joined together to consider the future of urban growth. As outlined below, this led to the adoption of Senate Bill 10 (SB10) and later, Senate Bill 100 (SB100).

## Senate Bill 10

Senate Bill 10 was the first attempt at establishing a state-wide land use program in Oregon. Drafted in 1967 and adopted in 1969, SB10 required that every locality adopt a comprehensive plan and zoning regulations by December 31, 1971. Although SB10 did include ten goals to guide localities in their planning, it was weak in that it: (1) did not specify planning expectations; (2) lacked an enforcement mechanism; (3) lacked technical assistance; and (4) failed to include criteria for evaluating or coordinating local plans (http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~bobprp/statesprawl/Cases/Metro%20 Casestudy%2004-

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22-03.doc).  By the 1971 deadline for adoption of comprehensive plans, few localities

had complied.  At the same time, population in Oregon continued to grow, with a five

percent (5%) increase between 1970 and 1972, most of which was concentrated in the

Willamette Valley (www.biodiversitypartners.org/reports/Wiley/Overview.shtml).

As a result of the failure of SB10 and continued, uncontrolled growth, then

Governor Tom McCall proposed planning program that would:  (1) contain urbanization;

(2) protect open spaces; and (3) control land uses throughout the Willamette Valley under

state guidelines (Nelson).  Advocates for delineating growth boundaries pointed to the

following advantages:

- The ability to "shape land use and zoning policies based on carefully
  developed and pre-determined concept of the regional urban-rural structure";

- Ability to structure city services based on a known geographic area and
  without threat of such services being undermined by growth outside the urban
  areas;

- Certainty for property owners with regard to urban growth;

- "Utility extensions into unserviced areas could be programmed and phased so
  as to correlate population densities with new utility construction";

- Government planning efforts could be "channeled toward developing a
  community environment of exceptional quality" (Kvarsten).

With regard to future needs of expansion, the following three alternatives were

recommended:

1.     Redevelopment into higher densities of areas within the community;

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2. Development of a new community on a site selected on the basis of soils, geology, travel patterns and economic considerations; and

3. Review, at that time, of the boundary to possible expansion in light of contemporary changes and trends (Kvarsten).

## Senate Bill 100

In his last term in office and unsatisfied with the results of SB10, Governor McCall created "Project Foresight". Project Foresight was initiated to explore whether federal, state and local governments could "work together to meet the challenge of growth and development in the Willamette Valley" (McCall). Specifically, Project Foresight was Governor McCall's yearlong crusade to educate Oregonians and convince them of the need for a comprehensive, state-guided approach to protect its treasured farms and forests (www.biodiversitypartners.org/reports/Wiley/ Overview.shtml). The task force examined different scenarios of growth and development in the Willamette Valley – one based on "sound planning" and compact growth patterns, the other projecting a continuation of the current pattern of sprawl (http://www.biodiversitypartners.org/reports/Wiley/Overview.shtml). The project was an incredible undertaking, with its resulting slide show being shown in about 250 different locations before approximately 18,000 people (Meyers), ultimately culminating in the adoption of SB100, described by Governor Tom McCall as "the single most important land use bill ever considered by our lawmakers" (McCall).

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### *Governance Under SB100*

As a result of SB100, three new agencies were formed: (1) the Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC), charged with oversight of compliance of local planning with statewide goals; (2) Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD), whose staff would support the LCDC; and (3) the Land Use Board of Appeals (LUBA), which was created in 1979 to facilitate the prompt resolution of land disputes and provide consistent interpretation of Oregon land use laws.

In December 1974, after a year and 80 public hearings around the state, LCDC adopted the statewide planning goals, which clarified the ten goals included in SB10 and added 4 new goals. Goal 15, regarding Willamette Valley River Greenway, was added in December 1975, and goals 16 through 19, focusing on coastal zone issues, were added in December 1976. Most of the goals are accompanied by "guidelines," which are suggestions about how a goal may be applied.

Urban containment policy can be found in Statewide Goal 14, the purpose of which is to

> provide for an orderly and efficient transition from rural to urban land use, to accommodate urban population and urban employment inside urban growth boundaries, to ensure efficient use of land, and to provide for livable communities (www.oregon.gov/LCD/docs/goals/goal14.pdf).[4]

Goal 14 requires the establishment of urban growth boundaries by localities "to provide land for urban development needs and to identify and separate urban and urbanizable land from rural land" (*Id*). Rural land is defined as "(a) resource land (farm and forest),

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[4] This language reflects the new Goal 14, amended on April 28, 2005, effective April 28, 2006. The original purpose of old Goal 14 was simply "to provide for an orderly and efficient transition from rural to urban land use" (http://www.oregon.gov/LCD/docs/goals/oldgoal14.pdf).

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or (b) sparsely settled areas" (Eco Northwest 1991). In short, the purpose of Goal 14 is to concentrate growth in urban areas (Eco Northwest 1991).

Also central to the land use system are Goals 3 and 4, the purposes of which are to preserve and maintain agricultural and forest lands, respectively.

### Farm and Forest Regulations Since 1973

In 1983, the Marginal Lands Act (ORS 215.705) established a means by which counties could designate "marginal lands" and relax criteria for dwellings on parcels created before July 1, 1983. Only Washington and Lane counties opted to designate marginal lands. Since then, regulations have further restricted the development of resource land, including:

- **1993** - House Bill 3661 changed the requirements to the siting of farm and forest dwellings. With respect to farm land, the legislature gave owners of less productive land the opportunity to build a dwelling on their land while limiting opportunities to build dwellings on more productive land (ORS 215.700). As to forest land, the bill established the types of dwellings allowed on forest land and the minimum lot sizes for forest zones.

- **1994** - LCDC adopted a rule interpreting the statutory standard that a farm dwelling be "customarily provided in conjunction with farm use" (OAR 660-033-0130). The rule required $80,000 gross farm income for two of the last three years, or three of the last five years, before a dwelling could be built on "high value" land in conjunction with that farm use (OAR 660-033-0130(24)(b)(B)). A $40,000 test was required for non-high-value agricultural land (OAR 660-033-0130(24(b)(A)(i)).

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- **2001** – HB 3326 was made nonfarm dwellings on EFU lands difficult to obtain (Girshkin). HB 3326 limited the number of parcels eligible to be divided for nonfarm dwellings and established narrow, objective standards for the division of any nonfarm parcels determined to be unsuitable for farm use and forest use (Girshkin). As a result, land could no longer be divided to create parcels for nonfarm dwellings.

## Senate Bill 101

The success of urban containment is not solely attributable to SB100 but, rather, has been aided by Senate Bill 101. SB101 was adopted one month after SB100 in recognition of the need to account for restrictions and loss of use caused by farm or forest zoning (Richmond & Houchen). SB101 was intended to "set forth legislative policy that zoning limitations on agricultural lands constituted the rationale and justification for property tax reductions" (Richmond & Houchen). As provided in ORS 215.243

Exclusive farm use zoning, as provided by law, substantially limits alternatives to the use of rural lands and, with the importance of rural lands to the public, justifies incentives and privileges offered to encourage owners of rural lands to hold such lands in exclusive farm use zone.

In accordance with SB101, the purpose of planning is "to contain urban development and protect farmland" (sustainable.state.fl.us/fdi/fscc/news/ world/0008/benner.htm). Although the policy was not based upon the notion of sustainability, "the effect of the policy is to sustain the farmland base, to sustain Oregon's urban centers, and to keep Oregon's network of public infrastructure affordable and sustainable over time" (*Id.*).

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As a result of SB100 and SB101, local governments are required to inventory farm and forest lands within their jurisdictions and zone them accordingly (Shriver).  In tax year 2003-04, special assessment of farm land applied to 15.6 million acres statewide (Richmond & Houchen).

## Challenges to the Oregon Land Use System

Ballot measures to abolish SB100 were introduced and defeated in 1976, 1978 and 1982.  The 1976 challenge would have repealed SB100 in its entirety, while the 1978 proposal would have repealed the statewide goals and required the establishment of new goals, as well as compensation for adversely affected landowners (Shriver).  The 1982 challenge was based on the belief of many that the recession of the time was a result of planning and would have shifted much of the authority of the land use system from the state to local governments (Shriver).  In 1995, the Legislature considered more than 70 bills to weaken SB 100, most of which were defeated and the rest of which were vetoed by Governor John Kitzhaber (oregon.gov/LCD/history.shtml#Chronology__1969_to_Present).  Additional attempts to weaken SB100 were defeated in 1997.

The 21st century has brought a renewed call for fairness in the Oregon land use system.  While the first ballot measure seeking fairness in Oregon's land use system was introduced in 2000, property rights advocates have asserted that when SB100 was passed, it was with the understanding that the state would develop a program to compensate landowners whose property values had been diminished as a result of new regulations (Shriver).  Support of this claim can be found in Senate Bill 849, introduced by Governor McCall in 1973.  The Bill, entitled the Land Value Adjustment Act of 1973, "sought to

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separate social and private interests in land and use the distinction to compensate private landowners" (Shriver). However, the bill lacked a funding mechanism and, as a result, language was added to SB100 forming a committee to study and make recommendations about a compensation program (Shriver). The legislature did not adopt any of the committee's recommendations (Shriver).

In 2000, Ballot Measure 7, the first ballot measure requiring payment for diminished value to land based on past (and future) land use regulations was passed by a margin of 54 percent to 46 percent. Measure 7 made two unrelated amendments to the state's constitution: (1) relating to payment of compensation; and (2) restraining the freedom of expression of owners of pornography shops (Shriver). Because these changes were not "closely related"[5] the measure was overturned by the Oregon Supreme Court (Shriver).

Measure 7 was a warning to policy makers that Oregonians wanted fairness added to the land-use system and that there was increasing concern for private property rights. Unfortunately, policy makers missed the opportunity to balance the need to protect vital, natural resources and private property rights by allocating the cost of such preservation equitably among the citizens of Oregon, rather than placing the entire burden on the few affected landowners. Compensation proposals were considered in 2001 and 2003, but the legislature could not agree as to how to fund such programs. Consequently, nothing was enacted (*Id.*). As a result of the legislature's failure of action, in 2004, Oregonians in Action[6] proposed Measure 37, which was overwhelmingly approved by the voters of

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[5] The Oregon constitution requires that "substantive" and "not closely related" amendments to be voted on separately.
[6] Oregonian's In Action's stated purpose is as a "non profit lobbying organization that leads the fight for land-use regulatory reform and protection for private property rights" (http://oia.org/).

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Oregon by 61 percent to 39 percent. Measure 37 became effective December 2, 2004, requiring state and local governments to either compensate or waive land use regulations that reduce a property's fair market value" (*Id.*). This benefit is only provided for "land owners or relatives of land owners who purchased a property prior to the enactment of a land use regulation" (*Id.*). The initial challenge to Measure 37 was unsuccessful, resulting in the Oregon Supreme Court upholding Measure 37.

Following the adoption of Measure 37, six other states proposed property rights laws. The following section analyzes the valuation methods under Oregon's Measures 37 and 49, as well as adopted legislation in Florida, Texas and Arizona. An analysis of proposed legislation in California, Washington, Idaho, Montana and Nevada is also provided.

# Existing and Proposed Land use Regulations

## *The Importance of Accurate Valuation*

As described in the following analysis of Measures 37 and 49, the state, as well as most counties, made little to no effort to calculate (or require proof of) an accurate loss in value. Under Measure 37, such efforts would have been pointless, as there was no money allocated for payment, leaving waivers of offending regulations as the only relief.[7] A waiver was required whether the loss was $1 or $1 million. Measure 49, on the other hand, only requires valuation for claims between 4 and 10 homes.

Both Measure 37 and 49 favor long-time landowners in that one must have owned his or her property prior to the adoption of the land use regulation in question. In applying a property rights law retroactively, valuation is one of the keys to bringing

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[7] To date, only the city of Prineville has offered to pay a claim (Scarborough King; Sullivan)).

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fairness (in the form of accurate and just compensation) to property owners, greater

fairness to adjoining property owners, whose current right to peaceful enjoyment of their

property (or worse)[8] is at stake, and the public good.[9] Finding a fair approach to

valuation will serve the dual purposes of protecting property rights *and* protecting

resource land and planning for the future.

### *Valuation Under Measure 37 and 49*

In order to establish a valid claim, ORS 197.352(1) requires that the land use

regulations must have "the effect of reducing the fair market value of the property, or any

interest therein." Section (2) of Measure 37 provides the only statement regarding

calculating value:

> Just compensation shall be equal to the reduction in the fair market value
>
> of the affected property interest resulting from enactment or enforcement
>
> of the land use regulation as of the date the owner makes written demand
>
> for compensation under this section.

As discussed in the following section, Measure 37 used the monopoly method of

valuation, resulting in windfalls to property claimants. Measure 49 sought to avoid such

windfalls while balancing potential hardships caused by land use regulations.

Under Measure 49, a claimant[10] has three options: (1) elect the "fast track"

option, which allows up to 3 houses (or lots), including existing houses, without showing

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[8] Unlike Measure 37, under which the only restriction for development was health of safety, Measure 49 limits development in areas with restricted groundwater (OAR 660-041-0140), thus protecting surrounding properties from further depletion of available water and, as a result, property values.

[9] As pointed out by Ed Sullivan, Esquire, if an accurate valuation of loss in claims can be established, "it may be that local governments can afford to take a more strategic approach to Measure 37 and pay at least some of the monetary claims" (Sullivan).

[10] To be eligible to file a Measure 49 claim, a claimant must have filed a Measure 37 claim with the State prior to December 6, 2007.

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any loss of value; (2) try for 4 to 10 homes by showing loss in value through appraisals; or (3) show a vested right in development under a Measure 37 claim.  Two appraisals for each regulation alleged to have reduced market value are required for the second option – one showing the fair market value one year before the enactment of the land use regulation that was the basis for the claim and the fair market value of the property one year after the enactment.  Recognizing the cost that requiring appraisals will impose on claimants, Measure 49 allows up to $5,000 to be added to the calculation of the reduction in fair market value (ORS 197.424(7)).

**Survey of Planning Directors**

In December 2006, a survey was distributed to the 36 Oregon County Planning Directors seeking input on methods employed to measure valuation, including any evidence required to substantiate a claim of loss and methods used to verify or refute such claims; whether value added by government action was taken into consideration; and seeking input on methods that should be used for the valuations of losses.   Planning directors from six counties responded, one of who had not received any claims.  Of those counties that had received claims, 3 did not offer any rebutting evidence and the other two held hearings before the Board of Commissioners.  None of the counties considered value-added by regulations.  The most that was required for evidence was an analysis from a real estate broker (or appraiser, although this was not required) or a competitive market analysis.

For recommendations on valuation, one respondent noted that coming up with an accurate valuation was not necessary, as a loss in the amount of as little as $1 entitled the claimant to relief.  Other respondents recommended valuing the loss based on purchase

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price and comparing loss at the time of adoption, rather than valuing the property with the removal of the offending regulations. The appraisal method was recommended, as well as taking into consideration the amount of relief granted by special taxation relief.

## *A Look at Other States*

Florida, Texas, Arizona, Louisiana and Mississippi have property rights laws. Florida, Texas and Arizona's laws are centered around property rights, while Louisiana and Mississippi's laws are focused on the right to farm and the effects of regulations or government action on agriculture and/or forestry. In 2006, California, Washington and Idaho all rejected ballot proposals for property rights laws. Ballot measures in Montana and Nevada were invalidated by the courts. A review of these laws is useful to determine if they offer any insight as to what constitutes a fair and balanced approach to valuation.

What is learned from a review of the following laws and proposals is that recent efforts to pass property rights laws made little effort to find a fair and balanced approach to valuation. Recent proposals contained little, if anything, in the way of requiring proof of loss.

In contrast, statutes adopted by Florida, Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi illustrate important considerations for property rights regulations. Such considerations include short statute of limitations, prospective application, the use of thresholds and flexibility in methods of granting compensation.

### Approved Legislation

The Florida and Texas property rights laws predate the property rights movement in Oregon. The Florida and Texas statutes contain features that should be considered in

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drafting a new property rights law. For example, laws in both states apply retroactively only and contain short statutes of limitations for filing a claim. Florida requires an appraisal in support of a claim of lass of value. As defined in the Florida statute, a loss in value can result from restricting either investment backed-expectations or vested rights. The Florida statute offers a wide range of relief that the government may offer a claimant. The Texas statute contains a 25% threshold for reduction in value caused by government action.

### *Florida*

Florida enacted the Bert J. Harris Jr. Private Property Rights Protect Act (Fla. Stat. Ann. § 70.001 *et seq.*) and the Florida Land Use and Environmental Dispute Resolution Act (Fla. Stat. Ann. §§ 70.51 *et seq.*). Neither of these acts is retroactive but, rather, applies only prospectively from the effective dates of the acts.

#### *The Harris Act*

The Harris Act creates a cause of action for landowners who feel that a government action that affects real property[11] has "***inordinately burdened*** an existing use of real property or a vested right[12] to a specific use of real property" (Fla. Stat. Ann § 70.001(2)). The term "inordinately burdened" means

> . . . an action of one or more governmental entities has directly restricted or limited the use of real property *such that the property owner is permanently unable to attain the reasonable, investment-backed expectation* for the existing use of the real property or a vested right to a specific use of the real property with respect to the real property as a

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[11]  Such action includes action on an application or permit (Fla. Stat. Ann § 70.001(3)(d)).

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whole, *or that the property owner is left with existing or vested uses that are unreasonable such that the property owner bears permanently a disproportionate share of a burden imposed for the good of the public*, which in fairness should be borne by the public at large. The terms "inordinate burden" or "inordinately burdened" do not include temporary impacts to real property; impacts to real property occasioned by governmental abatement, prohibition, prevention, or remediation of a public nuisance at common law or a noxious use of private property; or impacts to real property caused by an action of a governmental entity taken to grant relief to a property owner under this section (Fla. Stat. Ann § 70.001(3)(e)).

A "vested right" is "to be determined by applying the principles of equitable estoppel or substantive due process under the common law or by applying the statutory law of [Florida] (Fla. Stat. Ann § 70.001(3)(a)). The term "exiting use" is defined as

. . . an actual, present use or activity on the real property, including periods of inactivity which are normally associated with, or are incidental to, the nature or type of use or activity or such reasonably foreseeable, nonspeculative land uses which are suitable for the subject real property and compatible with adjacent land uses and which have created an existing fair market value in the property greater than the fair market value of the actual, present use or activity on the real property (Fla. Stat. Ann § 70.001(3)(b)).

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Claims must be brought within one year of the first application of the regulation in question (Fla. Stat. Ann. § 70.001(11)) and must include a "bona fide, valid appraisal that supports the claim and demonstrates the loss in fair market value to the real property" (Fla. Stat. Ann § 70.001(4)(a)).  The government entity has a wide range of relief it may offer the claimant:

1.  An adjustment of land development or permit standards or other provisions controlling the development or use of land.

2.  Increases or modifications in the density, intensity, or use of areas of development.

3.  The transfer of developmental rights.

4.  Land swaps or exchanges.

5.  Mitigation, including payments in lieu of onsite mitigation.

6.  Location on the least sensitive portion of the property.

7.  Conditioning the amount of development or use permitted.

8.  A requirement that issues be addressed on a more comprehensive basis than a single proposed use or development.

9.  Issuance of the development order, a variance, special exception, or other extraordinary relief.

10. Purchase of the real property, or an interest therein, by an appropriate governmental entity.

11. No changes to the action of the governmental entity (Fla. Stat. Ann. § 70.001(4)I).

The claimant may accept the government's proposal or, in the alternative, reject the offer

and file a cause of action in circuit court.

### *The Dispute Resolution Act*

The Dispute Resolution Act applies to development orders or enforcement

actions. The standard giving rise to a cause of action in Florida's Dispute Resolution Act

is whether the development order or enforcement action "*is unreasonable or unfairly*

*burdens* the use of the owner's real property" (Fla. Stat. Ann. 70.51(3)). An owner must

file a claim with the government entity within 30 days after receipt of the order or notice.

Given the more relaxed standard of harm, the property owner need not submit an

appraisal. All the claim has to include is:

(a)     A brief statement of the owner's proposed use of the property.

(b)     A summary of the development order or description of the enforcement

action. A copy of the development order or the documentation of an

enforcement action at issue must be attached to the request.

(c)     A brief statement of the impact of the development order or enforcement

action on the ability of the owner to achieve the proposed use of the

property.

(d)     A certificate of service showing the parties, including the governmental

entity, served. (Fla. Stat. Ann. § 70.51(6)).

The claim is resolved by a special magistrate, who is selected based on agreement by

both the property owner and government.

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### *Texas*

The Texas Private Real Property Preservation Act (Tex. Gov't Code Ann. §§2007.001 *et seq.*)(the "Texas Act") took effect on January 1, 1996.  The act gives rise to a cause of action for a "taking."[13]  A taking can be a taking as provided by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amends of the constitution (or provisions of the Texas Constitution).  A taking can also be a government action that affects private real property resulting in a reduction in at least 25 percent of the market value.  The reduction is determined by comparing the market value of the property as if the government action is not in effect and the market value of the property determined as if the governmental action is in effect.  Under either alternative, the taking may be either partial or in whole, temporary or permanent.

Unlike Measure 37, which only exempt regulations that prohibit nuisances, relate to public health or safety, comply with federal law or relates to the selling of pornography or nude dancing, the Texas statute exempts fourteen types of government action (Tex.

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[13]  The full definition of a "taking" giving rise to a cause of action under the Texas act is:

> (A)  a governmental action that affects private real property, in whole or in part or temporarily or permanently, in a manner that requires the governmental entity to compensate the private real property owner as provided by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution or Section 17 or 19, Article I, Texas Constitution;  or
>
> (B)  a governmental action that:
>
>> (i)  affects an owner's private real property that is the subject of the governmental action, in whole or in part or temporarily or permanently, in a manner that restricts or limits the owner's right to the property that would otherwise exist in the absence of the governmental action;  and
>> (ii)  is the producing cause of a reduction of at least 25 percent in the market value of the affected private real property, determined by comparing the market value of the property as if the governmental action is not in effect and the market value of the property determined as if the governmental action is in effect (Tex. Gov't Code Ann. §2007.001((5)).

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Gov't Code Ann. § 2007.003(b)(1)-(14)). The most relevant to Oregon of these

exceptions are:

(10) a rule or proclamation adopted for the purpose of regulating water

safety, hunting, fishing, or control of nonindigenous or exotic aquatic

resources;

(11) an action taken by a political subdivision:

(A) to regulate construction in an area designated under law as a

floodplain;

(B) to regulate on-site sewage facilities;

(C) under the political subdivisions's statutory authority to prevent

waste or protect rights of owners of interest in groundwater; or

(D) to prevent subsidence.

Also exempt are actions that enforce or implement the Texas Natural Resource Code

(Tex. Gov't Code Ann. § 2007.003(d)).

As with the Florida statutes, the Texas act does not apply retroactively but, rather,

applies only to regulations or actions taken after the effective date of the Texas Act (Tex.

Gov't Code Ann. § 2007.003(d)). The statute of limitations for filing a claim is 180 days

"after the date the private real property owner knew or should have known that the

governmental action restricted or limited the owner's right in the private real property"

(Tex. Gov't Code Ann. § 2007.021(b)).

### *Arizona*

Arizona was the only state to pass a private property right referendum in 2006

(Ariz. Code §§ 9-500.12 *et seq.* and 11.810 *et seq.*). The Arizona statute gives rise to a

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cause of action against municipal or counties for the "adoption or amendment of a zoning regulation" that constitutes a taking.  The standard for takings under the Arizona code is that set forth in *Lucas v. South Carolina Coastal Council*, 505 U.S. 1003 (1992).  For a government action to rise to the level of a compensable regulatory taking under the *Lucas* standard, it must eliminate "all viable economic use."

A property owner has 30 days from the date of the final action in which to file a claim.  The government has the burden of establishing

> An essential nexus between the dedication or exaction and a legitimate
>
> governmental interest and that the proposed dedication, exaction or zoning
>
> regulation is roughly proportional to the impact of the proposed use,
>
> improvement or development or, in the case of a zoning regulation, that
>
> the zoning regulation does not create a taking of property in violation of
>
> [the *Lucas* standard].

## Right to Farm Legislation – Louisiana and Mississippi

Both Louisiana and Mississippi have adopted right to farm laws that include protection against government actions that reduce the value of agricultural land and/or activities.  While these statutes do not shed much light on an appropriate method of valuation, they do offer examples of the wide variety of thresholds for loss of value, with the Louisiana containing a 20% threshold and Mississippi a 40% threshold.

### *Louisiana*

Louisiana's Right to Farm Law was adopted in 1983 (La. R.S. § 3:3601 *et seq.*).  The law protects farmland and activities from private nuisance suits, as well as ordinances that would declare agricultural operations operated in accordance with

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generally accepted agricultural practices a nuisance. The law also protects agricultural operations, once annexed, from municipal zoning laws (La. R.S. § 3:3607).

In order to minimize government impact on agricultural property, the law requires avoidance of "diminution in value of private agricultural property which is used in agricultural production or which may potentially be used in agricultural production" (La. R.S. § 3:3608). "Diminution in value" is defined as

> an existent reduction of twenty percent or more of the fair market value or
>
> the economically viable use of, as determined by a qualified appraisal
>
> expert, the affected portion of any parcel of private agricultural property or
>
> the property rights thereto for agricultural purposes, as a consequence of
>
> any regulation, rule, policy, or guideline promulgated for or by any
>
> governmental entity (La. R.S. § 3:3602(11)).

Prior to adopting any new regulation that may impact the right to farm, the governmental entity is required to "prepare a written assessment of any proposed governmental action prior to taking any proposed action that will likely result in a diminution in value of private agricultural property" (La. R.S. § 3:3609(A)). No direct cause of action against the government is created by the Louisiana statute.

## *Mississippi*

Mississippi adopted the "Mississippi Agricultural and Forestry Activity Act" in 1994 (Miss. Code §§ 49-33-1 *et seq.*). One purpose of the act is to provide a mechanism for compensation to owners of forest and agricultural land if the state severely limits forestry or agricultural activities (Miss. Code § 49-33-3).

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Inverse condemnation is defined in the act as ". . . any action by the State of
Mississippi that prohibits or severely limits the right of an owner to conduct forestry or
agricultural activities on forest or agricultural land" (Miss Code § 49-33-7(c)).
"Prohibits or severely limits" means

> . . . to reduce the fair market value of forest or agricultural land (or any
>
> part or parcel thereof) or timber, wood or forest products including
>
> nongame species (or any part or parcel thereof) or personal property rights
>
> associated with conducting forestry or agricultural activities on the forest
>
> or agricultural land by more than forty percent (40%) of their value before
>
> the action (Miss Code § 49-33-7(h)).

Unlike the Louisiana statute, the Mississippi statute does grant a property owner a cause
of action against the governing entity for loss of value (Miss Code § 49-33-9).  The
statute of limitations for filing a claim is one year from the adoption of the regulation in
question (Miss Code § 11-46-1(3)).

## Rejected Legislation

The 2006 elections saw the introduction of property rights legislation in Arizona,
California, Washington and Idaho.  With the exception of Arizona, discussed above, all
proposals were rejected.   Courts rejected the Montana and Nevada proposals.  As with
Measure 37, these proposals failed to offer any guidance as to how to measure loss of
value.

Unfortunately, these proposed ballot measure do not offer any guidance as to
what makes a good property rights regulation.  To the contrary, they all favored the
individual property owner at the expense of the common good.  For example, California's

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Proposition 90 was aimed at restricting the government's ability to regulate private property for purposes unrelated to public health and safety. Washington's Initiative 933 would have applied to both real and private property. Much like Measure 37, they did not require any proof of loss.

### *California*

California Proposition 90 – "Protect Our Homes Act" – was introduced as a proposed state constitutional amendment and would have applied prospectively only. The portion of the proposal that dealt with non-traditional takings was aimed at restricting the government's ability to regulate private property "for purposes unrelated to public health and safety" if the regulations reduced the value of private property. The proposed amendment introduced the definition of "damage" to private property in the takings provision and would have required just compensation for any diminution of fair market value for property damaged. "Damage" to private property was defined to include

> . . . government actions that result in substantial economic loss to private property. Examples of substantial economic loss include, but are not limited to, the down zoning of private property, the elimination of any access to private property, and limitations on the use of private air space.

"Government action" was defined as "any statute, charter provision, ordinance, resolution, law, rule or regulation."

"Just compensation" was defined as

that sum of money necessary to place the property owner in the same position monetarily, without any governmental offsets, as if the property

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had never been taken. 'Just compensation' shall include, but is not limited

to, compounded interest and all reasonable costs and expenses actually

incurred.

No guidelines were provided as to how the diminution in value was to be

measured in non-eminent domain cases.

## *Washington*

Washington Initiative 933, unlike Measure 37, would have applied to both real

and personal property.  Initiative 933 defined "compensation" as

> . . . remuneration equal to the amount the fair market value of the affected
>
> property has been decreased by the application or enforcement of the
>
> ordinance, regulation, or rule. To the extent any action requires any
>
> portion of property to be left in its natural state or without beneficial use
>
> by its owner, "compensation" means the fair market value of that portion
>
> of property required to be left in its natural state or without beneficial use.
>
> "Compensation" also includes any costs and attorneys' fees reasonably
>
> incurred by the property owner in seeking to enforce this act.

As with Measure 37, Initiative 933 provided no method of measuring loss of value.

Initiative 933 would have applied both prospectively and retroactively to at least 1996

(the year Washington's statewide land use system was adopted).

## *Idaho*

Idaho's Proposition 2 included a pay-or-waive clause requiring the government to

pay "just compensation" if the enactment or enforcement of any land use law limited or

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prohibited the owner's ability to use, possess, sell, or divide private real property in a manner that reduced the fair market value of the property. "Just compensation" was defined as being "equal to the reduction in the fair market value of the property resulting from enactment or enforcement of the land use law as of the date of enactment of the land use law." No guidance was provided as to how to measure just compensation.

### *Montana*

As with California's Proposition 90, Montana's Initiative No. 154 introduced the concept of "damage" to private property by way of land use regulations. Initiative No. 154 defined damages as those that "occur when government regulations enacted after acquisition of an ownership interest in real property result in diminished value or economic loss to the private property subject to the government regulation." Just compensation in these cases was defined as "the depreciation in the current fair market value, plus costs, interest and attorney fees as well as diminished value resulting from costs or losses incurred with respect to relocation or closing of a business."

Initiative No. 154, which was to apply prospectively, did not provide any guidance as to how depreciation in the fair value of an affected property should be measured.

Initiative No. 154 was struck down by the Montana courts and, as a result, not put on the ballot, because signature-gatherers engaged in what the judge termed a "pervasive and general pattern and practice of deceit, fraud and procedural non-compliance" (www.sightline.org/research/sprawl/res_pubs/property-fairness/6-initiatives).

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*Nevada*

The Nevada Property Owners' Bill of Rights, a proposed constitutional amendment, would have required the payment of "just compensation" for government actions that resulted in "substantial economic loss to private property." Examples of "substantial economic loss" provided in the Bill included "the down zoning of private property, the elimination of any access to private property and the limiting of use of private air space." No method of measuring "substantial economic loss" was provided.

The proposed Property Owners' Bill of Rights, sponsored by the People's Initiative to Stop the Taking of Our Land's, was partially invalidated by the Nevada Supreme Court because it violated Nevada's rule that initiatives may contain only a single subject. The Bill also included a *Kelo*-style eminent domain provision.

## Analysis of Valuation Methods

To date, no legislation has offered a comprehensive method of valuation. In this section, the monopoly method, economist approach, appraisal method and Measure 49 will be evaluated using the criteria of clarity, cost, accuracy and fairness and implementation. The goal is to determine a method that

- Is easily understood by lay people and officials, alike;

- Does not impose high costs in implementing on either claimants or governments;

- Accurately measures the loss in value, so as to avoid windfalls or excessive burdens on individual land owners; and

- Is not overly cumbersome to implement.

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As illustrated below, the monopoly method is the easiest to understand and implement in terms of administration and cost.  However, the end result is often a windfall to the claimant, in that it measures the value of the claimant's land without the regulation, as opposed to the reduction in value caused by the regulation.  The windfall results from the fact that neighboring properties remain subject to the regulation, making the claimant's property more desirable.  While the economist approach would yield the most accurate measurements of loss in value, it is the most difficult to comprehend and to implement.  Additionally, as illustrated in Table 2, different price indexes used to calculate the loss in value can result in a wide range of values.  The appraisal method is relatively easy to comprehend and implement, as well as resulting in fairly accurate measurements of loss in value, especially if applied prospectively.

Measure 49 was the compromise accepted by Oregonians after the potential impact of Measure 37 became apparent.  While it does not attempt to measure loss in value for claims for the construction of up to three homes, it does achieve a better balance of interests by allowing the construction of up to 3 homes without proof of loss and 4 to 10 homes with proof of loss through appraisals.  Measure 49 also limits construction in ground water restricted areas and on high value farmland, taking into consideration neighboring property owners and the common good.

## *Evaluation Criteria*

As set forth in the problem statement, for a method of valuation to be "fair and balanced," it must take into consideration the rights of the individual property owner, neighboring property owners, the public good and government interests.  If possible, a fair and balanced method will not overly burden one of these interests over another.  To

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assist in arriving at a fair valuation method, the following criteria will be used to analyze various valuation methods that have been proposed:

1.    Clarity

- Is the standard easily understood by planners and lay-persons?

2.    Cost

- What will be the cost to claimants in meeting the standard – is it reasonable?

- What will be the cost to the government in implementing the standard (i.e., it may be cost-prohibitive to require governments to provide an appraisal for each claim filed)?

3.    Fairness and accuracy

- Does the standard create an undue burden on a claimant?

- Does the standard create a windfall for the claimant?

- Will the result place undue burden on neighboring property owners or the general public?  For example, wilt the resulting relief, if in the form of a waiver, deplete the water table risking availability for surrounding uses?

- Will the standard provide compensation equal to or close to the actual loss?

4.    Implementation

- How easily can the standard be implemented?

The following is an analysis, using the above criteria, of methods of valuation that have been suggested by scholars or implemented.  Table 1 summarizes the analysis. While the matrix may indicate that the monopoly method is an acceptable approach, as

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set forth fully in the following section, this method is, in fact, unacceptable, due to the

potentially large windfalls to claimants, as well as total disregard for neighboring

property owners and the general good.

**Table 1: Valuation Analysis Matrix**

| Method | Clarity | Cost | Accuracy & Fairness | Implementation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Monopoly** | + | + | - | + |
| **Economists Approach** | - | - | + | 0 |
| **Appraisal** | + | 0 | + | + |
| **Ballot Measure 49** | + | 0 | 0 | + |

## *Exemption or Monopoly Value Compensation Under Measure 37*

The exemption or monopoly value compensation was the method used by DLCD,

as well as many counties, in analyzing Measure 37 claims. Under this method, the

property owner was compensated in the amount of the current fair market value of his or

her property without the challenged land use regulation(s) less the current market value

with the regulation(s). The reason this method has been referred to as the "monopoly"

value compensation is the fact that removing the regulations from one property but

remaining in effect on surrounding properties restricts supply to the claimant's property.

This results in the revival of development rights, and the transfer of those rights to a

claimant's property unjustly enriches the claimant. As explained by the petitioners in

*Hood River Valley Residents Committee v. State of Oregon Department of Administrative*

*Services*, Case No. 06C-17267, DLCD calculated loss in value by looking at the "increase

in value created by land use law, as opposed to measuring the reduction in value caused

by the those regulations."

It has been explained that:

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> Without that restriction on supply, demand for residential development
> would associate with thousands of acres of farm land surrounding [the
> claimant's property].  With that restriction on supply, demand for
> residential development is concentrated on claimant's suddenly "scarce"
> property (Richmond & Houchen).

An article in The New Yorker comments that

> It might be that the reason your hundred-acre farm on a pristine hillside is
> worth millions to a developer is that it's on a pristine hillside:  if everyone
> on that hillside could subdivide, and sell out to Target and Wal-Mart, then
> nobody's plot would be worth millions anymore" (Gladwell).

For an example of how removing zoning from all properties would alter supply
and demand, one need only look to the past.  As explained in the MEASURE 37 REPORT
AND RECOMMENDATIONS to the Joint Special Committee on Land Use Fairness,

> Thousands of already approved, ready-to-sell rural lots, created in the
> early 1900s, in "fruit tree" subdivision in the North Willamette Valley,
> and thousands of "Sagebrush subdivision" lots created in the 1950s and
> 1960s in Central and Eastern Oregon, remained unsold in the early 1970s.
> Even today, over three decades later, non-forest use of most industrial
> forest land has little, if any nonforest use market value today [sic];
> counties tax most industrial forest land on that basis today (Atiyeh, et al.).

While there may a higher demand for rural lots today than in the 1970s given the
increase in population, if the zoning restrictions were removed from all farm and forest
land, there would be an over-supply of lots.  In contrast, by removing the restrictions

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from a select few individual properties, there is greater demand than supply, and those select lots benefit from the restrictions around them.

### *Clarity*

Although the theory behind the monopoly method is based in economics, the monopoly value compensation method is easy to understand from a lay perspective. All one has to do is look at the current market value of a property and determine what that property would be worth if the offending regulations were removed. This latter value can be (and has been, in practice) determined by looking at comparable sales of the lot size desired, other appraisal methods, or asking a developer or real estate broker for an estimate of value.

### *Cost*

There is little to no cost to a claimant under the monopoly compensation method. Under Measure 37, evidence that was accepted has been as little as a claimant's assertion that he or she could get a certain price for the desired lots. More sophisticated evidence was in the form of comparable sales available through a realtor or actual appraisals.

If use of the monopoly method is adopted, something more than a back-of-the envelop estimation should be required. At a minimum, a Comparative Market Analysis from a realtor should be required. Preferably, an appraisal by a certified appraiser should be required. In either event, the cost will be minimal.

### *Fairness and Accuracy*

As indicated above, the monopoly valuation method is neither fair nor accurate. This method grants the claimant a potentially substantial windfall. This method is not accurate, as we cannot know "whether the price differential has been caused by an

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increase in the value of unregulated property, a decrease in value of regulated property, or a combination of both" (Sullivan).

The problem with using the so-called "monopoly" valuation method is that it distorts the market of available property. As explained by Professor Andrew J. Plantinga, "fair market value refers to the price that willing and well-informed buyers and sellers would agree upon for a piece of property." Under Measure 37, waivers created markets dominated by either a single seller (monopolist) or a few sellers (oligopolists)(Plantinga). Plantinga asserts that where only a single (or a limited number) of property owners can develop a parcel is incompatible with the definition of fair market value (Plantinga). That is, the lack of competition drives up the value of the developable land.

An example that has been used to illustrate the windfall of the monopoly approach is based on DLCD claim M119803 involving 54 acres of "prime", Class II, Washington County farm land with no dwelling (Richmond & Houchen). The claimant, who acquired the subject property in 1965, filed a claim demanding $9.5 million or, in the alternative, the right to develop the property into 97 half-acre, single family lots. The claim was based on the theory that if, in 2005, the claimant were exempted from farm zoning, but the farm zoning was left in place on the thousands surrounding properties, the value of claimant's 54 acres cut into 97 half-acre lots would increase to $9.5 million. DLCD approved the waiver finding that

> Without an appraisal based on the value of 20,000 square foot lots or other
> explanation, it is not possible to substantiate the specific dollar amount the
> claimant demands for compensation. Nevertheless, based on the submitted
> information, the department determines that it is more likely than not that

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there has been some reduction in the fair market value of the subject

property as a result of land use regulations enacted or enforced by the

Commission or the department

(www.oregon.gov/LCD/docs/measure37/finalreports/M119803_Bernards_

Final_Report.pdf).

The $9.5 million dollars does not represent the lost value due to the regulation.

Instead, it represents the value of the waiver. This amount not only includes any loss

caused by the farm regulations, but also an increase in value (i.e., windfall) due to the fact

that the surrounding property is still limited to farm uses, giving the claimant a

monopoly.

The windfall is demonstrated by Richmond and Houcher, analyzing the

regulations adopted since 1965. Regulations that have negatively impacted the value of

claimant's property were the 1973 county regulations requiring 38-acre minimum lot size

to most of the county's farm land. Because claimant only had 54 acres, she could no

longer divide her property.

Before the county and state land use laws were adopted in 1973, farm land was

selling for about $1,279/acre. Richmond and Houcher assumed that 10% of this value

was related to nonfarm residential use, resulting in a reduction in value of $128/acre, or a

loss of $6,942, based on the 38-acre minimum lot size. Using a 10-year bond rate with

compounding interest from June 1973 to February 2005, Richmond and Houcher come

up with a loss of $83,806.

The next regulation that restricted claimant's use of her property was in 1994,

when the state adopted an 80-acre lot size minimum for high-valued farm land. In March

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1994, LCDC adopted the $80,000 gross income test for a farm dwelling, which may have prevented a farm dwelling on claimant's property. In 1994, the value of an unimproved farm land home site was about $55,000. Interest on that loss brings the compensation for the 1994 reduction in value to $100,540.

Under this scenario, the total compensation due to the claimant is $184,346, the sum of the 1973 reduction of $83,803, and the 1994 reduction of $100,540. This amount is well short of the $9.5 claimed by the claimant. The resulting windfall under the monopoly valuation method is 98.1%, or $9,315,654.

If the monopoly method of valuation is used, either a Comparative Market Analysis or, preferably, an appraisal should be required. Such a requirement will ensure greater accuracy in estimates.[14]

### Implementation

This method is easy to implement. Little to no evidence is required of the claimant. Even less work is required of the government. Under Measure 37, many

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[14] The mere submission of comparable sales by an applicant does not ensure accuracy. For example, in Metro Claim Council Order No. 06-001 (Darrin Black), the claimant submitted comparable sales of 12 properties. The claimant's property is located within the Damascus Urban Growth Boundary. In responding to the claimant's comparables, Metro noted pointed out that the sales were not comparable:

> Of the 12, 11 of these properties are located inside of the Urban Growth Boundary. 10 are located within either Happy Valley or Gresham and all occupy prestige neighborhood locations with hilltop views or sweeping vistas. Examination of the Black property reveals the view is limited and the surrounding neighborhood can hardly be regarded as prestige either as measured in home value or design features. Whether the area evolves into a prestige urban neighborhood with full amenities remains problematic.

> The comparable sales data also include 7 built properties (lots with homes on them). Their sales value averages $597,000 with a maximum listed price of $805,000. The recommended completed home sales price for the Black property is then given at $935,000. We did not evaluate those "comparables" further since the recommended sales price of $935,000 exceeded the average and the sales price of any one of the "comparable" homes. We do note that industry standards usually maintain a ratio of 4:1 to 3:1 between home sales price and lot price. In this instance the ratio is 3.98.

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government entities, such as DLCD, simply assumed that the claimant had suffered a loss and accepted the claimant's assertion of loss. DLCD's findings stated that:

> Based on the findings and conclusions in Section V.(2) of this report, laws enacted or adopted since the claimant/s acquired the subject property restrict the claimant's' desired use of the property. The claimant estimates that the effect of the regulation(s) on the fair market value of the subject property is a reduction of $xxx.

> Without an appraisal or other documentation and without verification of whether or the extent to which the claimant's desired use of the subject property was allowed under the standards in effect when the claimant acquired the property, it is not possible to substantiate the specific dollar amount by which the land use regulations have reduced the fair market value of the property. ***Nevertheless, based on the evidence in the record for this claim, the department determines that the fair market value of the subject property has been reduced to some extent as a result of land use regulations enforced by the Commission or the department.***

## The Economist Approach

A preferable method to the monopoly valuation approach is one that will give the value the difference between a property's value both subject to and free of an offending regulation. However, to get an accurate measure, we need to find the value of the property as if the offending regulations were removed from not just the subject property,

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but all surrounding properties, as well. Unfortunately, when a property rights regulation is applied retroactively, this value is unobservable (Plantinga).[15]

Professors Plantinga and Jaeger have argued for an "economically appropriate measure of loss" resulting from land use regulations based on the Theory of Land Rent (Metro; *see also* Plantinga and Jaeger). The Theory of Land Rent has been described as

> The value of land at any particular time is the future net profit from the land used in its most efficient allowable use. The market also adjusts (discount factor) this value to account for time and uncertainty as to future uses. What this means is that the original sales price incorporates future expectations about how the land might be used (Metro).

Under this method, compensation is based on the original purchase price (Plantinga). The original purchase price reflects the market's valuation of the income stream to be generated by the land (Plantinga). Under the economist theory, if an unforeseen regulation is adopted after the purchase of the property, the income stream is reduced.

Using the economist method, determining the present value of the property without the regulations is determined by taking the original sales price and bringing it up to the current date by using an appropriate price index (Metro).

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[15]  As explained by Plantinga, "we do not observe a price without the regulation because the regulation is and has been in effect. We do observe (or can estimate with relative precision) the value with the regulation, because it is generated in a land market that currently exists, but we need the hypothetical value to calculate the change in the value."

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*Clarity*

The economists approach is not simple to understand. It is unlikely that a lay person will be able to employ this method. In addition to understanding the concept, a property owner would have to determine the appropriate discount rate.

The only jurisdiction to have employed this method was Metro. Metro was able to use this method due to its on-staff economist. Smaller counties and cities would not have access to on-staff economists, which may result in lack of clarity in employing this method. Metro's application of the economist's approach illustrates the difficulty in determining the appropriate discount rate, as four rates were applied to claims (Table 3).

*Cost*

This method would result in costs to both claimants and jurisdictions in employing economists. For individuals, economists are not as readily available for hire as appraisers. Such scarcity could result in higher costs in proving loss of value. Jurisdictions would run into the same problem of hiring or employing economists. Costs to jurisdictions would depend on the number of claims in that jurisdiction.

*Accuracy and Fairness*

The economists approach does provide greater accuracy in determining loss in value and, as a result, avoids windfalls. Given the likelihood that the economists approach would have resulted in lower valuations than the monopoly method employed under Measure 37, more claims may have been paid. Additionally, the economists approach may have disproved some claims for loss in value.

A risk involved in the economist approach is that an incorrect assumption in determining the discount rate can result in a lower loss in value. Under Measure 37,

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lower loss in value would not have affected the right to a waiver, but may reduced compensation a claimant would be entitled to.  Underestimating the loss in value would also be unfair to a claimant if relief under a property rights regulation were required to be proportional to the loss.

An example of the wide variations in value that can result from using a different price index can be found in Metro's reports on Measure 37 claims filed within that jurisdiction.  Metro used 4 price indexes:  (1) Portland/Vancouver CPI; (2) House Value Index; (3) Lot Value Index; and (4) S&P500 Stock Index.  All but the S&P500 index are for the Portland/Vancouver area.  The difference in the resulting price per acres using these indices ranges from 21.7% to 50.8% (Table 2).

**Table 2.  Metro Implementation of Economist Approach – Differences in Price/Acre Calculations Based on Index Used**

| | Price Per Acre | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Index** | Claim No. 06-001 | Claim No. 06-004 | Claim No. 06-005 | Claim No. 06-006 |
| Port/Vanc CPI | 7,016 | 6,283 | 126,795 | 22,563 |
| House Value | 11,002 | 11,523 | 235,815 | 27,336 |
| Lot Value | 18,946 | 17,454 | 351,155 | 44,375 |
| S&P500 | 32,349 | 24,739 | 490,590 | 30,397 |
| Average Price/Acre | 17,328 | 15,000 | 301,089 | 31,168 |
| % Difference High/low | 21.7% | 25.4% | 25.8% | 50.8% |
| Purchase/Claim Date | 1979/2005 | 1977/2005 | 1977/2005 | 1977/2005 |

Source:  Metro Reports in Claim Nos. 06-001, 06-004, 06-005 and 06-006

### *Implementation*

Because of the difficulty in understanding this method, implementation would be challenging and could result in an onerous burden on claimants.  Another factor hindering implementation would be the lack of historic sales data in many cases.

One option to make this method more feasible would be to have it headed by the state.  The state, in coordination with the counties, could work to assign appropriate discount rates and provide worksheets to claimants with calculations to assist in

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completing claims.  However, such mass production may limit the accuracy of this method.[16]  Also, claimants may not have trust in having a government run system.

Even if the hurdle for claimants could be overcome, reviewing jurisdictions would be faced with the task of verifying submitted information.  This may require hiring qualified economists, adding to cost, as well as the challenge of finding qualified individuals, especially in rural jurisdictions.

## *Appraisal Method*

The appraisal method is currently used by Florida.  Measure 49 requires appraisals for claims requesting 4 to 10 homes.  Use of the appraisal method is consistent with takings law, under which "just compensation" is measured by the fair market value of the highest and best use of the property at the time of the condemnation complaint or the date the property is entered or occupied."  *State ex rel Department of Transportation v. Lundberg*, 312 OR 568, 825 P2d 641 (1992).  While the reduction in value under property rights regulations do not amount to a takings under the legal sense of that concept, many of these regulations are based on the takings doctrine – that government regulation has reduced the value of property.

Several concepts are important to understand in employing the appraisal method of valuation:

1.  Fair market value is the amount of money that property would sell for if it were offered for sale by a willing seller and purchased by a willing buyer.  This involves what is known as an "arms length transaction" and assumes that both

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[16]  With regard to the economist approach, the Department of Justice raised the question of whether necessary data would be readily available to claimants and, if not, whether data for measurement could be developed by the state in a timely and cost-effective manner.

parties are well informed and that "the property has been on the market for a reasonable length of time." *Highway Comm'n v. Superbilt Mfg. Co.*, 204 OR 393, 412, 281 P2d 707 (1955). Calculation of fair market value depends upon the existence of a market for the property or comparable land. Fair market value has been equated with real market value.

2.      Highest and best use is the needed to determine fair market value. ORS 308.205(2) governs the determination of real market value for tax assessment purposes. To calculate real market value, the State has to determine the highest and best use, because "a seller of property reasonably can expect to receive the highest offer from a prospective buyer who intends to put the property *to its most profitable use*" (*Hood River Valley Residents Committee*). The definition of "highest and best use" is:

> The reasonably probably and legal use of vacant land or an improved
> property, which is physically possible, appropriately supported,
> financially feasible, and that results in the highest value (*Hood River
> Valley Residents Committee*).

Under the appraisal method, an appraisal will be required to show the fair market value both before and after the adoption of the subject regulation(s).

*Clarity*

While an individual layperson may not understand the logistics behind appraisals, property owners (and, more than likely, the general public) are generally familiar with the concept that appraisals are used to determine the market value of property. When one

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purchases property, an appraisal is required as a prerequisite to closing on the purchase. Thus the appraisal method provides clarity.

## *Cost*

Claimants would be required to bear the costs of appraisals. This cost should not be considered overly burdensome in proving loss of value. Allowance can be made to include a reasonable amount of such cost in any finding of reduction in value, such as that provided in Measure 49 (OAR 197.424(7)).

Governments may be able to rely on assessment information or independent appraisal to confirm a claimant's claimed loss of value. In either case, the cost to government should not be prohibitive. When weighed against the accuracy of appraisal versus the monopoly method, the result may be a cost savings in the terms of potential pay out or cost to society.

## *Accuracy and Fairness*

While the appraisal method may not be as accurate as the economists approach, it is a significant improvement over the monopoly (or back of the envelop) approach. It creates a balance between accuracy, cost and fairness.

As to fairness, the appraisal method does not create an undue burden on claimants. Nor does it create a windfall for claimants. This method should provide compensation equal to or close to the actual loss. This is especially true for newly adopted regulations, where information is readily available, and when applied prospectively, as opposed to retroactively.

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### *Implementation*

This standard will be relatively easy to implement. Claimants may need a short amount of additional time to obtain appraisals and government time to review appraisals. Appraisals should be required to be performed by state-certified appraisers, increasing the credibility of the evidence. In this scenario, the idea of government review should not be to create a battle of experts in all cases, but to verify the accuracy of a claimant's evidence.

One problematic aspect of implementing the appraisal method is caused by the fact that Measure 37 (and, subsequently, Measure 49) applied retroactively. That is, claims could, and were, filed for past regulations, as opposed to applying prospectively – to regulations adopted after the effective date of Measure. This presented difficulty for both the property owner and the government in determining property values at the time of purchase or at the time of adoption of a land use regulation. Claims under Measure 37 were often based on land use regulations dating back to the early 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. An additional complication with retroactive applications, as demonstrated in Oregon, is that it can result in a large number of claims, requiring a lengthy amount of time to process those claims. If independent government appraisals were required for each claim, this will impose an even longer processing time on claimants and the jurisdiction.

## Ballot Measure 49

Ballot Measure 49 was approved by the voters in November 2007. The measure offers a "fix" to Measure 37. Significant provisions of Measure 49 include:

- Claimants may build up to three homes (including any existing homes) if allowed when they acquired their properties. To streamline the approval process, those who choose to apply for up to three homes need only show they had the right to build the homes they are requesting when they acquired their property. No loss of value need be shown under this option.

- Claimants may build between 4 and 10 homes (maximum of 20 on all holdings) if allowed when they acquired their properties and they have suffered reductions in property values that justify the additional home sites. Appraisals are required to establish such reductions in value. Up to $5,000 per claim for costs of appraisals and other costs of preparing claims may be added to the calculation of reduced values.

- This measure protects farmlands, forestlands and lands with groundwater shortages in two ways:
  o First, subdivisions are not allowed on high-value farmlands, forestlands and groundwater-restricted lands. Claimants may not build more than three homes on such lands.
  o Second, claimants may not use this measure to override current zoning laws that prohibit commercial and industrial developments, such as strip malls and mines, on land reserved for homes, farms, forests and other uses.

- Expands homebuilding rights under Measure 37 by:
  o Extending homebuilding rights to surviving spouses whose claims are not eligible for compensation under Measure 37; and

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- o Allowing claimants to transfer their homebuilding rights to new owners, a right not clearly provided by Measure 37. The new owners must exercise their homebuilding rights within 10 years.

- Claimants who have received land use waivers under Measure 37 are entitled to complete developments under the provisions of Measure 37 if they have established vested rights to do so. Vested rights will be determined under common law.

- To validate larger claims, this measure requires those who choose to apply for four to ten homes to show they had the right to develop the homes they are requesting when they acquired their property and that they have suffered a loss of value from prior regulations that justifies the number of homes requested. This measure establishes an ombudsman to help landowners who request assistance with their claims.

- Limits claims, both past and future, to residential use.

- Future claims based on regulations that limit residential uses of property or farm and forest practices will require documentation of reduced values and provides for proportionate compensation when such reductions in value occur. Property owners will have five years to file claims involving regulations enacted after January 1, 2007 (DLCD).

## *Clarity*

Despite its length, the concepts behind Measure 49 are relatively clear. Measure 37 claimants who opt to seek up to 3 homes merely needed to notify DLCD of this

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option.  Claims for 3 homes were to receive priority and be "fast-tracked" by DLCD (Rustad).

Once a claim is processed, the claimant's approval will identify the number of homes permitted, as well as any other conditions of approval (DLCD Measure 49 Guide). As put by Alwin Turiel during her time as Ombudsman for the Measure 49 process, DLCD is now the process of issuing development permits.

Because Measure 49 applies retroactively, development entitlements at the time the claimant purchased property are not always readily apparent.  Another criticism of Measure 49 involves Measure 37 claims that have "vested."  The statute requires that the common law standards of vesting apply.  These standards include:

- The amount of money spent on developing the use in relation to the total cost of establishing the use;

- The good faith of the property owner;

- Whether the property owner had notice of the proposed change in law before beginning the development;

- Whether the improvements could be used for other uses that are allowed under the new law;

- The kind of use, location and cost of the development; and

- Whether the owner's acts rise beyond preparation (land clearing, planning, etc.) (DOJ).

Some called for the state to determine which claims had vested.  However, the state saw this as a local issue.

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While property owners may see the vesting option as an avenue to gain more development rights beyond the 3-10 houses allowed under Measure 49, those rights will be subject to the restrictions of Measure 37.  The primary restriction is that, unlike the development rights granted under Measure 49, the vested claims will not (1) be transferable or (2) survive the death of the claimant.

One of the downfalls for claims for 4 to10 homes is that an appraisal for each regulation will be required for before and after the regulation was adopted.  If a claim is based on Senate Bill 100, the Statewide Goals and subsequent regulations, the number of appraisals could quickly add up.  Additionally, it may be difficult to determine property values going back 30 years.

### *Cost*

For claimants seeking up to 3 houses, there will be no cost.  It was initially thought that the time to process the Measure 49 claims for 3 or fewer homes would be minimal; it has come to light that this may not be the case.  Instead, it may take up to four years to process these "fast-track" claims (Morrissey).  One problem cited for this delay is the fact that the legislature only approved half the requested budget for the Measure 49 division of DLCD (Morrissey, Kafoury).

In addition to the cost to government for processing Measure 49 claims, there is potential high cost for claimants seeking between 4 and 10 homes and for future claimants.   In both of these circumstances, claimants will incur the cost of appraisals.  However, Measure 49 allows up to $5,000 in appraisal fees and other costs to be added to the loss in value.  It remains to be seen whether this amount is sufficient.

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### *Accuracy and Fairness*

Measure 49 achieves a greater balance of fairness between property claimants, neighboring property owners and the public good. As noted herein, there is question whether or not land use regulations have given rise to the extreme loss in property values claimed under Measure 37. Given the difficulty in measuring historic losses, Measure 49 strikes the balance by allowing up to 3 houses with no proof of loss. Of the 4,538 claims filed, 4,162 claimants elected this route. The risk with this option is that three houses may not totally compensate the total loss. However, this risk is offset by two significant factors.

First, given the tax incentives that have been provided to owners of resource land, this option does strike a balance between the needs of property owners and the general public, who have helped subsidize the reduced taxes on resource land. The second factor offsetting any potential loss to property owners is that development rights under Measure 49 are transferable and will survive the death of the claimant. In contrast, waivers under Measure 37 were not transferable and were extinguished upon the death of the claimant.

As noted under the section discussing Measure 37 and the monopoly approach to valuation, that approach was likely to lead to significant windfalls to claimants. Under Measure 49, those windfalls are only possible if a claimant moves forward on a vested rights claim. However, if one moves forward with this option, they do not receive the benefits of transferability and survivorship.

Measure 49 also provides greater fairness to neighboring property owners by limiting the number of houses available for relief. This serves several benefits, including:

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- Protecting farmland from intrusive residential and/or commercial uses. Protecting farmland also serves the greater good of society, especially in light of the investment made by way of reduced taxes for resource land.

- Restricting the number of houses to 3 in high value farm or forestland or in ground water restricted areas.

- Last, but not least, protecting the quality of life expected by neighboring property owners.

With regard to claims for 4 to 10 home sites, the use of appraisals will require actual proof of loss. There is risk that the 10 home sites will not fully cover the loss.

### *Implementation*

Because of the retroactive nature of Measure 49, implementation will cause a tremendous initial workload for the state. Unlike with Measure 37, additional research will be required by DLCD staff into what a property owner could have done with his or her property at the time of purchase. This is causing delay in processing the "express" claims.

Local jurisdictions, on the other hand, have a decreased burden in processing claims. For the most part, they will only be required to assist DLCD in performing research into historic zoning and planning regulations, much of which was compiled during the 3 years Measure 37 was in effect. This has the added benefit of allowing local jurisdictions get back to the business of planning.

The advantages of Measure 49 do not end with processing claims. Once a claim is processed, the property owner will receive a "ticket" spelling out exactly what he or she is entitled to and any conditions of that development. This reduces the burden the

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local jurisdictions in attempting to deceiver state waivers, which were often confusing to both claimants and county planners.  An added benefit is that transferability and survival of waivers are no longer an issue.

## *Conclusion of Valuation Methods*

While the monopoly method is the least expensive (to both claimants and governments) to implement and the easiest method to understand, it leads to the greatest unfairness in terms of both windfalls to property owners, as well as burden on neighboring property owners and the general public welfare. The economist approach offers the greatest accuracy, but with the highest cost and least accessibility in terms of ease of understanding.  Accuracy can be questioned, given the wide range of values resulting from various price indexes.

The appraisal method achieves the greatest balance in fairness to claimants, property owners and the public good.  It is an easy method to comprehend and is relatively low in cost to implement.  However, it is not without its problems.  Most problems arise when the appraisal method applied retroactively.  In this circumstance, historic sales data and property values may not be available.  Additionally, in states such as Oregon where numerous Goals, laws, rules and regulations may apply, multiple appraisals may be required, adding cost to both claimants and governments.  For claimants, allowing the cost, or a portion thereof, to be added to the loss in value, may offset this cost.

This analysis only answers part of the question of what constitutes a fair and balanced approach to valuation under property rights laws.  As is gleaned from the analysis, how loss is measured is only part of the equation.  Additional considerations,

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including the timing of valuation or measurement, value added by regulations, recapture of tax benefits and loss of value thresholds, are explored in the following section.

## Additional Considerations

How we measure loss in value only answers part of the question of "what is a fair and balanced approach to valuation." As referenced throughout this paper, Measure 37 was problematic due to (1) their retroactive application and (2) lack of a statute of limitations. Retroactive application complicates determining loss of value, as historic sales prices and/or property values at the time of adoption of an offending regulation are often missing. Other shortcomings of Measure 37 include

- The failure to take into account both the benefits derived from government regulations (often referred to as "givings"), as well as recapture of any direct benefits, such as tax abatements or subsidies;

- The failure to make relief proportional to loss;

- Lack of options for providing compensation for loss; and

- Failure to exempt certain actions and areas from claims.

With regard to givings, a percentage loss threshold can be used in lieu of measuring each benefit. A percentage loss threshold can also be used to recognize both the inherent risk of owning property and the need to protect the common good.

The following sections discuss the importance of timing of measuring value, statute of limitations, measuring government givings, recapturing tax credits, thresholds, the importance of relief being proportional to loss, alternative forms of compensation and regulations to be exempt.

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All of these factors were considered in Senate Bill 308 (SB308), which was drafted by the legislature in 2005 in response to Measure 37. The final section below outlines the components of SB308.

## *Timing of Measurement*

*How* we should measure the loss of value caused by land use regulations only gets to half the equation. The other half is *when* we should measure the loss. Measure 37 required the loss to be measured "as of the date the owner makes written demand for compensation."

Determining loss of value is not easy task, especially when property rights laws, such as Measures 37 and 49, apply retroactively. Because many claims under Measure 37 were based on family ownership, original sales price was not always available. For land that had been held in family ownership for long periods of time, assessment information, likewise, was unavailable. Additionally, loss of value is subject to many factors, including the time of purchase, appreciation of property values over time, and neighboring market values (Fiore). Thus, while it may not be possible to determine the exact loss of value, the challenge is to come up with a mechanism that is fair to the landowner, as well as the general public, and does not create a windfall for the property owner.

The more accurate method of measuring the effects of land use regulations is to compare the fair market value before the enactment of the regulation to the fair market value after the enactment. Using this timing will measure the loss *at the time of the* "taking" and is consistent with takings jurisprudence (MacLaren). It has the additional benefit of avoiding the monopoly windfall.

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Unfortunately, with the retroactive application of Measure 37 and 49, the historic fair market value immediately prior to and after the adoption of the regulation may not be available.  Thus, using the timing of the adoption of the regulation may only be possible for recent or prospective land use regulations.

## Statute of Limitations

Under Measure 37, claims were permitted either within 2 years of adoption or enforcement of a regulation.  This left the time for filing a claim for compensation open ended, creating uncertainty for neighboring property owners and government.  Neighboring property owners continually faced the risk of a nearby nonconforming use, while governments the cost of compensating a claimant upon enforcement of a regulation.

Florida, Mississippi and Texas statutes include statute of limitations ranging from 1 year in Florida and Mississippi, and 180 days in Texas.  In contrast, the statute of limitations under Measure 49 is five years from enactment of the challenged regulation.

To create greater certainty for neighboring property owners and governments, it is recommended that a shorter statute of limitations be adopted.

## Measuring Value Added by Regulations

What Measure 37 and its progeny ignore is the fact that, just as land-use regulations may decrease property values, they also add value, known as "givings."  Government "givings" are "those actions by government entities [that] increase land values" (Cordes).  Examples of givings are when the government upzones or changes a zoning ordinance to the benefit of property owners or when the government relaxes

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environmental regulations (Liberty). As noted by Metro Councilmember Robert Liberty, "just as with takings, the failure to consider givings results both in unfairness and in economic inefficiencies by government and private property owners." Givings have also been called "windfalls" (Liberty). With regard to farmland, it has been said "much of the value of farmland is the result of government givings" (Cordes). Cordes offers the following example of givings in relation to farmland:

| Action | Value |
| --- | --- |
| Farmland value before government action: | $ 50,000 |
| Government builds highway nearby that makes property accessible to suburbs; nearby development occurs: | $300,000 |
| Property zoned to exclusive farm use: | $100,000 |

While some may argue that the rezoning of the property has resulted in a loss of $200,000, taking into account the government action of building the highway has doubled the property value (Cordes).

On a simplistic level, land use regulations add value to property by preventing conflicting uses and providing more cost-effective public services through growth management and establishing parks and open space (Fiore).[17] Land use regulations came about in response to an effort to protect residents from noise, noxious discharges and other incompatible uses (MacLaren). In Oregon, as well as other states with exclusive farm use zoning, the certainty of such zoning has helped farmers by protecting them from encroaching residential development. A study in Wisconsin found that farmers are

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[17] These benefits were compromised by Measure 37, as neighboring property owners were at risk from conflicting land uses (Fiore). As reported by 1000 Friends of Oregon, the Lay family is a prime example of the detriment of Measure 37 development to neighboring farm land. The Lay's have farmed 100 acres in Clackamas County for more than half a century. The owners are now elderly – 87 and 86 years old. Their son cannot work the farm, as he is disabled. The Lays decided to sell the farm. However, the offer they received fell through when the prospective purchaser learned that the neighbors had been granted a Measure 37 waiver to operate a gravel mine (Sightline Institute).

willing to pay more for land zoned as exclusive farm use because the future of farming is more certain (Henneberry & Barrows).[18]  This was particularly true for large parcels located away from urban areas.  As noted above, the conversion of farm land to residential use, and the conflict between that new residential use and on-going farming operations was one of the motivations for the adoption of the Oregon land use system.

Another example of land use regulation adding value in Oregon is the inclusion of land into an Urban Growth Boundary (UGB).  An example of this is from Damascus in Clackamas County, which was included in the Metro UGB in 2002.  The first step in the process of bringing in the 18,579 acres into the UGB was to include that area in the urban reserves (Liberty).  Urban reserves are given priority under state law for addition to an UGB and, consequently, such a designation confers an increased speculative value.  In 2002, 18,540 acres were added to the Metro UGB, creating an additional increase in value.  Metro tracked the sale of 51 properties totaling approximately 600 acres in the Damascus expansion area and found that the increase in sales price per acre rose 150% after the UGB expansion and 330% over the pre-UGB price in 2004 (Table 3).

**Table 3:  Damascus Land Sales Increases Post 2002 UGB Expansion**

| Year | Sale Timing | Sales price/acre | % Increase |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1998 – 2002 | Pre-UGB sales | $22,499 | - |
| 2002 – 2004 | Post-UGB sales | $55,584 | 147.1% |
| 2004 | Post-UGB sales | $96,392 | 328.4% |

Source:  Liberty

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[18]   This study still begs the question of how much value is lost in the event the farmer no longer wishes to farm and there may be a conflicting highest and best use of the property.  It is for this reason that I do not argue that forest and farm land owners have not suffered any loss in value due to restrictive regulations but, rather, call into question how much value has been lost and how we can, as close as possible, accurately measure such loss.

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## *Recapturing Farm and Forest Tax Credits*

SB100 was not adopted without regard to the potential negative impacts on the values of farm and forestland.  As explained above, SB101 was adopted to provide special assessments to farm and forestland, as result, reducing the taxes on such property. According to Ron Eber, DLCD's former Farm and Forest Specialist, "the link between zoning and special tax treatment is essential to the success of Oregon's comprehensive planning due to the balance it strikes between public and private interest in the use of agricultural lands" (Girshkin).

The reduced taxes on rural land was made up by the 96% of the population who live in cities and suburbs and have paid $3.8 billion more in taxes since 1973 (Richmond, Houchen).  In light of this investment of urban taxpayers, it has been argued that Measure 37 is a "scam on county tax payers" for two reasons:

*First*, Measure 37 abruptly cancels that taxpayer investment, and the

future income that investment otherwise would have helped secure.

*Second*, Measure 37 allows claimants, quite unknowingly, to effectively

appropriate to themselves not just the $3,440/acre worth of development

rights which [sic] taxpayer payments previously have extinguished, but,

also, the $3,448 per acre investment county taxpayers made to extinguish

those rights (Atiyeh, *et al.*).

The benefit of these tax breaks is not lost on the public.  In DCLD Claim No. 129413, a neighboring property owner posed this question:

. . . What is just compensation?  When the claimants had the ability to

develop, they passed up the opportunity in favor of lucrative agriculture

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pursuits and favorable tax treatment.  Now, they claim they have been

adversely impacted and want full market value.

The benefits received, along with the fact that Oregon farmland has out performed the

stock market since the 1970s (Richmond & Houchen) makes for a strong argument in

favor of crediting the benefits when calculating the losses under Measure 37.

## *Percentage Loss Threshold*

As noted above, government actions do not only result in a loss in an individual

property value, they can increase property value.  Property regulations also serve to

balance the interest of the individual property owner against the public good.

Unfortunately, the property rights movement has focused solely on the individual

property owner, loosing sight of a given regulations' effect on society.  It would be

impossible to balance the fairness of each regulation against every individual property

owner affected.  It is for this reason we look at the cumulative common good resulting

from regulations over time.  As explained by Cordes.

> . . . any serious argument about fairness must recognize the significant regulatory
>
> benefits that flow to landowners as a result of other regulations. Focusing only on
>
> the burden caused by a particular regulation distorts the regulatory equation,
>
> making the government accountable for burdens imposed, but not giving the
>
> government credit for the benefits created (Cordes).

Measuring losses caused by government actions, as alluded to above, is a difficult task.

While one might assume that the benefits imposed by government action will be

recaptured in property taxes, that is not the case in states such as Oregon, which has a

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restriction on the amount that real property taxes can increase.[19]  Moreover, with regard

to valuing the benefits and burdens of regulations under a property rights regulation, the

cost of attempting to value each benefit may outweigh any gains.  Thus, a threshold

offers a method to recognize the general benefits of government actions. Additionally, a

threshold can mitigate the "monopoly" affect, such as that caused by Measure 37.

Using a threshold also recognizes that, property, like any other investment, has

inherent risks.  One of the risks in owning property is that of regulation (Cordes). This is

especially true for potential uses, as opposed to lawfully established uses (Cordes).  The

Florida property rights' legislation recognizes that it is reasonable to expect a property

owner to bear his or her proportionate share of a regulation imposed for the public good.

While not a perfect match, a threshold can be used in lieu of attempting to calculate the

benefits received from regulations.

## Choosing a Loss of Value Threshold

It is not enough to say that there should be loss of value threshold.  A fair

threshold must be determined.  The success of a threshold can be evaluated by two

questions:  (1) Are property owners who suffered losses being compensated? And (2) Are

compensation payments reasonably related to the loss suffered?  (Hunt).  To answer these

questions, the following factors should be considered:

1. *Should government have broad or limited rights to impose regulations?*  If

a low threshold is adopted, it implies that the government's right to regulate the use of

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[19]   Measure 50, approved in 1997, limited any increase in property taxes to three percent per year.
Measure 5, approved in 1990, capped property taxes at $15 per $1000 of assessed value - $10 for general
fund and $5 for schools.

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real property should be limited. If the threshold is high, it implies that the government should have a greater leeway in regulating property.

Given Oregon's history and desire to protect resource land, a value that still holds true, this consideration supports a higher threshold. A higher threshold is also supported by the fact that, unlike other states that offer greater statutory exceptions from their property rights legislation, Measure 37 offers very little exceptions. In contrast, the strength of the recent property rights movement may support a lower threshold, as there is greater resistance to the government's right to regulate property for the common good.

2. *Which risk is more important to avoid: Paying land owners who are ineligible or not paying landowners who are eligible?* It is impossible to determine with precision loss in value of property as a result of regulations. Such matters often become a battle of appraisers and/or assessors. If making sure all eligible landowners receive compensation is the prevailing concern, the threshold should be low. With a low threshold, there is risk that ineligible landowners will be compensated. However, if the primary concern is avoiding payment of ineligible claims, the threshold should be higher.

One of the early version of the proposed amendments to Measure 37 included a 20% reduction in value threshold (SB588(4)(g)). HB 3540a proposed a 10% threshold if only one regulation is involved and a 25% threshold for more than one regulation in a five year period. Ultimately, Measure 49 did not include any threshold. However, no loss of value is required for claimants seeking up to three home sites. In cases such as Measure 49, where some development is allowed without proof of loss, a higher threshold is warranted for claims for development above the matter-of-right allowance.

Using a percentage of the loss caused by regulations has been criticized as being flawed as arbitrary and resulting in expensive lawsuits over land value (Pivo). Using the above considerations mitigates any arbitrariness of a threshold. With respect to expensive litigation, Measure 37 has already led to much litigation. The valuation of property, by nature, is subject to interpretation and, as such, litigation. The addition of a threshold will only increase such litigation only when a property is determined not to meet the threshold.

## *Exemptions from Property Rights Laws*

Measure 37 exempted regulations that protected public health and safety from claims. Measure 49 exempted high value farmland and groundwater restricted areas. Florida, Texas and Senate Bill 308, discuss below, offer even broader exemptions. Exemptions that should be considered include government actions or regulations necessary to:

- Carry out a federal requirement or receive federal benefits;

- Comply with federal law (e.g. Endangered Species Act);

- Prohibit or abate a nuisance;

- Protect groundwater;

- Regulate water safety; and

- Regulate public health and safety, including regulations that are intended to reduce the risk of fire, earthquake, landslide, flood, storm, pollution, disease, crime or other natural or human disaster. Such regulations may include building and fire codes, health and sanitation regulations, solid or hazardous waste regulations and pollution control regulations.

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## *Proportionality and Alternative Methods of Compensation*

As illustrated in the analysis of Measure 37, removing a regulation from a single piece of property creates a disproportionate benefit to that property owner. Thus, rather removing the offending regulation, relief granted should be proportional to the loss caused by that regulation. In order to accomplish this objective, a property rights law should provide for alternative methods of compensation. Methods to consider include:

- Cash or check;

- Income tax credits and deductions;

- Exemptions from property taxes;

- Transferable development credits;

- Land swaps or exchanges;

- Increases in density or intensity of use allowed on the property in question or a portion of that property;

- Issuance of a development order, variance, special exception or other extraordinary relief; and/or

- Purchase of the property in question (in whole or in part).

## **Senate Bill 308 – A Lost Opportunity**

Following the passage of Measure 37, Senate Bill 308 was introduced during the 2005 legislative session. Senate Bill 308, which would have repealed and replaced Measure 37, represented an effort to address fairness to all – claimants, property owners and the public good. SB308 would have accomplished this by including a threshold, recapturing givings over a four year period, requiring that compensation be proportional

to the loss and giving options for compensation.  Under SB308, appraisals would have been required to prove loss.  The proposed statute of limitations was one year from adoption of a regulation with the additional requirement that a property owner provide notice to the adopting government entity within 90 days of adoption reserving the right to file a claim.  Unfortunately, the Bill did not gain traction for support.

The purpose of SB 308 was to:

- Establish a system to provide various types of compensation in specified instances when land use requirement reduced fair market value of property; and

- Establish a program for creation, purchase, sale, exchange or conveyance of transferable development credits.

## Threshold Proposed

Senate Bill 308 (SB308) proposed two thresholds:

- 25 percent for a single restriction; and

- 45 percent for multiple restrictions (SB308 Sec. 2(1)(a)&(b)).

## Givings Recapture

In determining whether a property's value was reduced as a result of government regulations, SB308 required looking at the past four years to determine if any government action had increased the subject property's value by five percent or more (SB308 Sec. 2(2)(b)).  If the property value had been increased by five percent or more, the increase, less any fee or charge paid to the government for the action resulting in the increase, had to be included in calculating the reduction.

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## Compensation and Proportionality

SB308 required that compensation be proportional to the reduction in fair market value (SB308 Sec. 4(1)).  Compensation could be granted in the form of:

- Cash

- Cash equivalent, including

    o For claims against the state, income tax credits and deductions

    o For claims against local government, exemptions from the property taxes imposed by that local government

- Land or development benefits, including

    o A modification, variance or adjustment of a restriction that is authorized by law and that results in an increase in fair market value

    o Transferable development credits

    o Land exchanges

    o Increases in density or intensity of use allowed on all or a portion of the real property or changes in density or intensity of use that do not exceed the overall density or intensity standards or

    o A modification of a condition of approval of a particular use of the real property.

## Appraisal Method and Statute of Limitations

Under SB308, to be eligible to file a claim for compensation, a property owner would have been required to provide notice to the government agency adopting a regulation in question within 90 days of the adoption (SB308 Sec. 6(1)).  This notice,

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which would have reserved the right to file a claim, was to include a description of the property in question, the regulation and an estimated of the percentage by which the property value was alleged to be reduced.  The claim itself was to be filed within a year of adoption of the regulation upon which the reduction was based.  Claims were to include an appraisal by a licensed appraiser.

## Past Farm and Forest Regulations

Section 7 of SB308 provided for relief for past land use regulations relating to land outside of urban growth boundaries and zoned for agriculture, forestry or mixed agriculture and forestry.  This section allowed a Compensation and Conservation Board to grant relief where regulations adopted after a claimant purchased his or her property restricted the siting of a home on the property or the division of the property into two or more parcels.  These claims were to be decided on an expedited basis and without proof of loss.  The amount of compensation was to be determined by the Board based on factors including the fair market value of the right restricted (i.e., siting a home or dividing the property), regional differences and fairness factors, such as taxation practices and the measurable effect of public investment.  The maximum number of parcels or lots to be eligible for relief under this section was 10.

## Other Factors

Two other important considerations of SB308 include setting up a funding mechanism and a transfer development rights program.

Funding authorizations included allowing local governments to issue general obligation bonds not to exceed the amount of compensation; imposing a conservation and

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compensation tax; levying taxes not exceed allowable limits.  The conservation and

compensation tax was to be imposed when:

- New property or improvements were created;

- The property was subdivided or partitioned;

- The property was rezoned and used consistently with the new zoning;

- The property was an omitted property; or

- The property was disqualified from an exemption (SB308 Sec. 33).

The 5% tax, in essence, recaptured the benefit of government actions.

The transfer development right program was proposed to

- Compensate property owners for disproportionate reduction in the value of the
  real property that results from the application of land use requirements and
  sustaining those requirements by offering alternate development opportunities to
  property owners;

- Transfer development from locations within sending districts in which
  development is inconsistent with local or state land sue planning objectives to
  other locations within receiving districts in which development will be compatible
  with those objectives;

- Enhancing the livability and suitability for particular purposes of sending districts
  and receiving districts and their surrounding communities;

- Promoting development in economically distressed areas of the state; and

- Increasing revenues from state-owned districts receiving transferable
  development credits (SB308 Sec. 18(1)(a)-(d)).

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The programs were to be set up and managed by a new Compensation and Conservation

Authority.

### Summary of Senate Bill 308

While long and complex, the premise behind SB308 was to achieve a balance of

fairness. Providing specific relief for past regulations solved the problems of the lack of

historic data and inability of government agencies to adequately budget for payouts.   The

bill provided flexibility for granting relief, a funding mechanism and a transfer

development rights program.

SB308 should have been a starting point for the 2007 legislative session in

addressing Measure 37.  Indeed, legislation of this nature should have been introduced

after Measure 7.

# Conclusion and Recommendations

## *Recommendations*

For Oregon, Measure 49 represents a hopeful beginning in balancing fairness of

the land use system so that individual property owners do not bear the burden of

regulations for the public good.  Measure 49 also represents hope in that it restores some

semblance of order out of the chaos initially caused by Measure 37.  However, Measure

49 should only represent the beginning, not the conclusion, of the discussion on property

rights and fairness.  Greater investigation is required in determining the effects of the 35-

year old system to and whether or not the system has resulted in significant reductions in

property values. While not addressed in this paper, it should also be the start of a conversation of what Oregon's system should look like going forward.[20]

For other states, Oregon offers lessons to be learned. To be certain, it has been made clear that balancing the interests of the individual property owner's rights and the common good is no easy task. The property rights movement has shifted the focus from the common good to that solely of the individual property owner. This focus ignores the benefits of government regulation on land value. The challenge going forward is taking into account both the individual property owner, neighboring property owners and the common good. The following is a list of considerations to be taken into account when drafting a property rights law:

1. **Prospective application.** As noted in the discussion above, the retroactive application of Measures 37 and 49 complicate the ability to accurately measure any loss of value (or, for that matter, benefits rendered by government actions). Typically, it is the exception to apply a law retroactively. The lack of historic sales and/or tax data can make retroactive valuation a nearly impossible task. Applying a property rights regulation prospectively creates greater clarity and fairness, reduces the cost for applicants and government and makes implementation easier. Although property rights advocates may not sympathize with the cost to government, money spent on processing claims will be taken away from other government services.

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[20] While the Big Look is expected to come out with its proposals in November 2008, given the limited public outreach of that effort, more action will be required.

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Applying a property rights law prospectively does not mean the jurisdiction should ignore loss in value based on historic regulations. Measure 49 offers an example of how to address such losses by allowing a limited number of home sites without proof of loss. However, this is not to say that "one size" should fit all. Oregon should further study the number of homes allowed, taking into consideration factors such as the size of the property, location, value of resource land, ground water availability and ability to service the property.

2.   **Timing and Statute of Limitations.**  Closely related to the prospective application of a property rights regulation when loss of value should be measured. Under Measure 37, loss was measured at the time a claimant filed a claim. However, such timing is contrary to the takings doctrine of measuring loss of value at the time of the "taking." Measuring at the time of filing a claim based on past regulations adds to the windfall under the monopoly method.

The complications arising from the retroactive application of a property rights law and basing the loss at the time of filing a claim illustrates the importance of having a relatively short statute of limitations. Under Measure 37, the timing for filing a claim was not based solely on adoption, but included enforcement of a regulation. Because of the public notice involved in adopting land use regulations, the statute of limitations for a cause of action should be no more than two (2) years of adoption of that regulation. Florida, Mississippi and Texas have adopted much shorter

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statutes of limitations – one year and 180 days, respectively. Extending the time to file a claim from enforcement of a regulation is inherently unfair to neighboring property owners, as well as government planning. By imposing a set statute of limitations, neighboring (existing or prospective) property owners can expect compliance with new regulations once the statute of limitations has expired. Similarly, governing jurisdictions can adequately budget for processing claims.

3. **Use of the Appraisal Method.** The appraisal method provides the greatest level of clarity and accuracy, as well as being the easiest to implement. Costs associated with this method are reasonable, and the result is avoidance of a windfall to a claimant.

Although the economist approach offers greater accuracy, the appraisal method is preferred method, as it is easier to understand and implement. The appraisal method is preferred over the monopoly method, such as that in Measure 37, in that it avoids windfalls to claimants and provides greater accuracy.

4. **Givings**. Land use regulations and government actions can, and often do, add value to property. Talking about regulations and government actions decreasing property values only addresses half the equation. The challenge is in finding an appropriate method of valuation to balance the benefits and burdens of government actions. Givings recognize the purpose of government actions, such as planning and zoning (which protect property values by prohibits conflicting neighboring uses) and public infrastructure

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(such as transportation facilities, water and sewer) of protecting the public good.

While it may not be possible to recapture or value every givings, these benefits need to be part of the valuation equation. Rather than attempt to measure the value of each beneficial government action, if a property rights regulation is adopted, givings can be recognized as part of the equation through the establishment of a threshold for when a property must be compensated for loss of property value.

Senate Bill 308 is an alternative to thresholds to take into consideration the benefits that government action can bestow on property values. However, because SB308 did not pass, we cannot measure its accuracy or ease of implementation.

5. **Thresholds.** Use of a threshold is an appropriate method of recognizing both the inherent risk of regulations and economic loss in real property, as well as the benefits of government regulations and actions. Determining a threshold will require taking into consideration tolerance for government regulation. If the consensus of the population is that government should have broad rights of governance, a high threshold may be adopted. If, on the other hand, there is little tolerance for government regulation, a lower threshold may be required. As illustrated by Oregon's unsuccessful attempts to agree upon a threshold for Measure 49, it will be a hotly debated topic.

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Another question in determining a threshold is risk. The question here is which risk is more important to avoid: paying landowners who are not eligible (low threshold); or not paying landowners who may be eligible (high threshold)?

6.   **Recapture of Direct Benefits.** Where a claimant has received a direct benefit in exchange for preserving land or foregoing development rights, such benefits must be taken into account in determining whether a loss of value has been incurred. In Oregon, such a direct benefit is the tax breaks afforded to owners of farm and forestland. If it is determined that government actions have resulted in a loss in property value, the direct benefit should be recaptured. Failure to recapture such benefits will result in a windfall for the property owner.

7.   **Proportionality.** One of the downfalls of Measure 37 was that the relief granted was, more often than not, disproportional to the loss suffered. SB308 represented an attempt to rectify this, by requiring that "the compensation must have a value equal to the reduction in fair market value . . ." Of course, proportionality requires accurate valuation. Proportionality also requires flexibility in the method of relief. As illustrated by Measure 37, wholesale removal of the offending land use regulations artificially inflated the claimant's property value, resulting in windfalls in the millions of dollars.

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8. **Flexibility in Methods of Granting Relief.** Flexibility should be afforded to the regulating entity in granting relief. Methods of compensation could include some or all of the following:

   - Cash or check;

   - Income tax credits and deductions;

   - Exemptions from property taxes;

   - Transferable development credits;

   - Land swaps or exchanges;

   - Increases in density or intensity of use allowed on the property in question or a portion of that property;

   - Issuance of a development order, variance, special exception or other extraordinary relief; and/or

   - Purchase of the property in question (in whole or in part).

9. **Exemptions for Certain Types of Government Action.** Even Measure 37 recognized that certain government actions should be exempt from claims for loss of value. Florida and Texas, as well as SB308 and Measure 49, have recognized even broader exemptions. Exemptions should include (but not be limited to) government actions or regulations necessary to:

   - Carry out a federal requirement or receive federal benefits;

   - Comply with federal law (e.g. Endangered Species Act);

   - Prohibit or abate a nuisance;

   - Protect groundwater;

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- Regulate water safety; and

- Regulate public health and safety, including regulations that are intended to reduce the risk of fire, earthquake, landslide, flood, storm, pollution, disease, crime or other natural or human disaster. Such regulations may include building and fire codes, health and sanitation regulations, solid or hazardous waste regulations and pollution control regulations.

## Conclusion

The property rights movement has resulted in a shift away from considering the common good to focusing solely on the rights of the individual property owner. Measure 37 gave a glimpse into the potential impact that such a one-sided focus could have, with over 6,857 claims filed with the state seeking compensation in the amount of more than $19,844,379,986. Measure 49 has served to restore some sense of normalcy in the Oregon land use system. However, given the rise in efforts by other states to adopt property rights regulations, it is time to take a step back and come to a better understanding of fairness in land use. To this end, the property rights movement has illustrated the need to strengthen public involvement and awareness regarding property governance and the benefits of land use regulations. The recommendations listed above will help frame the conversation as to a fair and balanced approach to measuring loss of value and providing compensation for loss caused by government actions.

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## Acknowledgements and Thanks

# Historical discourses of a traditional Chinese dress: *qipao* history before the middle twentieth century

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## Abstract

A *qipao*, or called *cheongsam* in Cantonese, is a one-piece garment, which has an asymmetrical front opening and is decorated with various piping, trimming, and "frog" closures. Internationally, it is these distinct details that define *qipao* as a specifically Chinese garment. The goal of this study not only focuses on how this traditional Chinese garment developed through the history but also focuses on *qipao*'s cultural meanings. This study adopts historical research method to probe the historical background and meanings of the *qipao*. The primary sources used by this study include texts and photos from the popular magazines issued from 1915 to 1945 in Shanghai. Past *qipao* related research literature serves as the secondary source for this study. Based on the study, *qipao* with its historical contents was not just a unique dress, which denotes 'Chinese-ness', but its changing of the styles, as symbols, also connotes Chinese modernity.

Key words: *qipao*, *cheongsam* , Chinese traditional dress, modernity

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Introduction

Many past studies (Tasi, 1981; Wang, 1975; Xie, 2004) have studied *qipao* history with the focus on style changing. Only few studies explored the *qipao* within a specific research theme, such as gender (Chen, 2001) or nationality (Finnane, 1996). None of the study has explored *qipao's* cultural meanings from a holistic aspect. This paper is an excerpt from a big research and it focuses on how *qipao* was initiated and developed from 1910s to 1960s. The purpose of this study was to explore *qipao's* cultural meaning through its historical context. This paper will report the background and how the *qipao* was initiated at the first. *Qipao's* style development, its background and its cultural contents will be reported in the historical timeline order.

Background of the Origin of the *Qipao*

When the Republic of China overthrew Qing dynasty and was established in 1912, the aim of the nation was to overthrow feudalism and establish a modern China. Rejecting Qing hairstyles and clothing and adopting new styles of dress were fundamental to the definition of the Republic (Carroll, 2003). Western dress was a source that could be used to establish a new image for modern China, and many people changed to a more western style of dress. However, western garments did not replace all indigenous Chinese garments. One possible reason for this is that the western man's suit, with its tight fit and tailored construction, was much less comfortable than looser fitting Chinese clothing (Clark, 2000). Another possible reason was that western clothing styles contradicted Chinese ethnocentric beliefs about dress (Zamperini, 2003). Within the context of Chinese tradition, Han dress was seen as the marker of "civilization." Clothing in Chinese culture did not focus on the issues of body shape, fit or varieties of styles; instead, clothing with a loose fit and big sleeves fully covered the body, leaving space not just for comfort but also for meeting

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other needs. Individual's demeanors and inner characters were presented by managing the space between his or her clothes and the body when the person moved. Chinese culture, extended from Confusion philosophy, also emphasized that dress had to be harmonized with social hierarchical order so that the society can be stably maintained. In addition, before western imperialism invaded China in the nineteenth century, the majority people Han people held an ethnocentric view that they were the cultural center of the world (Feuchtwang, 1993). Since the China was defeated by the Western imperialism, Chinese struggled to figure out what was wrong in their cultural and political system. The Chinese began to learn and borrow the concepts of scientific and democratic from the West and the birth of the ROC was the result of wanting to create a democratic country (Zamperini, 2003). In the process of interactions with and learning from the West, various conflicts and contradictions occurred. To look modern or to look Chinese was one of the conflicts. A western man's suit symbolized modern but was not as comfortable as a Chinese long robe. It also did not fit into Chinese ideology of wearing a loosely fit garment. Western women's dress often associated with shoulder exposure that was perceived improper and "un-civilized" according to Chinese dress ideology (Zamperini, 2003).

In addition, from 1912 to 1926, Mainland China was in a chaotic situation. Domestically, the country was not unified because various military powers occupied different parts of China and parts of China were under imperialist authorities. In 1916, the New Cultural Movement took place. Chinese intellectuals believed that traditional values had confined Chinese progress in a modern world; therefore, they strongly promoted "democracy" and "science" to replace traditional Confucian values and governmental hierarchies (Du, 1985). Also, Chinese intellectuals introduced Vernacular Chinese to give people with little education the opportunities of more rapidly reading and learning new knowledge (Du, 1985).

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In 1919, after World War I, the Treaty of Versailles decreed that Japan would take over German colonies in China. This instigated a series of student demonstrations, which became known as the May Fourth Movement (1919-1921). The initial goal of this movement was to rebel against imperialists and abolish all imperialist privileges such as foreigners' immunity in Chinese courts (Du, 1985). The movement also rebelled against traditional Chinese cultural values and supported the Vernacular Chinese literature proposed by the New Cultural movements (Du, 1985). The May Fourth Movement marked an upsurge of Chinese nationalism and was a turning point in Chinese modernization. After the May Fourth Movement, the beliefs among Chinese intellectuals became diversified. Some intellectuals continually adopted a mild way to promote Chinese modernization, but some intellectuals shifted towards the political left and radically revolted against traditional values and imperialism (Du, 1985). Marxism-Leninism began to take hold in Chinese intellectual thought, and the Communist Party was established in 1921 (Du, 1985). The May Fourth Movement also caused great changes in women's roles in Chinese society, which, in turn, influenced women's dress practices.

<center>The Origin of the <em>Qipao</em>, 1912-1920s: Women's Freedom</center>

When and why did Han women adopt the *qipao*? There is no definitive answer. Both Tsai (1991) and Wang (1975) indicate that Han and Qi women, a minority group primarily in the northeastern part of China, carried on their two-piece attire and one-piece robe practices at the beginning of the ROC in the 1910s. In the middle of the 1920s, a calf-length vest, *maijai*, appeared in Han women's clothing fashion. *Maijai* was a combination of Han women's skirt and Qi women's short vest, *maikuwa*. The Chinese movie star, Yang Nei-Mei, adopted this long vest in an early film that later inspired Han women's adoption of a one-piece robe (Wang, 1975). An old

magazine, the *Young Companion* (1940), also reported that long loose *maijai* without side slits was the prototype of *qipao.* That is, the style development of Han women's *qipao* had already departed from *Qi's pao* (a long robe)*,* moving toward western fashion trends as early as 1927. Guo (1999) used old photos, newspapers and writers' works to analyze when the *qipao* was adopted by Han women in Beijing City. She concluded that Han women began to adopt the *qipao,* which had wide sleeves, loose silhouette, and lower calf-length, in the early 1920s. This early *qipao* was similar to *Qi's pao* but did not have fancy trimming, binding or a pattern on the curved opening. There was no slit at the left side seam, but the buttons on the right side opening could be unbuttoned to form a side slit. From the analyzing of a photo of a famous female architect, Ms. Lin Huei Yin, Guo argued that a new form of *qipao*, a long *maijai*, had appeared around 1924. Also, influenced by the 1920s western fashion trend of a straight silhouette and boyish look, Chinese women adopted short hair, and the length of *qipao* was gradually shortened during 1928, reaching a shorter under-knee length by 1929 (Guo, 1999; Wang, 1975). Cut-and-sewn sleeves appeared on *qipao* in 1929 (Unkown, 1940). This initial *qipao* with a loose fitting silhouette, close-to-the knee length, and short hair, was viewed as a male dress. Elder women strongly rejected women's wearing of this male-look style (Guo, 1999; Unkown, 1940; Wang, 1975).

Clark (2000) and Finnane (1996) focused on the background of why women adopted *qipao*. They both thought that the May Fourth movement created a new arena for Chinese women. Based on communist discourses, Finnane (1996) also reported that the turning point for women donning the *qipao* as daily dress was due to communists' May Thirtieth Movement in 1925, an anti-imperialism movement following the May Fourth Movement. They both suggested that Chinese women, after social movements in the 1920s, began to look for gender equality from their daily practices including dress practices.

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In traditional Chinese society, women had to comply with social norms and their domestic roles. Several Chinese sayings reflect this ideology. For instance, "Ignorance is a woman's virtue (女子無才便是德)" explicitly expresses that a woman's virtues are judged by whether or not she can express her opinions in a proper way and in proper situations, which are always defined by males. Another Chinese saying, "One neither goes outside of the front gate, nor strides toward the second (inner) gate. (大門不出、二門不邁)" was often used to describe that staying home was one good virtue for women. In fact, since the Ming dynasty (1368 CE-1644 CE), the upper middle class Han women were tied to the home, quite literally, by the practice of foot binding. Even though the ROC government mandated the eradication of foot binding, the May Fourth Movement went further to uphold women's freedom and a new socially progressive role for women. One of their manifestos encouraged women to step out of the home and gain education, which was a big challenge to traditional Chinese society. Female students were seen as the prototype of Chinese new women. Their choice to wear short hair and men's attire, in the form of the loose fitting long robes, later changing to knee length robes, symbolized rebellion from gender inequality (Clark, 2000; Finnane, 1996). Eileen Chang (1943) had a similar comment that "women first began to wear the robe because they wanted to look like men."

The evidence of women wearing the long robe also can be found in the sartorial regulations issued by the ROC government in 1929. Sartorial regulations in previous Chinese dynasties were used to regulate noble members and government officers to wear properly for various situations. The ROC carried on this traditional practice and issued a set of sartorial regulations for government officers, army soldiers and citizens (Shih, 1979; Wang, 1975). In the 1929 version of the sartorial regulations, the government incorporated the prevailing practice of wearing robes and prescribed two types of women's formal dress. The first type was a lower calf-length blue robe with a

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mandarin collar, a left-over-right opening, and long sleeves (Wang, 1975). The material used in this unisexual robe was domestic silk, cotton, or wool. The second type was a two-piece ensemble including a blue jacket and black skirt. In other words, women's one-piece robe and two-piece ensemble were both popular in the late 1920s.

In sum, scholars have proposed that the Han women's *qipao* emerged between the early to middle 1920s. The initial form of the *qipao* had wide sleeves, a very loose fit silhouette and lower calf-length. The silhouette and style of the initial *qipao* was the same as the men's long robe, the *chang pao*. A new form of vest-type *qipao* appeared in 1924. *Qipao* style influenced by Western fashion trends could be found since 1927. Also, the initial *qipao* resonated with traditional Chinese dress beliefs that *pao* was unisexual and androgynous that also symbolized the modern thoughts of gender equality and pursuing women's freedom.

Urbanized *Qipao* in the1930s: City Wear

In 1928, the ROC government finally unified the nation, China's economic environment improved, and western fashion began to prevail in big cities such as Shanghai and Guangzhou. In the late 1920s, Shanghai was one of the important ports in China. International connections made Shanghai the leader in foreign commerce in China. In the 1930s, Shanghai had a population of five million, which made it one of the three largest cities in the world (Clark, 2000). The intensive business connections with foreign companies fostered the development of Shanghai's modernity. Although China did not have a formal fashion organization, tailors in Shanghai picked up western fashion trends from their own sources and transferred these ideas into creating modern *qipao* styles (Clark, 2000).

Part of *qipao* development, from the 1930s to the early 1940s, was associated with the development of both the modern city and western fashion. The style changes

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of *qipao* were significant and provided fundamental style definition for the modern, fashionable *qipao*. By gradually adopting various elements from western garments, *qipao* shifted from the traditional Chinese square and loose garment construction to incorporate western methods of garment construction including curved side seams, bias-cutting and cut-and-sewn sleeves, which resulted in a more body revealing silhouette. In addition, various fashionable styles were created and innovated based on *qipao*.

In the thirties, the style and design details of the *qipao* fluctuated significantly (Tsai, 1991). The major changes include: a left side slit appeared in 1933 (Unknown, 1940), a curved side seam provided a more curvaceous fitting silhouette (Tsai, 1991), a bias-cut *qipao* created a more revealing body form (Carroll, 2003), and a sleeveless *qipao* appeared in 1937 (Tsai, 1991). Other elements of *qipao* also changed. In 1940, the *Young Companion Pictorial* magazine provided a brief style overview of *qipao* for the 1930s. According to the report " Transition of the Chinese Gown" (1940), the length of *qipao* dropped to lower calf again in 1931, reached to the floor in 1934 and 1935, but returned back to ankle length in 1936. Sleeve length fluctuated from wrist length to elbow length and was even sewn with ruffles at a certain period of time, such as in 1933. The height of the mandarin collar was about 1 inch at the early of the1920s but grew to over 2.5 inches in the mid-30s and decreased to 2 inches by the end of the 1930s. The end point of the side slit fluctuated from above the middle of the thigh to one or two inches above the knees. Tsai (1991) indicated that the side slit reached its highest in 1934, when the end point of the slit reached around 30 cm (about 11 inches) above the knee; it soon dropped down to about two inches above the knee in the next year.

Materials used for *qipao* in the 1930s were various. A domestic branded cotton fabric, *yin dan shi lin* (陰丹士林), was the most popular fabric for making a *qipao*

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(Clark, 2000; Tsai, 1991). *Yin Dan Shi Lin*, translated from the German dyestuff brand Indanthrene, was a blue dye for dyeing cellulose fibers. The fabrics, cotton in most cases, applied with Indanthrene were called yin *dan shi lin bu* (Indanthrene fabric). These domestic blue fabrics were popularly consumed by both students and the middle class women because it had better colorfastness and a reasonable price. Women of higher social economic status and movie stars adopted various types of fancy fabrics, including prints, stripes, plaids, and laces that were either imported or made domestically, to create their own sophisticated and unique *qipao* (Clark 2000; Tsai, 1991). Gan (2004) indicated that western-inspired textile patterns were a key feature of *qipao* in a modern look. Furthermore, Xie (2004) mentioned that prostitutes in the city also adopted modern and elaborate *qipao* that were brocaded or had lavish embroidery or borders to make themselves exotic and sexually attractive to foreign businessmen. Additionally, because of the diffusion of western fashion into China, the *qipao* was often worn with western accessories such as capelets, fur coat, scarves, jackets, vests, socks, and high heels to give women a modern look (Tsai, 1991; Xie, 2004) and a "flair" of European (Gan, 2004). *Qipao* was also used as a source of inspiration to design other styles of Chinese fashion.

Chang (1943) discussed the difference between Chinese and western dress. She mentioned that color, silhouette, and construction from western dress all focused on how to feature an individual's figure or highlight a part of the body such as eye color. In contrast, traditional Chinese clothing often had many unnecessary decorations, which, in Chang's opinion, were pure ornamentation and were not useful to embellish any part of the body. Chang further stated that, in the past, the individual was secondary to the garment decoration. It was a woman's proper demeanor that helped her choose or decorate a garment, because women's clothing was meant to create an abstract poetic sense of line. Also a woman's social and economic status as well as

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social expectations of women's virtues guided selection of style (Chang, 1943).

Therefore, Chang commented that the meaning of the *qipao* after the mid-1930s was

quite different from traditional Chinese beliefs about clothing. Before the

establishment of the ROC, a woman's body was hidden under the loose garment and

women all appeared in a similar silhouette, but in the 1930s, *qipao* made the female

body figure more obvious (Chang, 1943 [2004]). The *qipao* had been transformed

from a traditional loose robe to an east-west hybrid modern style. Style feature such

as the mandarin collar, the side opening sometimes decorated with contrast trim and

frog closures, kept *qipao* recognizable as Chinese, but the more form-fitting silhouette

highlighted western fashion ideas (Gan, 2004). Furthermore, Chang discussed that

fashion trends for *qipao* did not follow Parisian haute couture fashion paths, where the

brand companies such as Schiaparelli had the capabilities to affect the broader fashion

market. Instead, she mentioned that "our tailors" are helpless before the waves of

communal fancies but followed the waves (Chang, 1943 [2004]). In other words,

particular individuals or groups were not responsible for *qipao* style innovation; it was

the female consumers of *qipao* themselves. This also impacted *qipao* practices from

place to place. The fashionable Shanghai *qipao* might not be fashionable in Beijing.

The modern *qipao* also appeared in advertising, adopted by Chinese calendar

posters and magazines, that disseminated the message that *qipao* symbolized modern

Chinese women. These modern images often showed a cultivated and graceful woman

with a sweet smile. These images also showed an ideal of beauty for modern Chinese

women at that time (Clark, 2000). The women in these advertisements often posed in

a western dress or a *qipao* in an attitude that seemed to suggest sexual availability

(Stein, 2003). However, in the rural areas, women still donned either a two-piece

ensemble or a loosely fitted *qipao* with kimono sleeves for everyday wear (Tsai,

1991). The *Young Companion* featured a report that showed a series of pictures

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comparing rural and urban women's daily practices of dress, hairstyle, hands, work, and leisure activities (Chen, 1934). While the city women wore modern *qipao* and played golf for their leisure activities, the rural women wore traditional two-pieces ensembles and always worked in the field. *Qipao* was a symbol of urban life. In comparison with rural austerity, *qipao* was seen to represent city vanity.

In sum, part of the *qipao's* development from the 1930s was associated with the development of the modern city and western fashion. First, the *qipao* became an east-west hybrid modern style. The mandarin collar, side openings with trim decoration, and frog closures ensured that the *qipao* remained Chinese, but many elements, including the bias-cutting, more form-fitting silhouette, and sleevelessness, were the results of emulating western style. Second, the new, more form-fitting shape redefined Chinese female beauty and women's perceptions of their bodies. Ideals of beauty shifted from "personal virtues as beauty" to "the beauty from the body figure" and "the beauty of the clothing silhouette." Third, not every woman wore the same modern *qipao*, which was defined by the modern patterned textiles and more-body revealing form. Students adopted loose and blue *yin dan shi lin qipao*. The middle class women selected materials and accessories much plainer than the materials and accessories used by movie stars or prostitutes. Also, the fashionable *qipao* differed from city to city. Therefore, *qipao* in the 1930s was a plain and practical daily wear for many women and it was also a symbol of urban fashion and a means to distinguish women between urban and rural. The original meanings of *qipao* as a traditional dress changed to represent women's freedom after the May Fourth Movement. The new layer of meaning integrated into *qipao* in the 1930s was city wear and modernity.

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The *Qipao* Through Sino-Japanese Wartime, 1937-1949: National Identity and Office Wear

While World War II began in Europe, the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) brought another wave of anti-imperialism to China. Nationalism and patriotism were prevailing all over China during the war. *Qipao* style during wartime did not change much. Simple and practical were major concerns for the *qipao* during wartime. The binding was either simple or spare. The silhouette included the curved side seam from the end of the 1930s and it was loose with little body figure revealed (Tsai, 1991). After the war, *qipao* quickly picked up western fashion trends and bust darts were introduced to *qipao* patterns around 1946 (Shih, 1979). A variety of synthetic fabrics, wool and cotton, replaced *yin dan shi lin* (Wang, 1975). One connotation of the *qipao* established during the Second Sino-Japanese wartime was that Madam Chiang defined and disseminated *qipao* as an elegant national dress for Chinese women.

During the wartime, the national leader, Chiang Kai Sheik tried to agglomerate the Chinese to fight with Japanese as well as disseminate the concept of the modern citizen. He and his wife, Madam Chiang, initiated the New Life Movement in 1934 to promote traditional Confucian social ethics, to pursue traditional Chinese sober values, and to reject individualism and Western capitalistic values (Clark, 2000; Wang 1975). *Qipao* in solid colors, made of domestic fabrics, was promoted by the New Life Movement to highlight the virtues of industry and thrift; thus, the *qipao* in solid color became the most appropriate garment to wear during wartime.

In addition, Madam Chiang, the first lady of China, had played an influential role in defining modern fashionable *qipao* as a national dress. Raised and educated in the United States, Madam Chiang spoke fluent Chinese and English, which made her popular both domestically and abroad. She accompanied Chiang Kai Sheik to participate in various international meetings such as the Cairo Conference in 1943. On February 18, 1943, Madam Chiang became both the second woman and the first

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Chinese female to address the United States Congress. While staying in China, she donned a non-patterned or dark colored *qipao* to promote the spirit of the New Life movement. While traveling abroad, she wore a *qipao* with matching western sweaters or coats, and proper accessories to denote her sophisticated taste and an image of a modern cultivated Chinese woman with persistence (Steele & Major, 1999). Stein (2003) studied appearance of three Chinese leaders and their wives. He mentioned that while Madam Chiang traveled in North America in 1943, both male and female reporters and commentators hardly left out her sartorial good taste. For example, the front page of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* of March 20, 1943 described her navy blue embroidered Chinese dress and said that the sight of her made "brave men go limp" (Stein, 2003). Madam Chiang successfully transformed *qipao* into a sober, sophisticated, and elegant dress, and introduced modern *qipao* to the world. Stein (2003) further argued that *qipao* symbolized women's emancipation in the bodily sense, and, by extension, in the political and social environment too. *Qipao* could also be a provocative garment and exploited in the political environment similar to the *qipao* used in the 1930s commercial advertising of Shanghai posters. Stein (2003) described that "the way Meiling [Madam Chiang] used the language of clothes to structure the effect of what she actually said lies at the heart of her subsequent choice of the cheongsam [*qipao*]; she carefully posed in the dress to be attractive, even seductive, but was never languid or sexually inviting" (p.616). In other words, while scholars study *qipao* from the 1930s with a focus on westernization and modernization (Gan, 2004), cultural changes (Delong & Wu, 2004), or women's emancipation and nationalism (Finnane, 1996), *qipao* from the 1940s involved a process of self-identification as Chinese national dress. Furthermore, through Madam Chiang's interpretation of *qipao*, the *qipao* became popular office wear for middle class women during the 1940s.

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In sum, the focal point of *qipao* development in the 1940s was not style changes but how it became associated with nationalism while the government fought intruders. Madam Chiang's female role and her management of *qipao* had promoted *qipao* internationally as a recognized Chinese traditional and national dress. Madam Chiang also successfully transferred the *qipao* into professional business wear for women.

*Qipao* in Hong Kong, 1949-1960s: Stereotypes of the Form-Fitting *Qipao*

Between 1949 and 1960, the PRC attempted to take over Taiwan by firing up several military attacks such as the Da Dan War in 1950 and The 823 Cannon War in 1958 ("蔣總統與金門[President Chiang and Kinmen]," 1974). While China and Taiwan were still struggling in this conflict, Hong Kong maintained peace and thrived. Therefore, Hong Kong began to lead the trends of *qipao's* style development during this time period.

After communists took over China in 1949, many *qipao* tailors from Shanghai moved to Hong Kong. In the 1950s, the *qipao* was continually worn as a daily outfit for urban women at work and at home in Hong Kong. Clark (2000) reports that the *qipao* as daily wear reached its peak in the 1950s in Hong Kong. Therefore, the business of custom-made *qipao* prospered (Clark, 2000). At the same time, the once loosely fitted and more functional *qipao* again became entwined with western fashion. The tapered hem *qipao,* like the slim pencil skirt silhouette of EuroAmerican 1950s fashion, appeared in 1957. The garment was too narrow to pull on, so the side slit was lengthened and then partially closed with a zipper to allow easy wearing (Shih, 1979). Front and back waist darts were added to the *qipao's* pattern after 1956 that made the *qipao*'s silhouette similar to an hourglass shape or Dior's Y-line silhouette, which was also popular in Euro-American fashion at this time (Shih, 1979; Tsai, 1991). When mini skirts became a hot fashion item in the 1960s, mini *qipao* also appeared in Hong

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Kong in the late 1960s (Clark, 2000). However, the mini *qipao* triggered serious public condemnations because it was thought that they were too revealing to be an acceptable form of Chinese dress (Clark, 2000; Wang 1975). The Taiwan *Xin Sheng* newspaper in a report dated August 17, 1971, discussed how mini-*qipao* had angered the public in Hong Kong and criticized the min-*qipao* as problematic for two reasons. First, *qipao* with loosely fit silhouette from the past had been replaced by a *qipao* made of thin fabrics with a tight-fitting silhouette that showed women's bodies and therefore highlighted their sexuality. This obviously disobeyed Chinese dress ideology that dress is not used for showing women's sexuality. Second, the over-calf length *cheongsam* (*qipao*) was replaced by a mini-length dress, which exposed too much of a woman's leg. The newspaper reported that moral defenders and church groups initiated a "Fu Zhuan Duan Zheng" (Correct Improper Dress) movement to ask women to stop exposing so much of their body figure or skin. However, this movement did not receive the expected results (Wang, 1975).

At the same time, the first Hong Kong beauty pageant was held in 1946, and all contestants wore the *qipao* as "casual wear." By the early 1950s, the *qipao* was required as part of formal wears for pageant contestants. In fact, the winner of Miss Hong Kong adopted the *qipao* as her Chinese ethnic dress while competing in the world beauty pageant (Clark, 2000). According to Clark, since 1973, when the annual Miss Hong Kong beauty pageant was televised to a large Chinese audience in Hong Kong and Taiwan, it reinforced the image of the *qipao* as a formal dress. Also, a film played an important role in promoting the *qipao* to the world during this time. *The World of Suzie Wong* (1960), tells the romantic story of an American artist who visits Hong Kong and falls in love with a mysterious prostitute, Suzie Wong. The film was shot on the streets of Hong Kong, and the actress who played Suzie donned a tightly fitting *qipao* in almost all the scenes ("The World of Suzie Wong", 1960). Finnane

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(1996) contended that this movie provided not only an exotic love story but created a sexualized connection between the *qipao* and prostitution.

In sum, while the military tension between the ROC and the PRC was still high from 1949 to1960, Hong Kong, as the most peaceful and prosperous Chinese urban center, automatically became the center of *qipao* fashion. Chinese women in Hong Kong continually wore the *qipao* as daily wear in the 1950s. Meanwhile, the *qipao* kept pace with western fashion and became a tightly fitting dress that promoted the western idea of the hourglass silhouette. The development of TV and film also began to influence the creation and distribution of the *qipao's* image. The result of much of this change meant that the popular media helped to establish a stereotypical connection of a tightly fitting and body revealing *qipao* with sexuality and prostitution rather than its other connection as a workingwoman's outfit or with its longer ethnic heritage found in Chinese history.

## Conclusion

From history, the development of the *qipao* style is closely associated with the progress of Chinese modernization. *Qipao*, once a uni-sex dress, symbolized that Chinese women's beauty came from her inner virtues not her body figure shape. Along with urban development in the 1930s, western value of emphasizing a woman's body figure as part of women's beauty gradually adopted by Chinese. Although *qipao* adopted various elements from the western style, it still kept the curvy front opening and trimming as the feature of Chinese dress. Also, a *qipao* with modest curvy silhouette in the 1930s and 1940s represented the beauty of a modern Chinese woman who followed a modern look as well as presented traditional Chinese women virtues, such as soft, euphemistic, constrained, refined, and obedient, through proper body movement. *Qipao* style development in the 1960s was highly associated with western

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fashion trend that lead *qipao* transformed to a form-fitted dress, which made *qipao* viewed as a sexual attractive dress from media perspectives. In addition, *qipao* has earned its international reputation as a Chinese dress since the Sino-Japanese war. *Qipao* represents people with Chinese culture. In short, dress as a cultural form or a means of communication connotes and denotes rich meanings of the cultural and social structure. The western dress and fashion tends to be viewed superior and civilized in comparing to non-western ethnic dress, such as *qipao* (Maynard, 2004). From one point of view, *qipao* silhouette has deeply affected by western fashion and changed to a form-fitted sexual dress. From another point of view, the process of *qipao* development demonstrates that Chinese has strived to establish an identifiable Chinese dress with modern look. Apparently, *qipao* style has been westernized but the way of wearing and presenting *qipao,* and materials for making a *qipao* distinguishes the *qipao* as Chinese.

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# A study of the essential pre-press professional competence expected by printing industry: At the level of vocational high school students

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## Abstract

The purpose of this study included a)to investigate how pre-press professional competence has changed after whole printing process digitalized; b) to understand what professional competence expected from the industry for an invoice who just graduate from a vocational high school. Literature review was used to collect what professional competence is required by pre-press work. A survey was conducted to understand industrial seniors' perspectives of professional competence. The results indicated that 10 from 22 competence items have been evaluated as 'very important'.

**Key words**: pre-press professional competence, vocational high school students, printing industry

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# Introduction

In the past decades, the developing digital technology has tremendously impacted on the printing process and its use of materials. In order to meet consumers' increasingly demands of short lead time, quality, diversity and accuracy, the printing industry has to change the working-flow and market strategy. The traditional way of printing is no longer satisfy the requirements of quick-response and efficient. While more and more advanced digital print machines are introduced to the printing industry, the workers also face the challenges. Workers today have to know more skills than before in order to handle the digitalized printing process, that is, workers' professional competence has to be upgraded along with the development of digitalization.

On account of changes, the researcher was curious to know what essential competence required for the current printing industry. Therefore, the purpose of this study were a)to investigate how pre-press professional competence has changed after whole printing process digitalized; b) to understand what professional competence expected from the industry for an invoice who just graduate from a vocational high school.

# Related Literature

## Professional Competence

According to past research (Chiang, 1998; Huang, 1996), professional competence can be referred to various things, including knowledge, cognition, attitudes, skills or behaviors that are required and essential to a field or an occupation. According to Lee (2003), this study proposed that professional competence is knowledge and skills that are necessary and essential to finish the task required by pre-press industry. To cultivate professional competence, first, one has to learn related knowledge and working skills. Then, the one applies knowledge to real-world situation, uses tacit knowledge and personal experience to solve problems, recognizes gaps in knowledge, uses resources and self-directed acquisition of knowledge. Professional competence, therefore, can be evaluated through tasks-performing. While one can well complete the required tasks, the one is equipped with the professional competence related to that task.

## Current Technology Development in Pre-press

Digital prepress workflow

In this information era, with the renovation and development of technology, the printing technologies have moved to a new stage that lead production system toward versatile, higher quality, more systemized and more human friendly management (Hsieh, 2001). These developments have been changing the printing market to require smaller quantity but more variations. Prepress workflow therefore has been impacted by the developments of the new technology and changed tremendously. The working processes has changed from manual color separation and photomechanical process to electronic color separation, from manual stripping and imposition to computer film output, from photomechanical plate making to computer to plate, and finally to the direct computer to paper (Chen, 2000). That is, the modern computer technology had changed the traditional prepress workflow into a whole new working process.

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Development of Computer to Plate Technology

Along with the development of computer technology, laser technology, electronic technology, mechanical process technology and new material, computer to plate (CTP) has become the key technology to face the new challenges and competitiveness. The CTP technology eliminates the traditional film development, plate exposure and plate process. There are over thousand CTP systems installed in Taiwan during 2003 to June 2008 and 323 systems were installed in 2007（Lu, 2008）. In 2008, Dr. Frank Romano, a printing professor from RIT, indicated that 2008 will be the last year and the last chance for a traditional printer, who wants to survive, to replace traditional film process to CTP system (Na, 2008). In other word, CTP technology has became critical during the digitalized printing process.

**Pre-press Professional Competence**

Prepress is processes before press printing. Prepress include evaluating original artworks, film-making, and plate-making. Prepress workflow contains four processes, including input, combination, output, and color management. The pre-press professional competence, therefore, refer to the skills that can complete the tasks required by above four processes. These competence are described as below.

Input

Input contains text and graphic input. Graphics can be input from graphic board, digital camera, and scanner. The text is input directly through keyboard or optical characters recognition (OCR) process.

Combination

The page layout is done by Mac or PC computers that connected by networks for communication and file-sharing. The page description language is based on PostScript language, which developed, by Adobe in 1985. The desktop publishing (DTP) system combines desktop scanner, word processing, image editing, and various kind of computer pagination software to complete the final layout.

Output

Digital prepress output is based on PostScript page description language that interpreted the page data through the raster image processor (RIP) to create halftone data. Then, to use imposition software to do the final output（Chang，2001）. Prepress output data is digitalized and it is sued for the process of electronic publishing, Internet publishing, image-setter film output for plate-making, CTP direct plate output, conventional or digital proofing, and personalized digital printing (Hsieh, 2000）.

Color Management

Color management system (CMS) deals with the color difference between software and hardware. CMS help colors between input and output devices to stay the same. The system automatically converts color among different input and output color devices to ensure the color consistence（Lo, 1998、Chen, 2001）.

In sum, according to literature review, the study found that pre-press essential professional competence or skills can be described into 22 items, including the

capabilities of judging and evaluating original texts and graphics, saving the file in a right format, operating an image-processing software, being proficient at an operation system, revising and managing the electronic colour profile, composing image and texts by using proper software, doing word process, digital proofing, doing page layout, scanning a photo, doing finished arts, managing the RIP system, drawing vector graphics, operating and maintaining the standard measuring instruments for measuring press quality, outputting a good quality image, outputting plate-making related films, creating multi media, making offset plates, making screen plates, make relief plates, preparing photo for plates, and proofing.

## Method

According to literature review, 22 competence items were defined. A questionnaire was developed to investigate what working competence the industry expected a novice graduated from a vocational high school. A 5 points Likert scale was used to evaluate how importance of the each competence item is required. The rating between 4 to 5 points means absolutely required, while the points between 3 to 3.99 means required. Points between 2 to 2.99 means not so important and 1 to1.99 means not needed. The questionnaire was reviewed by 3 respect professionals to check questionnaire validity. Total 250 survey questionnaire were delivered to the member of Taiwanese printing industry association. 190 questionnaires were collected but 11 questionnaires were invalid. Therefore, there were 179 valid questionnaires were used for data analysis at the end. 82 questionnaires were collected from the member located at the northern Taiwan, 51 questionnaire from the central Taiwan and 46 from the south, that is, the participants has been well distributed in Taiwan area. SPSS statistical software was used to analyze the data. The investigation was conducted from Jan 2007 to May 2007.

## Results

There were 138 males (77.1%) and 41 females (22.9%) to participate this study. Table 1 reports participants' distribution according to gender and location. The majority of participants(N=135, 75.4%) have worked in the printing industry over 5 years old, while 44 participants (24.6%) has worked in the printing industry less than 5 years. There are over half participants response for pre-press related job (N=55, 30.7%) and about one quarter of participants work in management (N=50, 27.9%).

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Table 1: Participants Distribution

| sex / factory location | | Male | Female | Subtotal |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Northern Taiwan | number(N) | 60 (73%) | 22 (27%) | 82 |
| | Percentage(%) | 43% | 54% | 46% |
| Central Taiwan | number(N) | 37 (73%) | 14 (27%) | 51 |
| | Percentage(%) | 27% | 34% | 28% |
| Southern Taiwan | number(N) | 41 (89%) | 5 (11%) | 46 |
| | Percentage(%) | 30% | 12% | 26% |
| Total | number(N) | 138 (77.1%) | 41 (22.9%) | 179 |
| | Percentage(%) | 100% | 100% | 100% |

The mean score was adopted to exam how the 22 competence item have been evaluated. The results found that ten item, such as the capability to judge and evaluate original texts and graphics, the capability to save the file in a right format and the capability to operate a image-processing software and so on, have earned the mean score over 4 points, which means absolutely required (see table 2). The other 12 items, with the mean score between 3-4, have been evaluated as required.

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Table 2: The mean score for 22 competence items

| Competence item | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Able to judge and evaluate original texts and graphics | 179 | 4.33 | 0.669 |
| Able to save the file in a right format | 178 | 4.24 | 0.789 |
| Able to operate an image-processing software | 179 | 4.23 | 0.792 |
| Able to be proficient at a operation system | 177 | 4.19 | 0.786 |
| Able to revise and manage electronic colour profiles | 179 | 4.13 | 0.817 |
| Able to compose images and texts by using proper software | 179 | 4.11 | 0.797 |
| Able to do word process | 179 | 4.06 | 0.751 |
| Able to digital proof | 178 | 4.06 | 0.772 |
| Able to manage a page layout | 179 | 4.05 | 0.802 |
| Able to scan photos | 179 | 4.02 | 0.8 |
| Able to do finished arts | 179 | 3.99 | 0.871 |
| Able to manage the RIP system | 177 | 3.98 | 0.885 |
| Able to draw vector graphics | 179 | 3.94 | 0.826 |
| Able to operate and maintain the standard quality-measuring instruments | 179 | 3.85 | 0.78 |
| Able to output a good quality image | 178 | 3.85 | 0.844 |
| Able to output plate-making related films | 179 | 3.66 | 0.972 |
| Able to create multi media | 179 | 3.61 | 0.92 |
| Able to make offset plates | 179 | 3.55 | 0.955 |
| Able to make screen plates | 179 | 3.23 | 0.947 |
| Able to make relief plates | 179 | 3.16 | 0.967 |
| Able to prepare photo for plate-making | 179 | 3.12 | 1.084 |
| Able to proof | 179 | 3.09 | 1.015 |

Multiple ANOVA was adopted to exam whether gender, location, job type and working experience would affect participants' evaluation of how important the competence required. The results indicated that none of above variables affects the evaluation. That is, both male and female have similar evaluation of what competence is required. Also, no matter where participants come from or what kind of job they are having, they hold similar aspects while evaluating the required competence.

Table 3: MANOVA analysis for gender, factory location,

| | | N | M | SD | F value | Sig (2-tailed) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | Male | 138 | 3.848 | .601 | .658 | .511 |
| | Female | 41 | 3.779 | .526 | | |
| Factory location | Northern Taiwan | 82 | 3.769 | .542 | 1.311 | .272 |
| | Central Taiwan | 51 | 3.834 | .655 | | |
| | Southern Taiwan | 46 | 3.943 | .569 | | |
| Working years | Under 5 years | 44 | 3.684 | .604 | 1.527 | .196 |
| | 6-10 years | 37 | 3.771 | .605 | | |
| | 11-15 years | 27 | 3.857 | .581 | | |
| | 15-20 years | 38 | 3.933 | .556 | | |
| | Over 21 years | 33 | 3.961 | .547 | | |
| Job type | Management | 50 | 3.797 | .572 | .176 | .951 |
| | Sales | 23 | 3.832 | .705 | | |
| | Pre-press | 55 | 3.854 | .532 | | |
| | Press | 45 | 3.823 | .606 | | |
| | post-press | 6 | 3.992 | .630 | | |

## Discussion and Conclusion

### The Technological Implication on Pre-press Industry

Technology developments have driven printing industry from production-oriented to service-oriented. Printing is not an independent industry to re-generate message anymore but it is part of modern media system and information system. Therefore, this new development has forced the industry to reposition itself. This study summarizes three major impacts on prepress industry that has occurred under the new

trend of digitalization.

(1) Integrated desktop publishing system has replaced the traditional prepress operation model. After color correcting and management, the documents can be processed by the Raster Image Processor and printed out directly using a large inkjet printer in a high quality.

(2) More printing jobs can be completed by the customers themselves in advance before they sending to a printing house. The printing house, in turn, can offer additional services, such as file transportation management, workflow management, price quoting system, and so on.

(3) More advanced the technology is, the shorter the printing process is. Workers in pre-press industry have faced huge challenges from the digitalization. Workers have to keep learning on the job to upgrade their working capabilities and competence.

### Pre-press Related Professional Competence for Vocational High School Graduates Major in Graphic-Arts Communications

According to results, this study found 22 skills that were essential professional competence for pre-press industry; however, 10 items (see table 4) have been evaluated as "absolutely required". That is, in the trend of digitalization, these 10 items are very important for vocational high school students who plan to enter the pre-press industry. A student graduated from a vocational high school, major in graphic art communication, should be equipped with at least the entry level of these 10 competencies.

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Table 4: The ten 'very important' professional competence

| Competence item | Rank |
|---|---|
| Able to judge and evaluate original texts and graphics | Absolutely required |
| Able to save the file in a right format | Absolutely required |
| Able to operate an image-processing software | Absolutely required |
| Able to be proficient at a operation system | Absolutely required |
| Able to revise and manage electronic colour profiles | Absolutely required |
| Able to compose images and texts by using proper software | Absolutely required |
| Able to do word process | Absolutely required |
| Able to digital proof | Absolutely required |
| Able to manage a page layout | Absolutely required |
| Able to scan photos | Absolutely required |

At the end, the study proposed three suggestions for vocational high school's education in graphic arts communication. First, the curriculum needs to enhance students' capabilities of operating CIP and related skills. The second, teachers at vocational high school could learn the industry update from Occupational Training Bureau every year and accommodate the changes in teaching to minimize the gap between school education and the needs from the real-world. Finally, to encourage vocational high school administrator to hold seminars to let teachers know more what competence expected by the industry, also, to invite professionals from the field as part-time teacher to accelerate students' understandings of industrial requirements.

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**COCO CHANNEL**

Gabrielle Bonheur Chanel, known as Coco Chanel, not only revolutionized the fashion world but the apparel industry as a whole. To truly understand her impact, her life must be examined. She claimed to be born in Auvergne but she was in fact born in Saumur, France on August 19, 1883 (Tourent, 2006). Her parents were lower middle class citizens. Her mother worked at the poorhouse and gave birth to four children. At the age of six she was given up by her father upon her mother's death. She was sent to an orphanage in Correze, France. It is there she was given her life long nickname Coco that means "little dog" (Tourent, 2006).  The name was given to her after a popular song and the way in which she came to the shelter. The nuns at the orphanage claimed she was tossed out like a little dog into the streets. It was in the orphanage where she learned to sew. Regardless of the way in which she was raised, Coco progressed with a sense of style and unique touch that the world had yet to see. She desired to own her own shop and boutique

specializing in the things that modern women would appreciate. In 1910, she ventured on to the streets of Paris to Cambon and saw a sign "Chanel Modes". She began to work at this shop and designs hats for women. This is where the creativity of Chanel begins. She quickly is called upon by many of the French elite to design hats for the specialty events. By 1913, Coco Chanel opens up her first store in Deauville. She has numerous customers and her style a sense of fashion soon spreads throughout the French community. She was innovative in her design and her expression of what women really wanted from their clothing.

One of the very first things that Coco did when designing her clothes was removal of the corset. This undergarment was the main part of many of women's fashions at the time. It was also painful and constricting to women, so she replaced the corset with comfort and casual elegance, her fashion themes included simple suits, dresses, women's trousers, rhinestone jewelry, perfume and textiles. Coco spent a few years working as a chorus girl in Paris during 1905-1908 (Lewis, n.d.). During these years she adopted the given nick name Coco as her formal name. She dated wealthy military soldiers, industrialist and high society men. Many of these men would help her to finance her millinery shop that opened in 1910. Couture became the next fashion avenue for Coco. She worked with jersey knits, simple silks and lightweight fabrics that could be tailored into simple designs. She believed that clothing should be form-fitting and comfortable. The use of jersey knit was not ideal for couture, but it was practical for the fashion forwardness of Chanel.

By the 1920's, her fashion house had expanded. Rich women whom frequented the Deauville and Biarritz resorts adopted her styles and fashions. Many of these women were accustomed to wearing the tight corsets, huge hats, long skirts and over done wardrobes. These were all the opposite of the things Coco had in mind for fashion. She was the first designer to introduce black as a fashion color. She designed many dresses and trousers in black. Coco believed that she was an advertisement for her clothing company. She dressed in mannish clothes, cut her hair in a short bob, and wore small hats and had a suntan.  Coco became a part of the fashion revolution by her means and style only. Simplicity was the direct approach of her designs. The radical simplicity of her style and the materials that she used especially the accessories put emphasis on her liberation from the clothing from years past. Jersey was a flexible, silky material that clung to the body, and was very controversial to use in the area of high fashion. The type of cuts and lengths that she used sewing were very controversial. Her suits were above the knee, three quarter length coats and belted blouses that coordinated with the lining of the suit. Women that wanted liberation wanted Coco Chanel. She gave them the style and elegance that they wanted and deserved. As business grew so did her revenue and customer demand. Her dress shop moved into a larger store on Cambron located across the street from the Ritz hotel. Here she specialized in the creation of flannel blazers, straight linen skirts, sailor tops, long jersey sweaters and skirt jackets. These simple styles reflected the wartime sobriety of France. It was still her versatile semi formal "little black

dress" that gave Chanel her signature trademark and an enduring fashion standard (Lewis, n.d.).

It was during the 1920's that Coco specialized in the design of evening gowns. It was difficult to design gowns during World War I but the 1920's was a time of change in the world of women and fashion. Her dresses were known for their beautiful simplicity, neat beading and form- fitting flow. The type of beading that she used was unique from all other designers of this time period. Beading was constructed in the round (as opposed to being two flat panels stitched together.)  Chanel preferred to use larger beading in smaller numbers. She used geometric shapes; black, beige and white color combinations and monochromatic infusions of black, white and red. She believed that the usage of the different fabrics and patterns made a garment unique and perfect. She combined tweeds and silks and incorporated the suit into the design. Chanel's perfectionism was evident in the co-ordination of different fabrics, prints, and matching lining inside the suits. She specialized in making the simplest of details such as buttons and cuffs the most dynamic part of the outfit. Many of her buttons were embossed with the interlocking c detail. This was another first for Coco Chanel.

In 1922, Chanel introduced a perfume that would change the way women looked at perfume. Chanel no.5 remains a very profitable product of the company.  Ernest Beaux who created perfumes for the tsars of Russia, presented the creation of her first perfume to her (Jones, 2003). He presented her with two series of numbered samples from 1 to 5 and 20 to 24. She

decided on the no. 5 sample. She designed a simple bottle and affirmed that a fancy bottle was not important only what was inside of it. It was released on the May 5th with much success. The design of the bottle has changed slightly but the original bottle remains the same. Pierre Wertheimer became her partner in the perfume business in 1924 and he was rumored to be her lover. Surprisingly she only owed 10% of the profits from the perfume while Pierre owned 70%. A close friend, Bader owned 20%. Today the Wertheimer continue to control the perfume company (Adam, 2001). Perfume was not the path that Coco wanted to take concerning fashion but her instinctive methods of marketing the things she knew lead to her lifetime partnership with Pierre. Between 1920 and 1930 Coco Chanel launched several new perfumes Chanel number 22 in 1922, Cuir De Russie in 1924, Gardenia in 1925 and Bois DES iles in 1926. During the war she decided to close her perfume and couture houses to show her support of the war effort. Chanel no. 19 was introduced on her birthday by Henri Beaux on August 19, 1970 the 87th anniversary of Coco Chanel (White, 1999). In 1974 Henri Robert created the new perfume called Coco in homage to the creator herself. It was enclosed in a traditional bottle that Coco had chosen for the No.5 perfume in 1921. It features a musky wood scent that many women adore. Chanel was not only limited to women's fragrances. In 1990, Allure the first men's cologne was introduced (Dillard, 2007 ). The most recent fragrance that has been introduced is Chanel Chance. It was introduced in May 2008 with much success. It has a springtime floral fragrance enclosed in a light pink bottle. With all of the many fragrances that have been introduced by Chanel it

is still No. 5 that remains the high-speed product and long time favorite. During a 1954 interview a journalist asked Marilyn Monroe what she carried to the Academy Awards that year and she replied "some drops of No. 5" (White, 1999). With those simple words she quickly gave life to the new slogan for the perfume. She was then featured in many advertisements and magazines as a representative for the company.  Nicole Kidman is the newest Chanel No. 5 fragrance model.

Consistency is what made Coco Chanel the powerful woman that she was. She was able to introduce practical clothing that women of all generations and ages will appreciate. In 1925, she introduced her signature cardigan jacket and the famous "little black dress". Her fashions and designs have staying power, and don't change much from generation to generation, year to year. In addition to her fashion work she designed stage costumes for famous playwrights such as Jeau Cocteau (Davis, 1999). Her designs were featured in the 1937 play Oedipus Rex. She used the classical dress most well –known the ancient practice of wrapping rather than tailoring cloth to fit the body. During the early 1930's, evening clothes went through a drastic change. They became more elongated, feminine and fantastical. Her summer dresses for the evening contained contrasting touches of rhinestone straps and silver eyelets. She used tulle, silk flowers and an increasingly evident Chanel ribbon bow. The dresses of the late 30's were very romantic, strapless, contained full skirts, boned bodices, with  flounces and lots of ruffles.  In this time period Coco Chanel established her true style was faultlessly elegant, modern and

matchlessly chic. She had given women exactly the style and grace that they deserved a felt they needed.

In 1939 World War II began and Coco closed her salon. She closed her store during World War II and worked as an army nurse for a short period of time. She recognized that wartime was not always the best time for a high-end boutique to be in operation. Although she closed her shop she did not leave France. She moved to the Ritz hotel that was conveniently located across from her boutique. The Ritz was the location of the Nazi High Command.  Rumors quickly spread throughout Paris that Coco was very friendly with the German soldiers. She was involved romantically with a German tennis player turned German solider named Nobel von Dinklager. This was her greatest love of all time. When Paris became liberated in 1945 the French took revenge on women who collaborated with the German soldiers. She was almost brought to trail for treason and war crimes but was able to escape retribution. Chanel was able to produce a letter from Winston Churchill a long time friend showing that she was clear of all involvement with any German soldiers or Nazi party activity. The French were still not convinced and Coco felt threatened by the revenge actions taken on many other French women. Within a week of the liberation she left Paris and moved to Switzerland where she remained until 1953 (Devere, 2001).  Chanel's self exile damaged her reputation and her fashion career. In 1947, Paris was excited about the new Dior designs and had almost forgotten her simplicity and feminine touch. There were many designers that had come on to the fashion scene as well. Coco had been out of the

fashion world for a couple of years and designers took great advantage of that. This time period also allowed for Chanel to focus more on her competitors and the new needs of her clients as well. She had become bored with her seclusion and slowed growth of her perfume sales and chosen the perfect time to reintroduce herself to the fashion world she had so long abandoned. The stage was set for her to bring her timeless, elegant chic touches back.  Chanel was ready for the newer fashion market but France was not kind to her. Many laughed and talked negatively about her designs claiming they were dated and old.  In 1957 she introduced the chain handled quilted leather handbag which continue to be so successful even today.  They are the most popular counterfeit bags on the black market as well (Mickel, 2002). At the age of 71, she prepared her new collection in her original salon on the rue Cambon.  Karl Lagerfield was the creative director at that time and continues to be today. He claimed that France didn't realize her true genius and talent. The French press still had much resentment for Coco and German resistance was still very strong (Dillard, 2007). They criticized her designs because they despised her and her past life with her German Nazi boyfriend. Chanel gave up all of her personal influences for the sake of her company for her true love, which was simply designing clothing. Yet for the French press it was still not enough. They were very mean and rude to her. She then decided to take her designs to America. Once introduced in America Chanel was a strong influence in the fashion market. Americans loved her and her designs. But it was the first lady Jacqueline Kennedy that made the Chanel suit a staple in the American

fashion culture. Jackie wore Chanel in the true grace and respect that Coco intended for it to be. She also was unknowingly an unofficial model for Chanel. Many women during the Kennedy era wanted the suits that the first lady wore designed by Chanel. America sold Chanel; France rejected her, laughed and said that she was finished. Americans thought that the suits were dynamic and unique. She continued to have a full salon at the rue Cambon even over the age of 80.  Chanel once said fashion fades only style remains the same (Carmichael, n.d. ). She remained true to her style and designs until her death on January 10, 1971. She was still designing and working. Chanel gave the fashion world so much more than clothes and jewelry. She gave women a sense of style. No other designer had done that before her. She pioneered pantsuits for women, costume jewelry, trousers for women, patch pockets, twin sets, new uses for jersey fabric, sequined sheaths, tweed suits, new uses for tweed in details, sling-back pumps, short page boy hair styles, quilted handbags, suntans, pleated skirts, head bands, gilt buttons, button earrings, ribbon bows, braiding, edging, matching jacket lining with blouse, white-black concepts, multiple necklaces and chain weighted hems. The world only realized her true greatness and power after her death. The fashion world praises her greatness with movies to pay homage to her and her designs. September 13, 2008 the Lifetime movie network featured a movie dedicated to her life and times.  It shows the real Coco Chanel revealed an honestly.  After her death Yvonne Dudel, Jean Cazaubon, and Philippe Guibourge looked after the house of Chanel. The classics such as the Channel suit and little black

dress still sold very well but the company needed a new burst of energy. Chanel needed a new hip creative director that would maintain the style and grace of the founder but could keep the company fashion forward as well. Karl Lagerfield entered Chanel in 1983. He raised the hemline 12 inches using leather and denim and brought the Chanel suit into the modern fashion world. It still has the timeless quality that Miss Coco wanted and envisioned but for a more modern girl. Chanel was featured during New York's infamous Fashion week in 2008. This year Chanel decided to do something completely unique and different from years past. The models wore no jewelry or accessories. The accessories were suspended in a magical carousel that spun throughout the entire show. It appears as if Karl has managed to capture the essence of the small orphan girl tossed out, alone and given up who later grew into the fashion greatness of Coco Chanel. He stays true to her wishes and greatness. Chanel suits are perfectly constructed and fashion forward without being pulled into the glare of fads and trends. The most important thing about Gabrielle Bonheur "Coco" Chanel was that she dared to be different in everything that she did and how she lived.

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**The Influence of the 1920s: Evolution in Women's Fashion**

The changes in women's fashions that occurred in the 19202 have exerted a lasting influence on women's clothing. Although World War I had come to an end, this decade signifies a new beginning. This is a time where new ideas and innovative thinking, especially regarding the roles of women, lead to both social and technological advancements. By examining the social, political, and economic conditions of the 1920s, we can observe the direct correlation of this decade's cultural influence on the evolution of women's fashion.

Secondary data analysis will be utilized in this study. The fashion history books at the Cook Library at the University of Southern Mississippi will be used as a main resource for this investigation. The 1920s fashion plates and internet resources will be studied as well. The direct correlation between the events and the evolution of women's fashion will be recorded as an observation note based on each event in 1920s. From the note, the narrative outcome will be written as a result of this study.

The expect outcomes of this study are 1) to examine the impact of the economy and politics on women's role in that decade, 2) to discuss the significant influence of 1920s popular culture on the evolution of women's fashion, 3) to explore the changing of women's fashion

industry, 4) to investigate the effect of innovation and technology on the fashion industry, and 5)

to explore how the change in society inspired the fashion designer in the decade. The results of

this exploration will be beneficial for both scholars and industry. This examination will increase

an understanding in the history costume area. Understanding how each event has an influence on

the evolution of women's fashion will allow fashion designers and retailers to have a better

understanding of their consumer.

**Doha Success Critical for Global Economic Recovery** by Laura Schellberg, Master of Arts candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Colorado Denver, 2009.

**Abstract:** With the collapse of the seven-year Doha Round of international trade negotiations, the future of trade is on unstable ground. Concluding Doha as a failure has placed further stress on an already receding world economy. The consequences are "lose-lose" (Gurria, 2008), and all traders, big and small, are starting to point the protectionist finger. Is the situation truly so dire? After all, the field of international trade has been unbalanced since its creation. Why does the collapse of this particular round signal impending economic doom for all players?

Recent scholarship and literature from experts and trade specialists examine what the consequences of Doha's failure symbolize, the causes of the collapse, possible solutions to revamping Doha, and the global need to refuse to allow Doha to die.

At Doha's creation (named after its location in Doha, Qatar) in November of 2001, the objectives were to limit or eliminate agricultural subsides and tariffs, provide affordable access to patented medicines and intellectual property for developing countries, and to open international markets to developing countries.

The literature suggests the consequences of a failed Doha are sudden increases in protectionist economies – theoretically contrary to positive economic growth – increased tariffs, and less availability of goods and medicines, with developing countries like Brazil and India suffering the most.

The failure of Doha has been blamed on developed countries (the US, the UK, and Japan) refusing to negotiate on agricultural subsides in an attempt to protect their own industries. However, one scholar identifies five major obstacles in the entire world trading system that prevented Doha's success.

Since the global market crash in the third and last quarter of 2008, economists and trade specialists have called for Doha negotiations to resume, seeking a solution to this widespread economic recession that has potential to further into a depression. Angel Gurria, Secretary General of the OECD, believes the solution to resolving Doha lies in the big traders' ability to take short-term losses for sake of long-term gains; the answer is political and diplomatic. However, the solutions are likely to be sought in short-term, regional or bilateral trade alliances, such as existing alliances in Latin America and ASEAN.

What is most important to countries and citizens alike is to manage a plan of attack in the current global economic crisis. The refusal to allow trade negotiations to die – through reconvening Doha or creating a new trade round – must be unilateral, begin immediately, and look beyond individual, protectionist interests.

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## An Investigation of Impulse Shopping in Thailand

While it may come as a surprise to some, given the series of recent catastrophes in Thailand, the country's retail industry seems to be gaining economic strength. However, there are currently few academic research studies on Thailand's consumer behavior (Amine & Shin, 2002; Polyorat & Alden, 2005), even though the retail industry is expanding in the face of the country's problems. After the financial crisis in 1997, Thailand underwent many catastrophes that may have affected its economy even more, such as violent acts by ethnic Malay separatists in southern provinces since 2004, a tsunami on Thailand's coast in 2004, and the military coup that deposed former Prime Minister, Thasin Shinawatra, in 2006. Through these upheavals, since 2004, Thailand's retail industry has been shifting from small independent retailers to modern specialty retailers (Barrett, 2006). Additionally, between 2002 and 2005, Thailand's purchasing power was in the top list in Southeast Asia, and the monthly average income jumped by 8.9 percent (Neuborne, 2006). By 2008 total retail sales are expected to reach $75 billion (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2005).

Currently, the shopping district is located in the heart of Bangkok, Thailand's capital. The shopping district contains five retail complexes, each of which covers an area ranging from 100,000 to 500,000 square feet. In these shopping complexes, shoppers can purchase a variety of products including Thaicrafts, clothing from counterfeit-apparel stalls, furniture, electronics, knock-offs and bargain products, high-end luxury imported apparel and other luxury products. The shopping district is accessed by Bangkok's elevated electric monorail system, the Sky Train. Furthermore, all the shopping centers are within walking distance of each other. Additionally, during weekdays approximately 20,000 students from the ten high schools located in the surrounding area visit and shop, and approximately 50,000 university students visit on weekends (Women's Wear Daily, 2006). Moreover, in Thailand's family-oriented society, members of the young working class often still live with their parents, even if they have acquired a college

degree and job. This enables these younger shoppers to have large disposable incomes they can spend on themselves.

Considering this large population of shoppers, it is not surprising that an additional luxury retail center (860,000 square feet) named Siam Paragon was opened in 2006. Siam Paragon is surrounded by high-end apparel retail stores such as Giorgio Armani, Emporio Armani, Chanel, Salvatore Ferragamo and Versace. Furthermore, one floor is declared to be the World of Jewelry Luxury, and another floor is dedicated to automobile and yacht dealers. Moreover, to be competitive with Siam Paragon, many previous shopping complexes such as the Central Chidlom, Gaysorn Plaza, and Siam Discovery Center have been renovated and expanded to appeal to trendy college age shoppers and younger customers, both preteens and teens, as well as customers age 25 and up (Barrett, 2006).

Impulse buying, which can be simply defined as "unplanned purchasing," is considered a popular topic by both psychology and retail researchers since impulse buying is a widely recognized phenomenon in the United States. Nonetheless, there are currently no academic studies on impulse buying in Thailand. The study of the impulse buying behavior of Thai shoppers will advance and add depth to the field of consumer behavior studies. With that goal in mind, this study will attempt to map the impulse-buying behavior of populations in the cities of Bangkok and Nakhon Ratchasima.

The self-administered questionnaires will be the primary method of gathering data. Surveys will be distributed through high-schools and universities in Thailand. The survey used will be based on the instrument designed by Coley and Burgess for their 2003 study focused on the effect of gender on cognitive and affective impulse buying behavior. The instrument will be translated into Thai by the researcher, and reverse-translated to insure accuracy by both undergraduate and graduate Thai students. The Coley and Burgess instrument (2003) was based on several previous impulse buying studies (Beatty & Ferrell, 1998; Han Yuon, 2000).

As mentioned previously, little is known about Thai consumer behavior in the academic realm. In fact, any other study focused on the impulse buying behavior of Thai shoppers is unaware. From a wider perspective, the number of studies that have looked into the influence of culture on consumer behavior are also limited. The only cross-cultural comparison study is the one that dealt with Australia, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia, in comparison to the United States (Kacen & Lee, 2002). However, considering all the cultures of the world, this is not a very

wide sampling. Furthermore, it did not include Thailand. This study will bridge gap and add greater dimension and depth to the field of cross-cultural impulse buying research.

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Title: Delayed Effects of Racial Ostracism Reveal Interactions Between Group Membership and Rejection Pain Experiences

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# Delayed Effects of Racial Ostracism Reveal Interactions Between Group Membership and Rejection Pain Experiences

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Research on ostracism suggests that the experience of ostracism has detrimental effects on one's sense of social well being. Specifically, ostracism has pervasive impact on one's sense of belonging, self-esteem, sense of control and meaningful existence (Williams, 2001). While literature on the topic describes many antecedents of, and responses to, ostracism, there is little evidence suggesting the role of group membership on the impact of ostracism. Indeed, some existing literature suggests that ostracism has a similar, negative impact on sense of belonging, self-esteem, sense of control and meaningful existence regardless of the ostracized person's in-group/out-group membership or whether or not the ostracism is coming from a despised group whose rejection might be expected to be of little importance (Gonsalkorale & Williams, 2007). The current research explores the interaction between group membership and the amount of time since rejection on the impact of ostracism. 223 African-American participants from an HBCU indicated their degree of needs satisfaction following inclusion or ostracism by same race (African-American) or different race (White-American) individuals during a Cyberball game included in the study. Cyberball is a cyber-ostracism scheme in which players are either ostracized or included by co-players believed to be at a remote location. Consistent with previous research, participants who were ostracized reported much lower levels of belonging, self-esteem, sense of control, and meaningful existence compared to participants that were included. No significant effects were found for the interaction of race of the co-players and ostracism/inclusion at time 1. Ten minutes later however the impact of ostracism (versus inclusion) on participants' diminished sense of belonging and on sense of control was significantly greater when White-Americans ostracized than when other African Americans did so. This result is in considerable contrast to hypotheses suggesting that the greatest pain of ostracism might be expected to arise from in-group exclusions. Thus these current findings suggest that while the initial experience of ostracism seems indiscriminately detrimental, that the effect of time may allow participants the opportunity to reflect on the ostracism experience and speculate on potential ameliorating or exacerbating causes for the apparently intentional exclusion.

Ostracism can be defined as the exclusion of an individual or group, both physically and socially, by another individual or group (Williams, 2001). Research in ostracism suggests that it is used by human and non-human species for various reasons. It is believed that ostracism was used as a beneficial tool for promoting civil order in society. For instance, in many ancient civilizations banishment from one's social environment was used to punish inappropriate behavior (Gruter & Masters, 1986). One can also find evidence of ostracism as a tool for promoting good health among groups. Some cultures have been known to exclude the elderly or sick so as not to harm the healthy (Williams, 2001). In this sense, ostracism has played a major role in the day to day functioning of society, both past and present. As time has progressed we have developed the use of ostracism in various ways and in various contexts.

Because ostracism has been so widely used for such a long time, researchers have argued that humans may have developed a pre-cognitive awareness of the threat of ostracism (McDonald & Leary, 2005). This means that often, without good cause or evidence we perceive a disconnection of social relationships as ostracism, causing us to react in ways that reflect this perception.

The reactions to ostracism can range from mild to very extreme. Several incidences reported in the media reflect elements of social rejection as a cause for maladaptive behavior. An analysis conducted by Leary, Kowalski, Smith & Phillips (2003) of US school shootings suggests that social rejection, bullying and unrequited romantic relationships was a factor in 87% of the cases. While to some, these incidents may be viewed as extreme, extant literature on social rejection suggests that participants viewed as "normal" can have adverse reactions to rejection. Research conducted by Twenge, Baumeister, Tice & Stucke (2001) has shown that participants told that other group members did not want to involve them in an activity, were more likely to react aggressively toward the perceived other, than participants that were told that they would be included.

Research indicates that aggression is not the only result of ostracism. Case study reports of those that have been ostracized by loved ones over a long period of time show correlations with depression (Williams, 2001). Further reports suggest that social rejection leads to rejection sensitivity (Downey & Feldman, 1996) as well as elicits conformity and obedience in targets. In fact, an fMRI study suggests that ostracism activates the anterior cingulated cortex; the same area of the brain that is activated during physical pain (Eisenberger, Lieberman & Williams, 2003). Those that experience ostracism, often report the experience of pain. They may say "I felt a twinge in my stomach when he/she didn't call me".

The wide spread use of ostracism and the multiple consequences that it has on targets has prompted researchers in the social sciences, law, biology and other areas to explore the multiple facets that make up the ostracism experience.

Perhaps the most common form of ostracism one can think of involves the physical removal of an individual from society. This type of ostracism can be seen in the judicial system in the form of imprisonment. Physical ostracism suggests that the target of ostracism does not have any contact with the source. This form of ostracism is harmful to the individual as they do not have the social connections that are needed in developing and maintaining a positive sense of self. An individual may interpret physical ostracism as having many other causes besides ostracism (i.e. he/she is busy and thus has no time for me). Social ostracism can be contrasted with physical ostracism as one is often ignored but is still in the presence of others. This type of ostracism can be seen in such behaviors as the "silent treatment" or the "cold shoulder". When socially ostracized, it is often clear that one is being ostracized (i.e. he looked right at me and said nothing). Where physical ostracism can be viewed as non-ostracism and thus discounted, social ostracism is clear but possibly with no clear motive. Social ostracism creates negative feelings in the target because one cannot evade ostracizing behavior. A third type of ostracism that is increasing in popularity is cyberostracism. With the introduction of the internet and other technical devices into main stream social interactions, ostracism through technical devices has also increased (Williams, Cheung, . & Choi, 2000). This type of ostracism includes blocking from chat rooms, ignoring of emails and even ignoring of text messages (Smith & Williams, 2004). Due to the more frequent use of ostracism through the internet, current research has focused on the effects that this type of research has on the individual.

Perhaps one of the most widely referenced and influential models of ostracism created to date has been developed by Williams (2001). According to this model certain taxonomic dimensions are interpreted by the target of ostracism. These dimensions include type of ostracism, the motive behind ostracism, the amount of ostracism used and how clear the ostracism episode is to the target. These dimensions combine with individual differences in the source as well as the target, role differences and situational pressures to lead to a threat to certain needs that contribute to social well- being. They can be mediated or moderated by the attributions that one makes for the ostracism as well as individual differences (i.e. attachment styles and self-esteem).

According to Williams, the experience of ostracism threatens four fundamental needs that are important to social well-being. These needs are belongingness, self-esteem, control and a sense of meaningful existence. Threats to these needs can lead to different reactions depending on how long or deeply the needs have been threatened. Individuals tend to immediately have hurt feelings and experience negative moods upon realization of ostracism. If the ostracism is short-term, the individual tends to make attempts to replenish the needs that are most threatened. This may be in the form of attempts to re-establish group bonds by working harder with the group (Williams, 1997) or derogating members of the group that has rejected the individual (Bourgeois & Leary, 2001). When the ostracism is long-term individuals tend to exhibit learned-helplessness and low self-esteem.

Williams' model of ostracism provides a framework for the function, conditions, and effects of ostracism. Because of the nature of the various dimensions in the model, research questions can be posed about the many variables that may moderate ostracism's effects. Current research has spent a great deal of effort exploring these moderating effects. Some research has focused on conditions in which the participant can attribute the ostracism episode to other causes. For example, Zadro, Williams and Richardson (2004) explored the effects on need for belonging, control, self-esteem and meaningful existence when ostracized by a computer and found that a computer elicits the same responses as ostracism by a human. Further, when participants were told they would be ostracized by a computer, they still exhibited the same effects as if they were playing against a real person. Other research has explored the effects of receiving rewards for being ostracized. Specifically, participants were given monetary rewards for not receiving ball tosses in a cyberostracism paradigm. It was found that the aforementioned four needs were diminished regardless of the promise of monetary reward (van Beest & Williams, 2006).

Of particular interest is the research that has explored the potential effects of being ostracized by an in-group versus out-group member. Several studies have explored the effects of being rejected by out-group members and compared these effects to being ignored by an in-group. In a study examining the effects of ostracism by pc users versus mac users on need for belonging, it was found that those ostracized by an out-group (mac users ostracized by pc users and vice versa) or a mixed group reported diminished levels of belonging. Those ostracized by an in-group reported similar levels of belonging as those included by an in-group (Williams et al, 2000). In another study examining ostracism as a function of public versus private school attendees, it was found that those ostracized by the in-group reported more discomfort than those ostracized by the out-group (Williams et al, 2002). Smith & Williams (2004) examined the effects of being excluded as a function of smoking preference (smokers vs. non-smokers) and found no significant effects of the in-group/out-group manipulation. Finally, Gonsalkorale & Williams (2006) explored the effects of being excluded by a despised out-group and found no significant differences in levels

of the fundamental needs when compared to a rival group or in-group. Participants in this study did show more negativity toward the despised out-group.

The aforementioned studies suggest several things. Firstly, ostracism is very powerful. As humans we are so attuned to the effects of ostracism that we may not notice subtle differences in the source or context of the ostracism episode. The importance of protecting the social self may take precedence over recognition of other moderating variables when we are threatened by rejection. When ostracism influences our self-concept we may begin to take notice. Secondly, research in the area of in-group/out-group differences and ostracism indicates that while minimal moderating effects may be found; there is reason to believe that ostracism's effects may differ based on the context or on the nature of the in-group to out-group relationship.

As previously mentioned there is inconclusive evidence of the impact of the source on a participant's response to being ostracized and there is limited research allowing for time for reflection and reassessment after being ostracized. The present research was designed to look at the influence on a person of being ostracized by a centrally relevant, salient in-group versus out-group . Specifically, being ostracized will result in diminished levels of the four needs (self-esteem, sense of belonging, sense of control, and meaningful existence), and that for a highly central identity membership, being ostracized by members of the in-group will result in lowered fulfillment levels of the four needs. Further, when participants are given time for reflection, one may observe changes in the perception of the experience of being ostracized and in the factors and mediators of greatest impact.

## METHODOLOGY

Participants

A sample of 223 African-American undergraduate students attending a historically Black university participated in this research for partial fulfillment of course credit in an introductory psychology course.

Materials

Participants were seated at individual computer stations and were presented with all of the materials and experimental manipulations on the computer using MediaLab software (Jarvis, 2000), a program designed to allow for the administration of measures typically used in paper/pencil format, to be administered via computer. The questions posed, question format and response options are similar, if not identical, to the paper version of previously developed instruments used. Participants recorded responses to the computer using the number keys on the keyboard or the mouse to click the available responses on the monitor.  All responses were subsequently recorded to a data file and used for analysis.

The use of computers for administration of measures allowed for ease of the manipulation.  The experience of ostracism was manipulated using Cyberball (Williams et al, 2000). Cyberball has been used in similar research to manipulate cyberostracism. It is designed to mimic live ball toss paradigms that have been previously used in research involving social rejection. The game consists of the participant and two other co-players displayed in a triangular formation. Participants were led to believe the co-players were real people at another location (see figure 1).

Figure 1
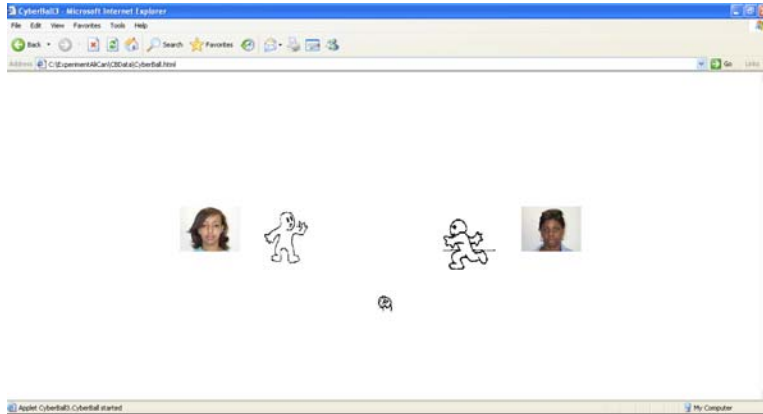


In order to examine the effects of co-player race on the experiences of ostracism, participants were placed in conditions in which they played against two African American or two White males or females. Participants played the game by clicking on the picture of the co-player to whom they would like to toss the ball. The game was played for a total of five minutes in order to elicit the desired effects. Participants in the inclusion condition receive approximately 1/3 of the total tosses. For participants in the ostracism condition, the ball is received twice at the beginning of the game and then no longer received for the duration of the game.

An important aspect of this research was the participants' perception of the co-player's race. Particularly, it was imperative that participants believed the co-players were real and accurately perceived the co-players race. Thus, photographs of white and African-American men and women were used as visual stimuli. The photographs were selected for use from the Productive Aging Laboratory at the University of Michigan (Minear & Park, 2004) and piloted using an African-American sample from the same university as the current study. Participants involved in the pilot study were asked to rate a series of photographs on degree to which the target was attractive, friendly, accepting, honest, trustworthy, tolerant, opinionated, judgmental, and prejudiced. Participants were also asked to indicate the target's race, gender and age. Only targets that were moderate on the aforementioned characteristic variables as well as representative of the desired age, race and gender were selected for further analysis. A repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to reduce the pictures to only those that most accurately depicted the desired target race. This analysis resulted in the selection of three photographs for each target group of White men and women and African-American men and women. To ensure that the desired effects of target race were the only characteristics of the photographs to impact the research, each photograph was paired with every other photograph in its race/gender category and pairings were randomly varied among participants in a fully counterbalanced fashion (see appendix).

Measures

Demographic information was collected from participants at the onset of the study. Participants were asked to provide their race, gender and school classification. Participants' race was of particular interest for the purposes of this research.

Dependent Measures

According to Williams' model for ostracism (1997), there are four fundamental needs that are threatened by ostracism: sense of belonging, self-esteem, sense of control and sense of meaningful existence. In accordance with this model, Williams' Needs-Threat Scale was used to assess the four fundamental needs. The scale consists of the following subscale items:

*Sense of belonging*. Participants' sense of belonging after the experience of ostracism or inclusion was measured using three statements taken from Williams' Needs-Threat Scale. These statements are: I felt "disconnected", I felt rejected and I felt like an outsider. Participants were asked to rate these statements on a five point scale where a rating of 1 equals not at all and a rating of 5 equals very much so.

*Self- Esteem* was measured on the same rating scale as sense of belonging. This measure also consists of three statements taken from Williams' Needs-Threat Scale. These statements are: I feel good about myself, My self esteem was high and I felt liked .

*Sense of control* was measured on the aforementioned rating scale using the following three statements: I felt powerful, I felt I had control over the course of the interaction and I felt superior.

*Sense of meaningful existence* was measured on the aforementioned rating scale using the following three statements: I felt invisible, I felt meaningless, and I felt non-existent.

*Design*

A 2X2 between subjects factorial design was employed for this research. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: inclusion by the ethnic in-group, inclusion by the ethnic out-group, ostracism by the in-group, or ostracism by the out-group.

*Procedure*

Participants entered the lab and were told the study was designed to gather their opinions regarding their personality as well as their opinions of social groups. Participants were told that the study was being conducted in conjunction with other organizations and universities and as a part of the study they would be asked to test a mental visualization game called Cyberball. Participants were asked to have their picture taken to be uploaded to the computer to reinforce the salience of the manipulation. After informed consent was given and the picture was taken, the participant was seated at a computer and began the experiment. Participants were engaged in a complex deception scheme, where they were led to believe that they were playing a game of virtual ball toss with two individuals at another location. This game was presented as a mental visualization task designed to give participants a break from completing questionnaires. Following the manipulation, participants completed questions regarding their four needs states, were then given filler tasks (approximately 10 minutes) and asked questions again regarding their four needs states, they then completed a series of questionnaires. After completion of all questionnaires, participants were debriefed, thanked and excused from the study.

# RESULTS

Ostracism

Analysis of Variance was used to examine the impact of ostracism and group membership on the four needs at time 1 and time 2. Assessment of the impact of ostracism at time 1 was consistent with previous research. Participants who were ostracized reported a lower sense of belonging, self-esteem, sense of control and meaningful existence than those included ($F(1, 223)=182.94$, $p<.001$, $F(1,223)=65.19$, $p<.001$; $F(1, 223)= 161.85$, $p< .001$, $F(1, 223)= 107.97$, $p< .001$, respectively).

Figures 2a (Control), 2b (Self-Esteem), 2c (Meaningful Existence), 2d (Belonging)
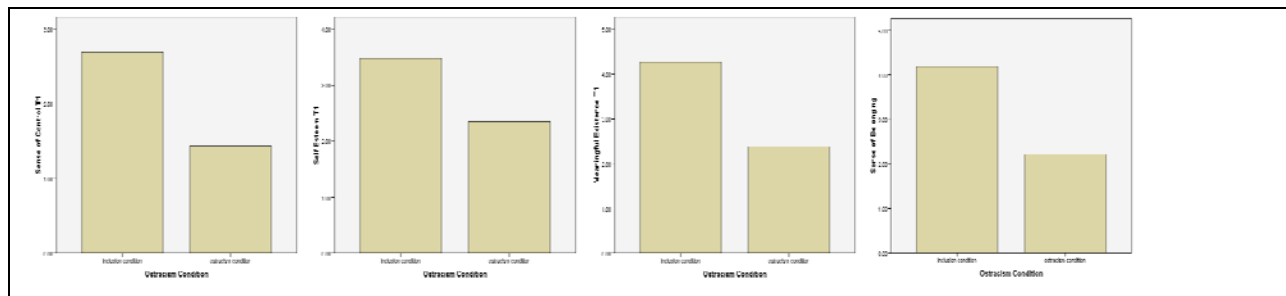


The effects of ostracism persisted through the time delay such that significant differences between those that were ostracized and included were observed at time 2. This pattern was similar to the observed results of time 1 in that those ostracized reported significantly lower levels of the four needs than those that were included for sense of belonging, self-esteem, and sense of meaningful existence ($F(1,223)=3.68$, $p <.05$; $F(1, 223)= 4.66$, $p<.05$; $F(1, 223)= 8.94$, $p< .001$, respectively). Sense of control at time 2 only approached significance, $F(1, 223)= 3.84$, $p=.083$.

Group membership

As previously stated, of interest to this research was the importance of the role of group membership between the source and the target of ostracism. At time 1, a main effect of the race of the co-player was found for self-esteem ($F(1, 223)= 4.66$, $p<.05$). Participants who played against white co-players reported lower levels of self-esteem than participants that played against black co-players. No significant interactions were found for the role of race of the co-player on the experience of ostracism versus inclusion however.

Contrary to the findings at time 1, co-player effects did emerge at time 2 for the two key needs, sense of belonging ($F (1, 223) = 5.59$, $p=.019$) and sense of control, ($F (1,223) =3.93$, $p=.049$).

Participants that were ostracized by white co-players reported lower levels of belonging and control than participants that were ostracized by black co-players.

Figure 3, Sense of Control and Belonging Immediately (Time 1) and 10 Minutes after Ostracism or Inclusion (Time 2).
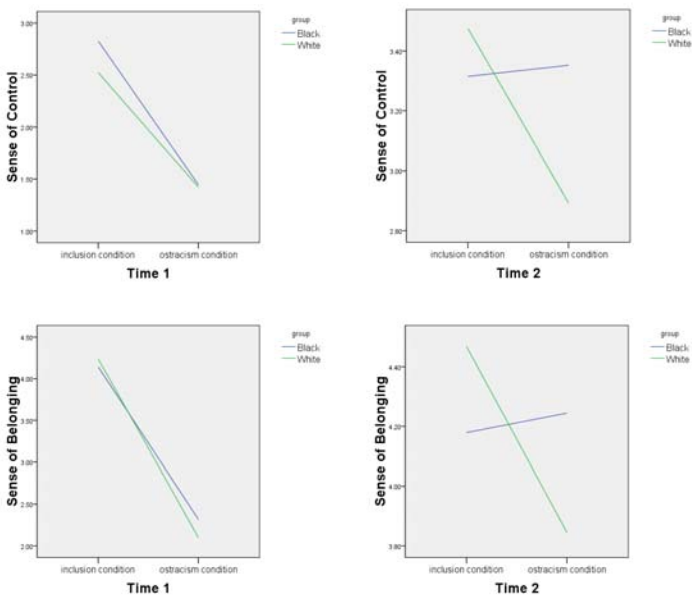


While quantitative evidence demonstrates the pervasive impact of ostracism, the qualitative responses to being ostracized can be equally telling. Following the mental visualization task participants were asked to report what they were visualizing while playing the game. These are some of the responses from the ostracized condition. Notably they are in considerable contrast to those comments from inclusion conditions which generally were pleasant and unlikely to mention ethnic bias issues regarding other players or intergroup relations.

"Well, at first I imagined the day to be sunny and mild, a great day to play outside. Then as I saw the two other players beginning to neglect me as a player, I imagined clouds beginning to form and the day being gray and solemn."

"I was visualizing playing catch on a field and being the loser who no one wants to throw the ball to. Before this experiment I didn't think too much about inequality but now blood is boiling mad with dislike."

"I was back in the 1950's in a park. And we were supposed to play catch together when the other two players' parents came out and asked why are you playing catch with that negro."

## DISCUSSION

The current research provides more insight into responses to being ostracized. Consistent with prior research, being ostracized leaves an individual with diminished social well-being, specifically reducing levels for self-esteem, sense of control, sense of belonging and meaningful existence. Furthermore, group membership of the source does not seem to play a role in immediate response to being excluded, however, when given time to reflect on being excluded, group membership becomes more important, specifically for sense of belonging and sense of control. We surmise there may be several explanations. The needs of self-esteem and meaningful existence are more internally controlled states while sense of belonging and sense of control are more likely impacted by externally events and circumstances. The Black participants interacting with White co-players may have been reminded of historical events related to discrimination and race relations in this country and consequently interpreted ostracism motivations differently for White versus Black co-players. Another possible explanation for the results is that the participants may have individuated the Black co-players favorably, determining that they were not typical members of the in-group or perhaps more readily and more favorably rationalized the ostracizing behaviors of their in-group co-players.

Importantly, this research confirms hypotheses that construals of causes for ostracism based upon the groups doing the ostracizing have considerable influence on the impact of ostracism on key social needs for excluded versus included individuals. This may offer the beginnings of explanations for the dramatic reactions to ostracism in some situations and the perhaps equally dramatic disregard of the ostracism experience in others. The divergent features of those situations and/or of the different rationales for interpretation of ostracizer's motives may provide clues to new tactics for reducing the pain of ostracism and its sometimes challenging consequences.

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## Smart Textiles and Its Applications

Smart textiles have given a new look to fashion. A jacket will no longer be worn just because it is pretty and warm. It will have built in features such as a cell phone, music device, heater, or even a heart monitor. There are innovations in textile technology that can allow the clothes that we wear to be high tech electronic devices. Survival, leisure, and protection are some reasons that so much research is going into this ever-growing field. Many applications of smart textiles will allow the wearer to interact with computer technology using clothing.

Smart textiles are opening doors to many new ways to view the clothes that we wear and how we view textiles in general. The difference between regular textiles and smart textiles is that smart textiles have been enhanced with electronics or special physical properties. This can be done by weaving, coating, or by completely inventing a new type of fiber that has special abilities. The reasons for developing smart textiles range from leisure to necessity. Some

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reasons that smart textiles are being researched include health and survival reasons, military, medical, and even sports. Though the research and development of smart textiles may be a slow process, the technology is leaps and bounds ahead of where it was just a few years ago (Stylios, 2007a).

One application of smart textiles is a coating that can change the shape of a fabric based on the temperature. This has many uses. One is to have a bra that will keep the shape of a breast using body heat. As soon as the undergarment is placed on the body there is an automatic custom fit. This application of smart textiles has gotten a great response from the public. Another use is for window shades. According to Stylios (2007b), the coating can manipulate the fabric to bend in certain creases at a certain temperature. There are ways to "train" the fabric to bend in the places that need to bend. This would allow the blinds to raise and lower at certain times of the day automatically. The heat of the sun during the day could raise the curtains, but the lack of sunlight at night would lower the curtains to give privacy.

Safety is a very important factor in the creation of new textiles in many industries. One invention that is very promising is the Dow Corning Active Protection System. This textile was recently given the 2008 ASM Engineering Materials Achievement Award. The technology will give much needed protection for many groups ranging from military to sports and leisure. The new textile allows the wearer to move freely without the need for bulky armor or padding. The fabric stays flexible until stressed by a high impact force. Military uniforms

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can be worn without the need for extra padding. The wearer can be more agile in avoiding obstacles while having the protection from incoming blows. The textile is fabricated with a silicone agent. It meets or exceeds the standards for sports apparel and equipment. Benefits of the Dow Corning Active Protection System are less exertion, greater performance, and increased safety for the wearer. This is another example of how smart textiles are making lives easier for people all over the world (Advanced Materials & Processes, 2009).

Other ways that technology has taken textiles in a new direction is by creating new fibers. A fiber that has been very interesting to scientists lately is spider silk. Spider silk is one of the strongest, most flexible fibers that we have found. It can be used in many different industrial applications. The only problem with spider silk is that it is very hard to harvest the silk from spiders. Therefore, it is impossible to farm spiders and have consistent harvests of spider silk. For this reason, it is very expensive to get the fiber because it is always a long process (Technology Review, 2004).

Scientists are now working on ways to mimic spider silk. They want to be able to make an artificial fiber that is just as flexible and strong. Scientists now feel that they have achieved their goal. They are able to use silk worms to mimic the silk from spiders. Such a strong fiber can be used in industrial projects (Technology Review, 2004).

The manufacturing of microfibers has given way to many new and inventive ways to create and use smart textiles. Nanotechnology research has

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given way to scientists creating fibers at the molecular level.  This would improve uniformity in fibers and give almost one hundred percent efficiency in converting yarns to fabric.  Molecule sized computers, sensors, and machines can also be woven into the fabric (McGuinness, 1997).

One of the major applications of smart textiles is smart jacket.   Weaving wires into fabric is one of methods to produce smart jacket.  This allows electricity to flow throughout the garment giving the piece of cloth many different uses.  This would give the wearer many options, such as heating or plugging in a music player.    This could mean that there is a music device that can be worn or possibly a heater could make a coat much warmer.  Normal jackets and coats can provide some warmth depending on the type of fiber and weave used to produce a garment.  But the smart jackets using wires woven into the fabric distribute heat through out the fabric. Because the jacket has the smart textile technology, there would be no need for bulk. A tightly woven jacket with extra heat added would take away any need for extra layering and the resulting outfit would be very light (IEE Review, 2003).

A jacket can function as a computer which would use the human body as the input controls.  The jacket would have a chip welded into it which would interpret the data collected through movement and touch.  A touch or bend of a sleeve would send a signal to the computer chip in the article of clothing. Computer chips are currently being developed which can create a chromatic display on the garment.  Chromatic display simply means fabric which can

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change color.  Not only can consumers choose different colors for garments, but

a person can communicate emotion or it can even be used as a means of safety.

Soldiers in the battle wearing chromatic display technology could change the

look of the camouflage they are wearing to better fit into the environments as

they move around without having to change clothes.  This technology can be

used for civilians as well. It would be incredibly convenient to be able to change

the color of a jacket to match different outfits, or a blouse to match a certain

occasion.  According to Baurely, interior design is exploring this technology to

create home furnishing that can fit any environment (2004).  The color of a sofa

could change to match the new color of the walls without having to buy a

completely new piece of furniture.

Because of smart textiles there is now the technology to monitor heart

rate, temperature, and other vital signs simply by wearing a jacket.  A patient can

be in a hospital and wear a jacket instead of all of those annoying pads all over

the body to keep track of vital signs.  An elderly person can wear the jacket to

keep track of certain vital signs to keep from getting into any bad predicament

when they are home alone.  Athletes can train and keep track with vital signs,

while those serving in the military can wear the jackets when on a mission.  The

jackets can send back real-time results so that help can come faster if needed.

Critically ill patients in hospitals are now able to wear a garment that can analyze

blood.  The garment can be used for a few days and then it can be disposed of

for sanitary reasons.  The article of clothing has tiny sensors that connect

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wirelessly to the bedside equipment to let medical staff monitor the patients at all times (Journal of Clinical Engineering, 2005).

Another health related advance is a jacket that can help to prevent strained muscles. The jacket can be worn when doing strenuous work and when the muscles start to get to a point that could be dangerous, the jacket does not allow more movement in the dangerous direction (Engineering and Technology, 2006). This type of garment can also be used to accelerate the rate of completion for physical therapy patients. Wearing a garment of this type can correct posture with little to no discomfort for the wearer (Tognetti,Bartalesi, Lorussi, & De Rossi, 2007).

In addition to providing heat, electric wires can serve other functions. There is a coating that can be put on fabric allowing wires to be attached at one small area. The coating allows for an electric current to run through the material. One major use is to use the fabric for motion detection. A good example of this would be a motion sensing glove. Wires would only need to be attached in one place such as the wrist or possibly the thumb. The rest of the glove is free of wires to hinder any type of movement. The glove will bend normally and it will still have the electric current running through the material to attach to sensors to detect movement. Using a computer without needing a mouse or keyboard can be achieved by using this glove. It can also be used for things for children like the popular video gaming console, the Nintendo Wii. Being able to interact with a computer using a body part instead of having to use a mouse, keyboard, or

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controller can give the user much more freedom and perhaps many new

technologies can be created (Tognetti, Bartalesi, Lorussi, & De Rossi, 2007).

This is just the beginning for the great things that can be done with

textiles.  Smart textiles are the future and there is no telling where we will be just

a few years from now.  Over the past decade there has been a great interest in

smart textiles and every year the number of dollars spent on research increases

drastically.  In just a short amount of time there will be even more innovation and

upgrades to the textiles that we use in our everyday lives.  Already we have

technology that seemed silly to many only twenty years ago.

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**Name of Session:** *A Practical Guide for Instructors: Teaching Race in the Face of White Denial*

**Facilitators**:

**Cristy Casado Tondeur,** Adjunct Professor of Ethnic and Gender Studies at Westfield State College and PhD Candidate in the W.E.B. DuBois Department of Afro-American Studies at University of Massachusetts Amherst.

**Vanessa Martinez-Renuñcio**, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Holyoke Community College and PhD Candidate in the Department of Anthropology at University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, research has found that up to 70% of white Americans believe that we live in a Post-Racial America. This is continually problematic when we hear about Post-Racial politics in the Age of Obama. For those of us engaged in Social Justice and anti-oppression education, we know that there is no such thing as "post-racial" anything. Tim Wise, a prominent scholar on race and white privilege, just published in February of 2009, Between Barack and A Hard Place: Racism and White Denial in the Age of Obama, where he discusses how racism has not vanished but instead has changed to accommodate the election of the first Black American President. The shift from de jure to de facto racial discrimination combined with "white denial" creates a number of obstacles for classroom dialogues on social inequalities.

During this workshop we will discuss how race and privilege have impacted our classroom teaching experience as well as share what we have learned in the process. Since many of our classrooms are predominantly white, discussions of race are clouded by the myth of racial equality and equal opportunity for all. This myth along with the historical election of Obama reinforces white denial and causes students to be resistant to the examination of race and how it continues to impact contemporary American society. We will discuss classroom challenges and strategies that can be used to facilitate thoughtful and engaging discussions on race, racism, and white denial.

Participants will be given the following:

- Handouts exploring racial terminology for classroom use
- Handouts providing a couple of  in-class activities used to promote a thoughtful and engaging discussion of race
- Handouts supplying bibliographic materials on race and white privilege for classroom use

Title: Why Wilderness Therapy Works for High Risk Youth:

B.F.Skinner and Virginia Satir meet on a Colorado Mountaintop.

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**Title**:  **Why Wilderness Therapy Works for High Risk Youth:
B.F.Skinner and Virginia Satir meet on a Colorado Mountaintop**.

**Introduction:**

It takes all three: Skinner, Satir, and a mountaintop to create a therapeutic milieu for effective

Intervention with high risk youth.  *High risk* refers to those behaviors that weaken bonds to family

and community institutions, especially schools, and that are strengthened by frequent association

with non-conforming peers.  Conflict with family, poor performance at school and strength of

attachment to an anti-social peer group have been identified by T. P. Thornberry and his

colleagues in an extensive body of research over the past two decades as being strong predictors

of present or future delinquency, alcohol, drug, and food addictions, and other anti-social or self-

destructive behaviors. (Thornberry,T.P.and Krohn, M., 2002.)

In the continuum of care, Wilderness Therapy occupies a level of intervention a step higher than

traditional outpatient therapy and a step lower that treatment in an institutional facility.  In 1999,

there were 38 Wilderness Therapy programs; today there are almost 500, having quickly became

a last ditch resource for frantic parents who have exhausted the more traditional forms of

treatment.  This number includes therapeutic boarding schools, but camps account for about 70

percent of the programs. Mental health professionals, juvenile authorities and health insurance companies increasingly recognize that therapeutic wilderness programs are a legitimate, cost-effective and comprehensive intervention for high risk youth.

Evolving out of conventional Wilderness Education Programs, Wilderness Therapy began by using the wilderness ecology as a necessary component of the treatment program. That is where the mountaintop comes in.  According to Priest and Gass (1971), when adolescents are placed completely outside of their comfort zone, they are in a prime location for behavior change.  Any urban or suburban teen who is transferred to a Wilderness Therapy program where there is no running water, limited communication with the outside world, zero personal belongs, and who is given only a tent to sleep in and a shovel to dig a ditch for a latrine, will be in a state of cognitive and emotional disequilibrium.  This is an optimal environment for changing aggressive, anti-social, or passive self-destructive behavior.

B.F.Skinner, referred to in the title, provides a conceptual basis for the behavior modification techniques that are used by staff in the daily routine. The case study presented below will illustrate how these techniques are used to effect behavioral change.

Virginia Satir is the scholar-practitioner who continued the work begun by Nathan Ackerman and Salvadore Minuchin on structural family therapy.  Satir's influence on the field can be seen in the approach used by WT psychotherapists in their weekly sessions with the adolescents and their parents. The therapists come up onto the mountain (or to other wilderness sites) where they have a three-way interview with the adolescent beside them in a tent or truck while parents participate via satellite phone.  According to the head staff, "It is common knowledge that behaviors seen at camp comes from home behaviors.  Hence the commitment to family involvement and parents must agree to participate in therapy as a prerequisite for admission to the program.

During the summer of 2008 I worked as an intern for a typical wilderness therapy program on a mountaintop in Colorado.  Drawing from my field notes, I will give examples of how the *challenges of the wilderness*, the *behavior modification techniques* embedded in the routines of

the daily program, and the weekly *family therapy* sessions, work to change antisocial beliefs and attitudes, shape pro-social behavior, and nurtures the physical fitness and psychosocial development of the adolescent clients.

Therapeutic boarding schools operate in much the same way.  The goal is to find solutions rather than to analyze problems.  Both types of program are designed to develop personal responsibility and a sense of empowerment and group belongingness. These programs provide physically challenging tasks which foster experiential learning with the goal of altering non-conformist behaviors.  They also provide a group setting which facilitates learning, the development of feelings of personal worth and value.  The physically challenging activities open a window for success which contributes to a more positive self-image and feelings of competence and self-confidence. During the process students begin to assume more personal responsibility for their behavior.

**Wilderness Therapy in Practice:**

The program I worked at is located in northwestern Colorado on a cattle ranch of 15,000 acres of lush land. Participants range in age from twelve to seventeen and males outnumber females about three to one.  The wilderness manager allows the program to build five campsites at any given time, four for adolescents and one for adults, ages eighteen to twenty-two.  The sites can be used for only one week as a conservation measure.

**Orientation and Training:**

After a background check and fingerprinting, I had two and a half days of orientation and observation before I could begin interacting with the students.

The first day of training I was on 24 hours of silence and could talk only to ask questions. During this time I began reading the books assigned to the students for reading so we could use the content in our daily group discussions.  I had to read all of these required books as well as complete each of the hard skills the students are assigned in order to earn the maximum pay for my summer work.  Positive reinforcement!

I officially became staff at noon on the third training day.  I had earned the privileges of cooking

on the propane stove instead of cooking on a campfire and of sitting on a camp chair instead of sitting on the ground with the students.

A psychotherapist, physician and teacher make weekly visits to each of the five sites. They not only meet with the students, they also work closely with their counselors.  The counselors are briefed about what happened in family and individual therapy sessions and what the students are working on in terms of their academic programs.

June 26, '08.

*Move Camp Day*

*We woke up at 6:45 am and got our bear bags, did latrine calls and packed up camp.*
*Bear bags have a person's allotment of food.  Every night they are collected and stored in a metal box which is stored a far distance from camp at night so that bears will not come to the campsite foraging for food.*

*Natural things such as rocks and sticks that were moved had to be scattered, holes filled in, and the students picked up every piece of garbage and burned it.  Then we began our hike, stopping for rest and water.  Once at the new camp, all the holes, including the latrine, sump, ash pit, etc, were dug and the shower and tents were put up and we began a new day.*

Staff is on duty 24 hours a day for eight days and then they have 6 days off duty.  Staff has the opportunity to develop a unique rapport with the students because of sleeping as well as working at the site.  Different emotions come out in early morning and late at night than you see during the day.

*July 6, '08*

*Terry: Is passing weeks, doing well, going on solo but doesn't realize how her actions and behaviors affect others.  Terry has great insight but her good ideas get lost in her sea of negative attitude.  Her adoptive mother is burned out.  Terry feels abandoned by her sister (adopted as well) who isn't ready to talk because she is scared of the way Terry treats her mother.  Her therapist says, "When Terry expresses her feeling of abandonment then say "it's fine to be feeling this way" because no one can change the way she is feeling.  After she relaxes talk with her about why the person might be acting this way towards her from their perspective*

**The Program in Three Phases:**

Admissions are ongoing, and newcomers are assimilated into the group by means of interaction with peers and shared responsibilities for chores.  There are three phases to complete in order for a student to graduate from the program.  Phase one emphasizes self-awareness, cooperation with staff and peers, the development of personal skills, and assuming responsibility for one's actions.

In the second phase the adolescent is considered an advanced student whose task is to integrate the lessons learned from the initial phase in the camp setting and to apply them to develop satisfactory communications with his or her family.  This is a time when students generally are awakened to their old self-defeating patterns of thinking and interacting with their parents and other authority figures, and when they begin to establish new values and ways of positive interaction.

The final phase is known as the Ranch phase.  Students are beginning to understand the importance of acting with integrity and trustworthiness and they become aware of how their actions affect others.  During this time they make a solo overnight trip away from the campsite to spend time in reflection and self-examination. Now they are ready to take on some responsibilities for socializing newcomers into the group.

*July 6, '08*

*Tonight at group everyone was sharing questions, comments & concerns.  Some students were being disrespectful and rude today.  All staff had commented on the negative attitude and we sounded like broken records.  I asked the group if when staff says repeatedly that attitude needs to change, if it is effective without taking points or do they take the ranch student's comments about their attitude more to heart.  Daryl responded that when ranch students correct him that he responds because all staff ever do is bark orders.  As I see it, when ranch students reprimand wilderness students they respect their peer's suggestions.  Therefore I feel peer leadership is an effective tool both for experience for the ranch students and a first line of defense for the staff.*

The life skills that are taught in phase three are leadership and independence.  Many students are advancing their education at this point, working toward earning a GED, a high school diploma or college credits.  This is the time, too, when therapists work closely with the student and the family to encourage positive communication and focus on reintegration into the family.

*June 28, '08*

*Then Freddy, who came in from his three day Grad solo (in the wilderness alone with a one-on-one staff to visit and mentor him) asked the group two questions based on his reflection that he needs to learn when to be serious. He asked everyone to share a time when they should have been serious and when they were not. The other question was what was a change you have learned in this program and how will it help you back home. There were very honest and insightful responses.*

The minimum time required to complete the program is 12 weeks but, if a student fails a

week, he must repeat it before going on to the next week's assignments. Both positive

reinforcement (reward) and negative reinforcement (the withdrawal of negative stimuli) are used

to change behavior. Because punishment only suppresses behavior, natural consequences, not

punishment, are allowed to teach life lessons about the unpleasant results of making poor

choices.

*June 26, '08:*

*I will have to burrito Mary and Jan again because they are on run watch; they may try to walk off the mountain. This means their shoe laces/belts were confiscated and the burrito means they must sleep in their sleeping bags with a tarp wrapped around each of them and both sides of the tarps are tucked under my mat while I sleep. That way, if they move for any reason I will wake up. Last night wasn't so good because Chelsea was sick with multiple symptoms that kept her up and going to the latrine.*

*And a Head Counselor to a student: " We don't get you in trouble. You get yourself in trouble. We record the behavior."*

*Phase one and two Wilderness students begin each day with 525 points on their point card and can lose up to 75 points before they fail their day. If they fail two days, they lose an entire week. Ranch students begin the day with 525 points also, but if they lose 50 points they fail the day and the whole week. When this happens to a Ranch student they are "tarped" which means they must sit on the ground on their tarp like Wilderness students. They are no longer able to cook on the stove but they are still expected to show Ranch behavior and enter the coolers to hand out the cheese and potatoes and garlic and carrots and onions for meals for all the students. Students can make up half of the points lost if they ask their staff and are given permission. Tasks, such as digging a new ash pit or cleaning the propane tanks or coolers, are possible ways to earn back some points in order not to fail a whole week.*

*June 29, '08*

*Head Staff Nathaniel pulled me aside to say he liked the way I related a point card deduction to real life application. I was doing bow drills to get a fire and student Dan asked to test out my equipment. I said sure. He tried it and then said he was going to bow hard till he got an ember. I said, " no" because I have to carve my own bow and equipment with a rock and the faster it wears down the sooner I have to start over. He blew more and became resistant. I asked him to please stop and he did not. I stepped on my bow so he couldn't continue and asked for his point*

*card.  I subtracted 30 points for disrespect and asked if he saw this in himself at home.  He said yes and we talked more about it.  Nash approved of the way I handled the situation.  I am beginning to use the official point hits like "obnoxious" points.  I understand the need for consistency and I recognize my tendency towards leniency.*

*June 10, '08*

*Jim read out loud to me to make up points for his 20/20 so he would not fail his day.  He was an excellent reader and because of that and his patience, and how he helps others when they are lacking self confidence…I suggested he look into the Big Brother program when he gets home because he would be a good mentor.*

**The Daily Routine:**

Wake-up time is 6:30 unless it is Sunday when everyone is allowed to sleep until 7 a.m. There is an "8 minute call" to get all camping gear packed and organized on the pack line.  The foreman, a student working on the third phase, reads the chore assignments to all students. Hygiene is next; every student takes a hippie bath with baby wipes.  Students are allowed to throw the used wipes at will into the fire.  Generally they have to ask permission to throw anything into the fire.  Next are latrine visits. Then students line up in number and gender order 1-3 females, 4-12 males to get their bear bags (their own food) if they are working on phase one or two, or ranch totes, which are bins of food for Ranch students, (who are working on the last phase three) to use for cooking.  Next the students prepare their breakfast by putting pot water on the fire and filling their steel cups with either oats or germade and brown sugar.  Then the MOS, a moment of silence, and everyone puts their fists out when they are ready to eat.

Afterwards, bins are prepared to wash cups and spoons:

- 1st: water and sticks, pinecones, or rocks to scrub
- 2nd antibacterial soapy water
- 3rd water rinse
- 4th bleach water.

A staff then calls in with the satellite phone, at 8 a.m., to the office which is down at the base of the mountain, and on Sundays to the answering service to record the weather, --no clouds, temperature --60 degrees in the shade, 83 degrees in the sun, lets them know there are four staff,

12 students, and no needs.

This is followed by one hour of silent skills time, which can involve school work and bow drill sets. At around 10:30 a.m. students are required to drink half a quart of water and show staff. Because of the lack of rain, the mountaintop is considered a desert. Everyone has to wear caps and use sunscreen and hydration is scheduled into the daily routine.

Lunch preparations begin at 11:15 a.m. Students are to soak their rice and lentils for an hour. Staff does another call in to the office at noon and reports any needs, things that the students need, like chapstick or sunscreen. Wilderness students use chicken/beef bullion or cheese, and Ranch students get to use cayenne, garlic, salt and pepper. They cook, a MOS, then eat a full cup, drink a full quart and clean their cups. There is a spiritual hike that follows, when students walk together and reflect in silence, this lasts for one hour on Sundays. It is only for fifteen minutes any other day. At around 3 p.m. students must drink a half quart and show staff that they finished it.

Journal time lasts 15 minutes and must be a full two pages. Their 1-on-1 staff reads it and then gives them points for completion. Staff calls in again at 4:30pm. Generally the office has something to report to the staff, such as change in medication dosages. For dinner the students choose from their spam, ramen or chili. Then they clean their cups. For the evening, one staff member heads group. One example of a group was, "what profession do you want to have?" Next students do night hygiene, cleaning their feet, face, hands and neck with wipes. This is the time that staff does a foot check for athlete's foot and they are given fungus cream or powder to use. Tent time is around 9 p.m. and students hear "black out" around 9:30 p.m., which means they can no longer talk. They are never allowed to whisper because they might be planning to run. Staff tries to prevent that but, if a student persists in attempts to leave, a staff person walks with them but does not give them anything, until and unless instructed to by a director. The staff carries the run bag/communications bag at all times which has water, food and a satellite phone.

Mondays and Fridays vary somewhat because they are shower and therapy and teacher day. These are the two days that students shower. They heat one pot on the fire and use that water to shower and change into clean clothes, all within twelve minutes.

Mondays a therapist comes to the campsite and takes the students one by one throughout the day into the truck for a session. Every other Monday students are allowed a scheduled phone call with their parents or guardians. Each week the therapist gives an assignment to be completed before the next session. The students who have been here longer have told me that their therapists recognize when they are not being genuine. The newer students try either to tell the therapist what they think they want to hear or they beg them to go home. The word most commonly used here to explain this behavior is *manipulation*.

*June 2, '08*

*Ron had an intense therapy session today. I don't know what happened during his phone call with his family but he is thoroughly annoyed. He is assigned to me for one-on-one supervision and I was asked by a senior staff person to give him some space and time and a bit of leniency until he cools down.*

The teachers ask about school work. For example, they may go over GED pre-testing and preparation for the SAT. Some students receive high school credits and others are taking college level courses through Brigham Young University.

When the doctors come they question each student, weigh them, and take their blood pressure and temperature. The students line up and cooperate because they get a reward, a choice of candy from two huge boxes if they are well hydrated as shown by a normal temperature (98.6).

**Group Sessions:**

When they enter the program, students are given a packet to complete for phase one in order to move on to phase two and a different packet. There is a third packet for Ranch, the final phase.

These packets contain instructions for written assignments, such as for a journal or homework or

an essay and for tasks given by the student's counselor, and a list of  books they must read and

for the skills they must acquire, such as the ability to build a campfire by using a bow drill, and to

make traps and tie knots.

*June 1, '08*

*We worked on Bill's hand drills, which involve fast friction with down pressure on a carved stick in order to produce an ember.  Every student and new staff is required to participate in attempting to get this specific method of starting a fire.  I got three oblong blisters on my palm and they look like the great lakes! Learning wilderness skills builds self-confidence and self-esteem.*

The daily group sessions are frequently structured in terms of asking a student to read from his or

her journal or an impact letter received from home. This presentation will be followed by

comments from the listeners and a general discussion, or staff may create a series of questions

for the students to answer which are designed to promote self-awareness and understanding.

*May 30, '08.*

*The group discussion we had tonight asked every one of the students to say three ways of coping with friends who offer drugs, and ways to handle conflicts with family.*
*One thing students have in common is their fear of being pulled back into the group of their drug-using friends.*

*June 3, '08*

*Tonight I led Group.  I asked each of the students individualized questions.*

*Female Kim: If you were an animal which would you be and why?*
*Male Don: Name one fault of yours that clashes with the norms of your family?*
*Male Neal: What forces you to be tough and assertive on the ice rink?  Does it come from the inside or out?*
*Male Dan: Name one thing that makes you angry, and explain.*
*Male student Ron: Who is the most important/ influential person in your life and do they know how much they mean to you?*
*Ron's Answer: My mother.  I don't think she knows.*

*June 10, '08*

*Dan read his impact letter.  At first I thought he really shouldn't be in the program because his mother had only talked about him hitting his sister with stuffed animals and pillows.  But then the therapist described the unusual behaviors of pooping on her comforter and standing out side her locked bedroom door with an electric hand drill which made it clear that he does, indeed, have*

*behavioral issues and I wondered if his actions might reflect slight retardation as well.*

*June 14, 08*

*Tonight I headed Group. I made a game for the group, asking them each to write down one word that they would use to describe themselves and then one word that others would use to describe them. Then I collected all the sheets and anonymously read each one and asked the group to guess who the person was.*

**One-on-One Mentoring:**

*From assigned reading: Seven Habits of Highly Effective Teens by Sean Covey: "Ask any successful person and most will tell you that they had a person who believed in them…a teacher, a friend, a parent, a guardian, a sister, a grandmother. It only takes one person, and it doesn't matter who it is." I want to be that person for some kids.*

*I eat food and drink water with some dirt in it now. Before working on the mountain this would have never have happened because I inspect every bite that enters my mouth. I also began the summer tip-toeing around dried cow pies. Now I walk right through them because of peer influence of staff.*

*Friday, June 27, '08*

*Last shift Jake was my one-on one and I explained to him that more people would follow him willingly if he could find the balance between helping and ordering. Then I drew on his affirmation to Terry in which he said when he first saw her walk into camp on her first day he figured they were complete opposites who would never get along or be friends, yet over the past month he learned that they have a lot in common and similar family situations. I asked him to draw from that experience when back at home and to give people a chance to open up to him before he judges them. I suggested he do this with his parents, too, because if he doesn't give them a chance and use patience to get to know who they are, he will never know if they share things in common*

**Graduation:**

Parents are allowed to come for a visit when their student has passed the 42$^{nd}$ day of the program (the half-way mark) no matter how long it takes. There is a graduation ceremony for those who have completed all three phases of the program and those who have achieved their 42$^{nd}$ day are included in the celebration. Students and staff exchange affirmations and parents and children exchange affirmations. Many graduates return home, but some need the more structured environment of a residential facility for treatment of mental illness and/or an addiction.

*The occasion is marked by a mixture of joy and anxiety. On the mountaintop Head Staff M. had often exhorted the students: "Don't be sorry, change." And change they did. Then he would caution: "Once you've left this program, remember you've changed but the outside world has*

*stayed the same. Don't be disappointed that others may not be sure how to act around the new you."*

**Looking Back:**

One of my lasting memories from the mountaintop was at tent time one evening when I heard the call for "Lights Out" and, for the first time, I heard Mary and Jan say 'I love you' to each other. They had come a long, long way. It was a pleasant surprise.

A mother and father who had two daughters graduate from the program are now working as staff to learn how to duplicate the program in England. I may have to apply for next summer!

Title:  Designing an International Teaching Assistant Program:  The Nuts and Bolts

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Abstract:  Most American universities use teaching assistants (TAs) - aka graduate students receiving a stipend for teaching - to cover undergraduate classes.  Unless these TAs have been teachers before or have had instruction in pedagogical methodology, they quite often are just "thrown to the wolves" by their departments.  Additionally, most graduate programs are not prepared to offer what a new teacher might need (syllabus design, current instructional methods, test design, cultural sensitivity, etc.) so that they will be successful and can help the department/college/university retain these students as undergraduate, degree-seekers.  On top of this, most departments/colleges, including the education departments/colleges, are not knowledgeable enough to provide the pedagogical instruction necessary for international TAs to be successful.  Not only do these students need the instructional help, they also need English as a Second Language (ESL) help along with American educational cultural training for it is these classes that have some of the highest rates of attrition in the US due to the TAs' pronunciation problems, misinterpretation of student responsibilities, and misinterpretation of the instructor's role in the classroom.  These are just a few of the issues that need addressing.

What is needed for a basic ITA program:

1. A curriculum aimed at the graduate level

2. Trained faculty familiar with second language education, pedagogy, assessment, and the requirements of graduate school

3. Funding for the execution of the program

4. Dedicated facilities

5. The ability to offer credit

6. A consistent plan of offering the program

7. A requirement that ALL international students participate or demonstrate proficiency

The success of the program depends greatly on the proficiency level of the students at the outcome of the class. There needs to be a balance of lecture about the information, a demonstration of the skills learned, and presentation to demonstration proficiency. These need to be achieved via the interpretation, interpersonal, and presentational modes. Additionally, there needs to be a research component that forms the foundation of the entire program.

# A Spatial Analysis of Lung Cancer and Tobacco Smoking in the United States, 1989-2004

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## INTRODUCTION

Lung cancer is one of the most common cancers worldwide and the leading cause of cancer mortality among smokers in more than 35 countries. It is the second leading cause of death in the United States following heart disease. Lung cancer mortality rates are about 23 times higher for current[1] male smokers and 13 times higher for current female smokers compared to lifelong never smoker. In the United States, 108,355 men and 87,897 women were diagnosed with lung cancer, and 89,575 men and 68,431 women died from lung cancer in 2004 (Centers of Diseases Control and Prevention (CDC) 2008). In addition, the American Cancer Society (ACS 2008) estimates that in the United States 213,380 new cases of lung cancer would be diagnosed and 160,390 deaths due to lung cancer would occur in 2007.

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[1] Current smokers are defined as those who reported having smoked at least 100 cigarettes during their lifetimes and who currently smoke everyday or some days (WHO 2008). The major reason why people start smoking is not mainly because of the taste of the cigarette but rather peer's influence, psychological value, releasing stress, better concentration, and cool looking. Most people become addicted after just one cigarette. However, many smokers think that by trying one cigarette would not make them addicted (McCay 2005).

Tobacco smoking, undoubtedly one of the major risk factors of lung cancer, is also recognized as one of the most significant public health hazards in the United States as well as worldwide. It is currently said to be responsible for the death of one in ten adults in the world (about five million deaths each year). Tobacco smoke, which includes both inhaled smoke from burning cigarettes directly and from side streams (smoke from the burning end of a cigar, cigarette, or pipe), causes the deaths of 53,000 Americans annually (American Heart Association (AHA) 2008). By the mid-1980s, an estimated 526,000 people in North America were dying yearly of diseases that were directly attributable to smoking. Most of these deaths occur in Canada and the United States, where smoking has been a widespread, entrenched habit for over 60 years. According to the World Health Organization (WHO 2008), there will be about 10 million deaths every year by 2020 if current smoking continues. Half the people that smoke today - about 650 million people - will eventually be killed by tobacco. In an economic point of view, tobacco smoking costs the United States approximately $150 billion each year in heath care costs and loss productivity (Bellenir 2004).

According to a report by CDC (2008) on lung cancer incidence and death rates by state, Kentucky followed by Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee and Louisiana, had the highest incidence and death rate for both sexes yearly from 1999 to 2004. Coincidentally in recent decades, Kentucky continues to have the highest tobacco smoking prevalence among adults. Based on these reports from 1988 to 2007, the southern states were consistently the leading states on tobacco consumption. This is partly due to both relaxed regulations and relatively low tobacco excise tax in the tobacco growing states, such as Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina (Tobacco-Free Kids 2008). It is well documented that regulations on tobacco smoking help reduce smoking prevalence, and high excise tax on tobacco products has been the most effective way to discourage youth from starting to smoke. Recent studies have shown that every 10 percent increase in the price of cigarettes will reduce overall cigarette consumption by three to five percent and reduce youth smoking by about seven percent (Tobacco Free Kit 2008, Bellenir 2004).

In the tradition of highlighting the hazards of tobacco use, this paper employs a series of simple regressions to explore the functional relationships between lung cancer and adult smoking using data at the state level in the United States. These models will include regressions using same-year data and with one-year to ten-year time-lag data. In addition, residual analyses of these regressions will be carried out to examine the geographic variations of using adult smoking to predict lung cancer. The significance of this paper is two-fold. First, it is very important for the public to be reminded that tobacco smoking does significantly contribute to lung cancer, which is an early stage preventable disease. Secondly, this paper may provide vital information to health agencies or policy makers in public health sector for important decision making. Although there is a large volume of literature on the functional relationship between tobacco smoking and lung cancer, they tend to focus on the aspatial perspective. This paper intends to provide useful analytical tools to assist the understanding of the functional relationship between tobacco smoking and lung cancer in a spatial point of view.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Overview and the Geography

Lung Cancer is a type of cancer that forms in the tissues of the lung, usually in the cells lining air passages. It is divided into two types depending on the appearance of the cells under the microscope: Small cell lung carcinoma (SCLC) and Non-small cell lung carcinoma (NSCLC). Both SCLC and NSCLC are primarily the result of tobacco smoking. The most common symptoms are shortness of breath, coughing (including coughing up blood), and weight loss. Symptoms can also include wheezing, chest pain or pain in the abdomen, fatigue and loss of appetite (Fischer et al. 2003, Hass 2003). SCLC comprises 20 percent of new lung cancer cases, in which surgery is usually medically indicated, and the rest are NSCLC, where efficacy of chemotherapy and radiation is established.

A report on state-specific prevalence of current cigarette smoking among adults, and policies and attitudes toward secondhand smoke in the United States in 2000 conducted by CDC indicated that Kentucky (27.9 percent of adult females are smokers and 33.4 percent males), Nevada (Female 29.5 percent and Male 28.7 percent), Missouri (Female 24.6 percent and Male 30.1), Indiana (Female 25.5 percent and Male 28.5 percent), and Ohio (Female 26.0 percent and Male 26.7 percent) were the five states with the highest tobacco smoking prevalence for both sexes. For 2006, the top five states were Kentucky (Female 28.1 percent and Male 29.1 percent), West Virginia (Female 26.0 percent and Male 25.4 percent), Oklahoma (Female 22.5 percent and Male 27.9 percent), Mississippi (Female 22.5 percent and Male 27.9 percent) and Alaska (Female 22.9 percent and Male 25.3 percent) (CDCMMWR, 2008).

Based on the above reports from CDC, from 1988 to 2006, the states in the South and the Midwest were consistently the leading states on tobacco consumptions. This is partly due to both relaxed regulations and relatively low excise tax in tobacco growing states such as Kentucky (44,967 tobacco farms), Tennessee (14,995), North Carolina (12,095), Virginia (5,870), Ohio (2,811), Indiana (2,017), Pennsylvania (1,357), South Carolina (1,275), Georgia (1,180), Wisconsin (839), West Virginia (744), and Maryland (711) (Tobacco-Free Kids 2008).

### Education and Smoking

In the United States, smoking prevalence tends to occur within lower education groups The Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report issued by CDC (CDCMMWR 2008) on percentage of persons aged 18 and older who were currently smoke from 1999 to 2006 reported an average of eight year difference in education level between adult smokers and non-smokers. It is reported that 44.36 percent of adults with General Education Development (GED) were smokers, 25.38 percent for 12 years of schooling with high school diploma, 23.18 percent for some college but no degree, 21.23 percent for associate degree, 11.86 percent for undergraduate degree, and 7.85 percent for graduate degree. This shows a strong correlation between tobacco use and education level: the higher the education level,

the less likely a person smokes. This study also specifies the difference between female and male's smoking habit combined with education level; smoking prevalence is higher among males (about four percent) than females when they both have the same level of education.

**Race and Ethnicity**

Rates of cancer incidence related to cigarette smoking vary widely among populations of different racial/ethnic groups but are generally highest in non-Hispanic Black men and non-Hispanic White women. According to CDC (2008), lung cancer incidence rate among African American male was the highest (104.5 per 100,000) compared to any other race and gender. It was 84.4 for non-Hispanic white, 51.1 for American Indian, 49.7 for Asian, and 48.5 for Hispanic. The same study also reports the lung cancer death rate of males among different races: 93.1 for non-Hispanic Black, 71.3 for non-Hispanic White, 50.2 for American Indian, 37.5 for Asian, and 35.1 for Hispanic.

Among female populations of different races (CDC 2008), both incidence and death rates are the highest for non-Hispanic White female: the incidence rate was 54.9 and the death rate was 42.0, followed by non-Hispanic Black (54.6 and 39.9), American Indian (39.7 and 33.8), Asian (28.0 and 18.5), and Hispanic (25.4 and 14.6). This same report also examines the difference in tobacco smoking prevalence among races and gender. The proportions for male and female smokers are as followed: 37.5 percent and 26.8 percent for American Indians/Alaska Natives, 26.7 percent and 17.3 percent for non-Hispanic Black, 24.0 percent and 20.0 percent for non-Hispanic White, 21.1 percent and 11.1 percent for Hispanic, and 20.6 percent and 6.1 percent for Asians.

According to Bellenir (2004), there are also differences in lung cancer death rates among races. In addition to the fact that non-Hispanic Black male are 50 percent more likely to develop lung cancer than Non-Hispanic Black female, lung cancer death rate is significantly higher for Non-Hispanic Black male than for female (100.8 and 70.1 respectively). Lung cancer death rate is three times higher for Hispanic male (23.1) compared to Hispanic female (7.7), and two-and-a-half times higher for Asian male (27.9) compared to Asian female (11.4).

**Gender**

Different genders have different smoking habits, which lead to the difference in lung cancer incidence and death rates. It is established that usually adult smoking prevalence is higher among males than among females; actually not many females smoked until the early 19th century. Tobacco advertisement targeted women began in the 1920s and became commonplace in 1930s. The advertisements generally glamorized smoking and conveyed the message that females who smoked were fashionable and "beautiful." Advertisement slogan such as "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet" attempted to generate an association between smoking and slimness. Usually advertisements use fashion models or Hollywood actors to carry out the promotion. Under the influence of these advertisements, the proportion of

female population who are tobacco smokers was increased drastically; however it is always lower than male population (Bellenir 2004).

In a study of German smokers, Rodu and Cole (2004) show that smoking prevalence and smoking attributable deaths (SAD) differ among adult (25 and older) female and male. There were 7.74 million female smokers (about 25 percent of the total female population in Germany), and the SAD were 22212. There were 11.47 million male smokers (about 40 percent), and the SAD were only 12274. Smoking causes about 90 percent of lung cancer deaths in women and almost 80 percent of lung cancer deaths in men.

In addition to studies on the difference between female and male tobacco smoking habits, there are also reports on gender difference in lung cancer incidence and death rates. A recent study (2001-2005) conducted by the National Cancer Institute (NCI 2008) shows that the incidence rate of lung cancer was 52.6 per 100,000 women and 79.4 per 100,000 men, whereas the lung cancer death rate of female was 41.0 per 100,000 women and 72.0 per 100,000 men. Meanwhile, CDC (2008) also did a study on both incidence and death rates in 2004. It was 53.2 per 100,000 women and 86.09 per 100,000 men incidence rate, while the death rate was 41.32 per 100,000 women and 71.50 per 100,000 men (CDC 2008).

In 2004, 108,355 men and 87,897 women were diagnosed with lung cancer, and 89,575 men and 68,431 women died from lung cancer (CDC 2008). Information obtained from the NCI (2008) currently estimates about 215,020 men and women (114,690 men and 100,330 women) would be diagnosed with and 161,840 men and women would die of lung cancer in 2008. In 2002, the number of women die of lung cancer was almost two times higher than that of breast cancer with 65,700 and 39,600 respectively (Bellenir 2004).

### Regulations

Undoubtedly regulations on tobacco smoking help to reduce smoking prevalence. The United States government enacted the 1996 Food Drug Administration (FDA 2008) rules on youth access to and marketing of tobacco, and they include

- Ban all outdoor tobacco advertising within 1,000 feet of schools and playgrounds.
- Ban all remaining tobacco brand sponsorships of sports and entertainment events.
- Ban free giveaways of any non-tobacco items with the purchase of a tobacco product or in exchange for coupons or proof of purchase.
- Ban free samples and the sale of cigarettes in packages that contain fewer than 20 cigarettes.
- Limit any outdoor and all point-of-sale tobacco advertising to black-and-white text only.
- Limit advertising in publications with significant teen readership to black-and-white text only.
- Restrict vending machines and self-service displays to adult-only facilities.
- Require retailers to verify age for all over-the-counter sales and provide for federal enforcement and penalties against retailers who sell to minors.

The trend of excise tax on tobacco from 1970 to 2000 can be retrieved from CDC (2008), and it is shown that both state and federal taxes on tobacco increased dramatically over the 30-year period. In a more recent development, the new Obama Administration, for both public health concerns and tax revenue increase due to the current economic downturn, has raised the federal tobacco tax from 39 cents per pack to $1.01 starting April 1, 2009. In addition, the average state tobacco tax per pack in 2009 is $1.21 (CNN 2009). That means the average federal and state taxes combined (per pack of cigarettes) has increased from 18 cents in 1970 to about $2.22 in 2009, an increase of more than 12 times. The average price per pack in 1970 was $0.38, and it is approximately $5.00 with the new tax increase in 2009, indicating an increase of more than 13 times (CDC 2008, CNN 2009).

## MODEL AND METHODOLOGY

### The Models

The objectives of this paper are two-fold: (1) to investigate whether there is a consistent functional relationship between lung cancer and adult smoking, and (2) to examine whether there are any geographic variations using adult smoking to predict lung cancer in regression models.

In order to find the functional relationship between lung cancer and adult smoking, a series of simple regressions will be used, and the basic model is

$$y = a + bx + e$$

where  y is lung cancer incidence/death rate
x is percentage of adult smoking
e is the error term
a and b are parameters

This basic model is to be modified in different ways to examine this functional relationship in different approaches. First, the basic model is tested using same-year lung cancer incidence/death rate and smoking prevalence from 1999 to 2004 (six years). Thus, the estimated regressions reveal the instantaneous functional relationship between lung cancer incidence/death rate and smoking prevalence.

A modification of this basic model examines the functional relationship between lung cancer incidence/death rate and smoking prevalence using a one-year to ten-year time-lag (lung cancer incidence/death rate is regressed against smoking prevalence one to ten years earlier). This model tests the casual effect of adult smoking on lung cancer with a time-lag effect[2].

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[2] One-year to ten-year time-lags are arbitrarily selected for the analysis in this paper. Our future research agenda include regressions using time-lags from one year to the maximum number of years allowed in our data to find the most significant causal effect between adult smoking and lung cancer.

In order to examine the geographic variations of using adult smoking prevalence to predict lung cancer, the standard residuals of the regressions will be analyzed in depth using choropleth maps of over-prediction and under-prediction.

**Data Sources**

We retrieved our data from two online sources. Smoking prevalence and lung cancer incidence/death rates of the 50 states and District of Columbia data were obtained from the Centers of Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and the state shapefile of the United States were downloaded from the United States Census Bureau.

Adult smoking prevalence data are in percentages, and their availability is from 1988 to 2007. The data were not available for all 50 states until 1996. For some unknown reason, data were not available for the state of Hawaii for 2004. Lung cancer incidence/death rates are per 100,000, which are available by sex and for both sexes from 1999 to 2004.

**REGRESSIONS AND RESIDUALS ANALYSES**

**Simple Regressions with Same-year Data for Dependent and Independent Variables**

There are a total of 36 simple regressions using the same-year data: Six years (1999 to 2004) multiplied by six different ways to separate the data (male incidence rate, male death rate, female incidence rate, female death rate, both-sex incidence rate, and both-sex death rate). The results of these regressions are displayed in Table 1.

Definitions of symbols in Table 1:

| Symbol | Definition |
|---|---|
| M | Male |
| F | Female |
| B | Both-Sex |
| I | Incidence Rate |
| D | Death Rate |
| 89-04 | Year: 1989 to 2004 |
| $R^2$ | R-Square |
| *F-ratio* | F-Ratio |
| *p* | p-value |
| *N* | Sample size |
| *Constant* | Regression intercept |
| *T* | t-value |
| *Slope* | Regression Slope |

Table 1: Regression Results for Same-Year Data

|  | $R^2$ | F-ratio | p | N | Constant | t-value | p | Slope | t-vale | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MI99 | 0.436 | 34.035 | 0.000 | 46 | 4.030 | 0.260 | 0.796 | 3.873 | 5.834 | 0.000 |
| FI99 | 0.419 | 31.710 | 0.000 | 46 | 7.290 | 0.878 | 0.385 | 2.003 | 5.631 | 0.000 |
| BI99 | 0.518 | 47.300 | 0.000 | 46 | 6.470 | 0.690 | 0.494 | 2.762 | 6.877 | 0.000 |
| MD99 | 0.383 | 30.480 | 0.000 | 50 | 3.655 | 0.273 | 0.786 | 3.178 | 5.521 | 0.000 |
| FD99 | 0.449 | 39.938 | 0.000 | 50 | 7.312 | 1.407 | 0.166 | 1.412 | 6.320 | 0.000 |
| BD99 | 0.485 | 46.057 | 0.000 | 50 | 5.947 | 0.806 | 0.424 | 2.154 | 6.787 | 0.000 |
| MI00 | 0.540 | 50.51 | 0.000 | 45 | -11.664 | -0.800 | 0.428 | 4.489 | 7.107 | 0.000 |
| FI00 | 0.376 | 25.863 | 0.000 | 45 | 11.294 | 1.337 | 0.188 | 1.862 | 5.086 | 0.000 |
| BI00 | 0.566 | 56.182 | 0.000 | 45 | 4.366 | 0.494 | 0.624 | 2.869 | 7.495 | 0.000 |
| MD00 | 0.552 | 60.298 | 0.000 | 51 | -13.759 | -1.161 | 0.251 | 3.991 | 7.765 | 0.000 |
| FD00 | 0.382 | 30.232 | 0.000 | 51 | 6.900 | 1.105 | 0.275 | 1.490 | 5.498 | 0.000 |
| BD00 | 0.537 | 56.872 | 0.000 | 51 | 1.180 | 0.161 | 0.872 | 2.391 | 7.541 | 0.000 |
| MI01 | 0.584 | 61.749 | 0.000 | 46 | -18.449 | -1.316 | 0.195 | 4.673 | 7.858 | 0.000 |
| FI01 | 0.120 | 5.990 | 0.018 | 46 | 16.037 | 0.979 | 0.333 | 1.700 | 2.447 | 0.018 |
| BI01 | 0.600 | 65.986 | 0.000 | 46 | -3.581 | -0.394 | 0.696 | 3.134 | 8.123 | 0.000 |
| MD01 | 0.490 | 47.092 | 0.000 | 51 | -17.135 | -1.250 | 0.217 | 3.997 | 6.862 | 0.000 |
| FD01 | 0.439 | 38.359 | 0.000 | 51 | 5.370 | 0.924 | 0.360 | 1.529 | 6.193 | 0.000 |
| BD01 | 0.599 | 73.286 | 0.000 | 51 | -3.655 | -0.523 | 0.603 | 2.539 | 8.561 | 0.000 |
| MI02 | 0.606 | 69.153 | 0.000 | 47 | -5.097 | -0.446 | 0.658 | 4.061 | 8.316 | 0.000 |
| FI02 | 0.423 | 33.048 | 0.000 | 47 | 10.939 | 1.432 | 0.159 | 1.876 | 5.749 | 0.000 |
| BI02 | 0.601 | 67.751 | 0.000 | 47 | 4.147 | 0.521 | 0.605 | 2.798 | 8.231 | 0.000 |
| MD02 | 0.580 | 67.601 | 0.000 | 51 | -11.453 | -1.090 | 0.281 | 3.662 | 8.222 | 0.000 |
| FD02 | 0.383 | 30.460 | 0.000 | 51 | 9.549 | 1.651 | 0.105 | 1.353 | 5.519 | 0.000 |
| BD02 | 0.578 | 67.094 | 0.000 | 51 | 1.240 | 0.186 | 0.853 | 2.316 | 8.191 | 0.000 |
| MI03 | 0.656 | 87.914 | 0.000 | 48 | -4.215 | -0.421 | 0.676 | 4.118 | 9.376 | 0.000 |
| FI03 | 0.435 | 36.170 | 0.000 | 48 | 14.955 | 2.206 | 0.032 | 1.789 | 6.014 | 0.000 |
| BI03 | 0.614 | 76.352 | 0.000 | 50 | 10.031 | 1.460 | 0.151 | 2.641 | 8.738 | 0.000 |
| MD03 | 0.715 | 122.851 | 0.000 | 51 | -13.489 | -1.710 | 0.094 | 3.836 | 11.084 | 0.000 |
| FD03 | 0.420 | 35.513 | 0.000 | 51 | 12.331 | 2.515 | 0.015 | 1.282 | 5.959 | 0.000 |
| BD03 | 0.678 | 103.362 | 0.000 | 51 | 1.635 | 0.311 | 0.757 | 2.345 | 10.167 | 0.000 |
| MI04 | 0.653 | 88.379 | 0.000 | 49 | -11.451 | -1.089 | 0.282 | 4.529 | 9.401 | 0.000 |
| FI04 | 0.390 | 30.064 | 0.000 | 49 | 15.700 | 2.254 | 0.029 | 1.750 | 5.483 | 0.000 |
| BI04 | 0.663 | 92.568 | 0.000 | 49 | 3.616 | 0.537 | 0.594 | 2.967 | 9.621 | 0.000 |
| MD04 | 0.635 | 83.635 | 0.000 | 50 | -11.422 | -1.241 | 0.221 | 3.864 | 9.145 | 0.000 |
| FD04 | 0.535 | 55.158 | 0.000 | 50 | 6.449 | 1.348 | 0.184 | 1.630 | 7.427 | 0.000 |
| BD04 | 0.702 | 113.025 | 0.000 | 50 | -0.172 | -0.033 | 0.974 | 2.521 | 10.631 | 0.000 |

For example, in Table 1, the first regression (MI99) is for Male (M). The dependent variable is incidence rate (I), and the independent variable is percent adult male that are current smokers for the year 1999 (99) (same-year for both variables). The R-Square is 43.6 percent, and the sample size (N) is 44 (states). This regression is significant better than 99.9 percent (F-ratio is 34.035 and p-value is 0.000) with an intercept of 4.03 (potential lung cancer incidence rate (per 100,000) with zero percent male adult smokers, although this intercept is not significant with a t-value of 0.260 and a p-value of 0.796). The regression slope is 3.873, which is significant better than 99.9 percent (t-value is 5.834 and p-value is 0.000), meaning for every one percent increase in male adult smokers, there would be an increase of 3.873 in male lung cancer incidence rate.

It is also interesting to note that the regression intercepts for all 36 regressions using same-year data are not statistically significant (all p-values are higher than 0.05); however all regression slopes are significant better than 99.9 percent except one, female incidence rate for 2001 (FI01), which is significant better than 99.8 percent. In Figures 1 and 2, we plotted the magnitudes and the temporal variations of the regression slopes and concluded that the effects of adult smoking on lung cancer are much more profound on male than female, but we can not conclude a temporal trend (increasing or declining slopes over time). Table 2 summaries the ranges of regression slopes for all six sub-groups of the data. For example, the regression slopes of female lung cancer death ranges from 1.282 to 1.630, meaning for every one percent increase in female adult smoking, there is a 1.282 to 1.630 (per 100,000) increase in female lung cancer incidence rate. However, at the other end of the spectrum, the regression slopes of male lung cancer incidence ranges from 3.872 to 4.673. That translates to the case where one percent increase in male adult smoking will likely increase male lung cancer incidence by as much as 4.673 per 100,000.

In general (both sexes), one percent of adult smoking increase tends to increase the incidence rate about three (2.641 – 3.134) and the death rate about two and a half (2.154 – 2.539). Comparing the two sexes, the adverse effect of adult smoking on lung cancer is much worse for male than female.[3]

Table 2: Ranges of Slopes for Regressions using Same-Year Data

| Data Sub-Group | Ranges of Slopes |
|---|---|
| Female Lung Cancer Death | 1.282 - 1.630 |
| Female Lung Cancer Incidence | 1.700 – 2.003 |
| Both-sex Lung Cancer Death | 2.154 – 2.539 |
| Both-sex Lung Cancer Incidence | 2.641 – 3.134 |
| Male Lung Cancer Death | 3.178 – 3.997 |
| Male Lung Cancer Incidence | 3.872 – 4.673 |

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[3] The effect of adult smoking on lung cancer is approximately two and a half times greater for male than female. (We divided the male regression slopes by the female regression slopes, minimum and maximum respectively, and found that the ratio ranges from 2.3 to 2.6.)

## Figure 1: Temporal Trend of Regression Slope - Same-year Regressions on Incidence Rate
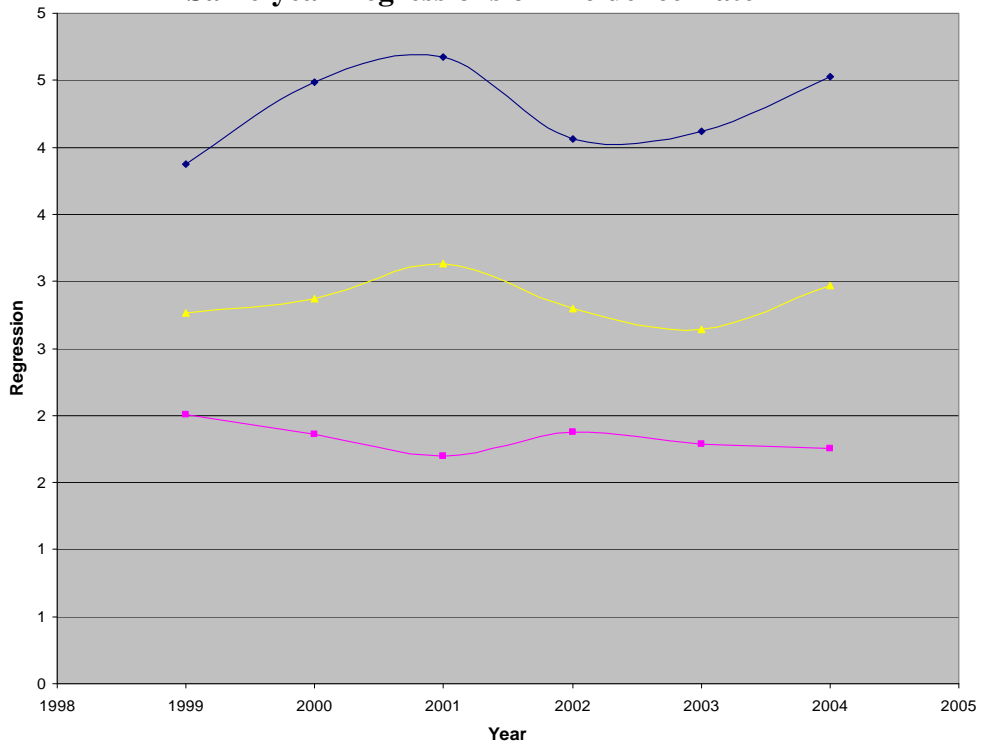


## Figure 2: Temporal Trend of Regression Slopes - Same-year Regressions on Death Rate
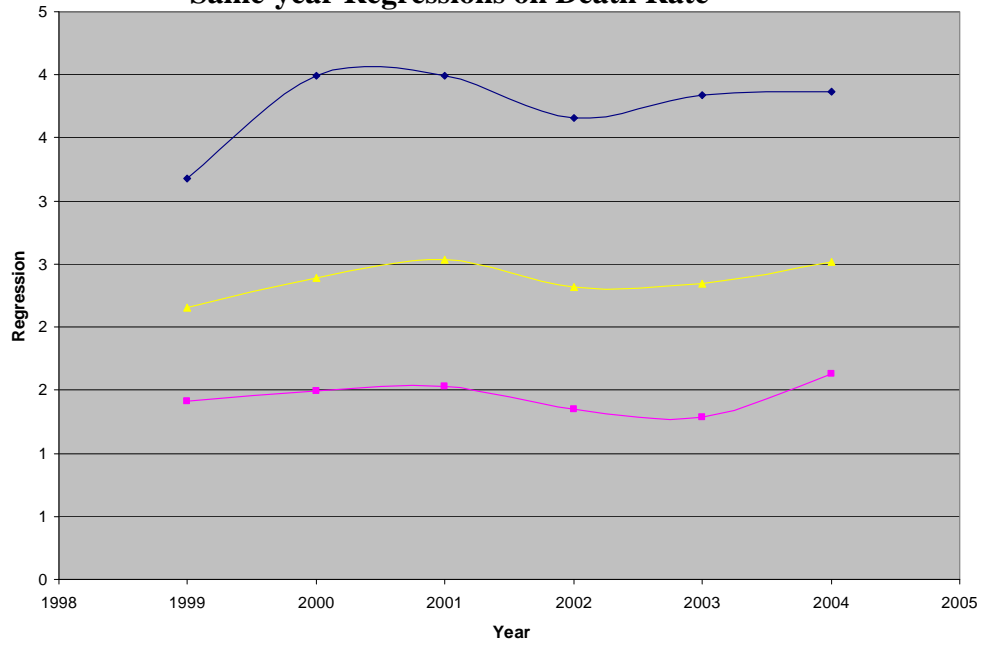
**Simple Regressions with One- to Ten-Year Time-lag Data**

There are a total of 360 simple regressions using time-lag data: Six years (1999 to 2004) multiplied by 10 time-lags (one- to ten-year) and multiplied by six different ways to separate the data (male incidence rate, male death rate, female incidence rate, female death rate, both-sex incidence rate, and both-sex death rate). The results of these regressions are too-lengthy to display in this paper, and they are available by request to any of the authors. We found that the temporal variations of the regressions in the time-lag data analyses tend to fluctuate slightly more than same-year data analyses, but they also tend to be in the same ranges (see Figures 3 and 4).

These regression analyses provide a better understanding in the functional relationship between lung cancer and adult smoking. Although there is no apparent temporal trend in this relationship, adult smoke is shown to have consistently significant effects on lung cancer over well defined periods of time (one to ten years).

**Figure 3: Temporal Trend of Regression Slopes -
Ten-Year Time-lag Regressions on Incidence Rate**
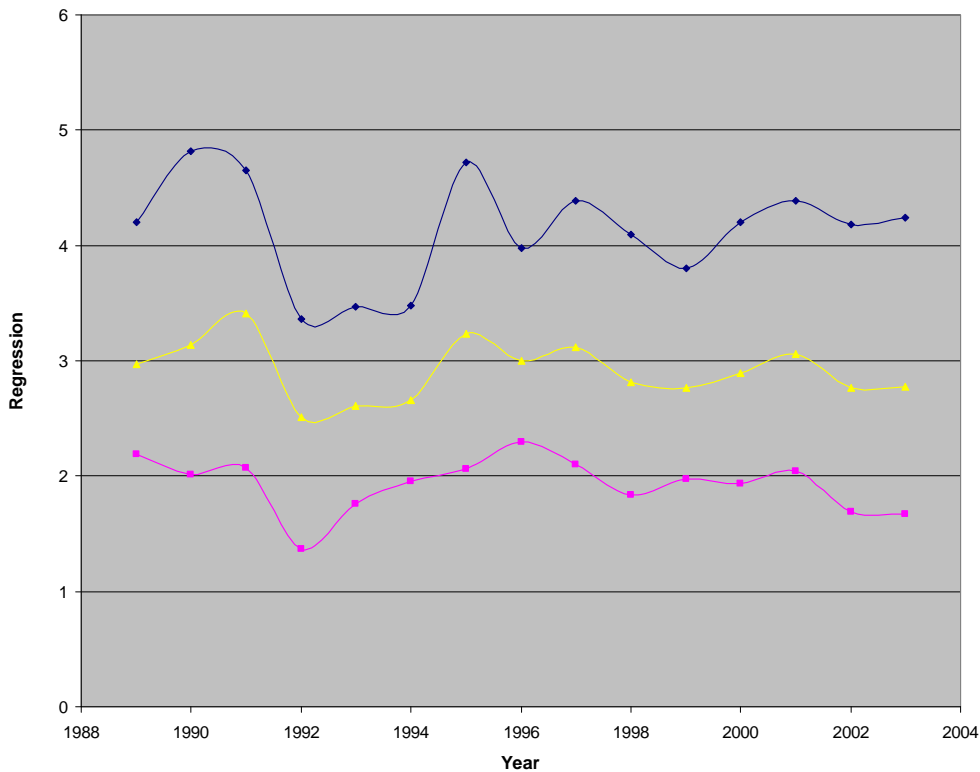
**Figure 4: Temporal Trend of Regression Slopes:
Ten-Year Time-lag Regressions on Death Rate**
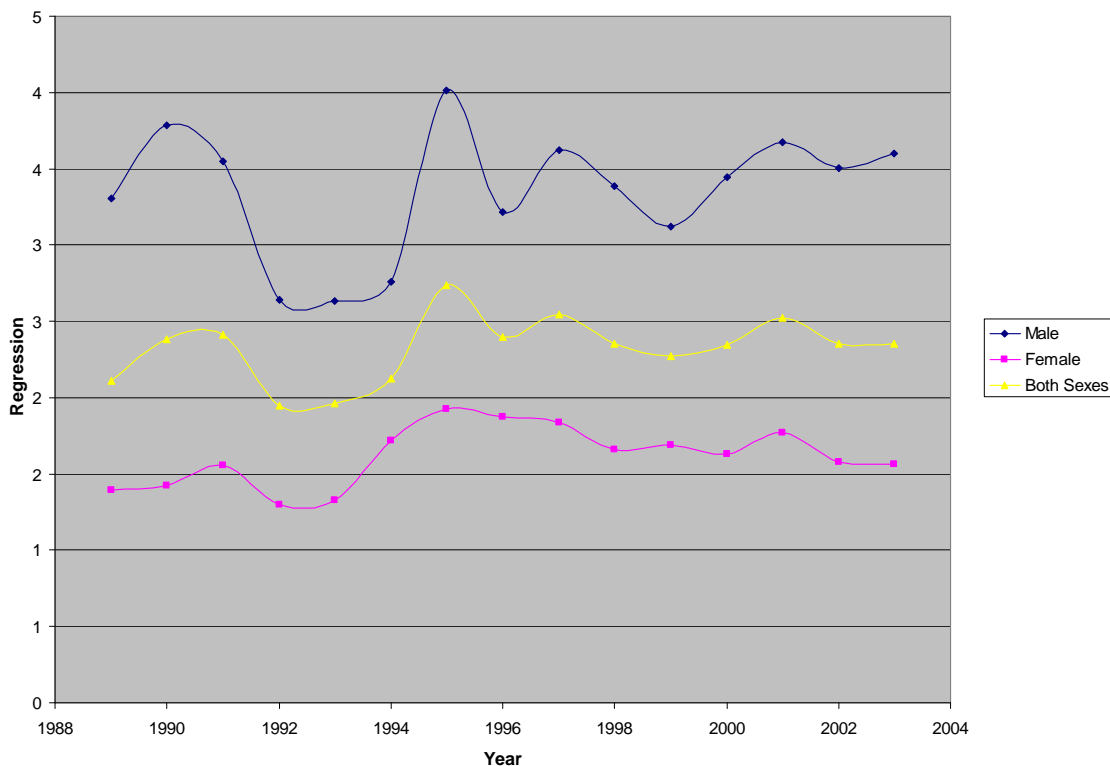


## Residual Analysis

The main objective of generating standard residuals is to examine over-prediction and under-prediction using these regressions. We generated a total of 396 choropleth maps (36 for same-year data and 360 for time-lag data) indicating the over-predicted and under-predicted states. In this paper, we will present only the 12 maps showing the geographic variations of standard residuals using both-sex same-year data.[4] In Maps 1-12, a residual $\geq$ 2.00 standard deviations is considered to be highly under-predicted, between 1.00 and 1.99 somewhat under-predicted, between -0.99 and 0.99 relatively accurately predicted, between -1.99 and -1.00 somewhat over-predicted, and $\leq$ -2.00 highly over-predicted.

Careful examination of Maps 1-12 reveals apparent regional patterns of over- and under-prediction for both-sex incidence and death rates for the six years (1999-2004). The over-predicted states are mostly in the West including Hawaii and Alaska. The most consistent candidates for over-prediction are Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming (all mountain states). Most of under-predicted states are in the South and New England with Florida, Kentucky, Massachusetts, and Maine consistently included in this category. For occasions, the states along the Pacific Coast (Washington, Oregon, and California) are under-predicted, bucking the trend that western states are usually over-predicted.

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[4] An appendix of standard residuals for all 396 regressions is available upon request to any of the authors.
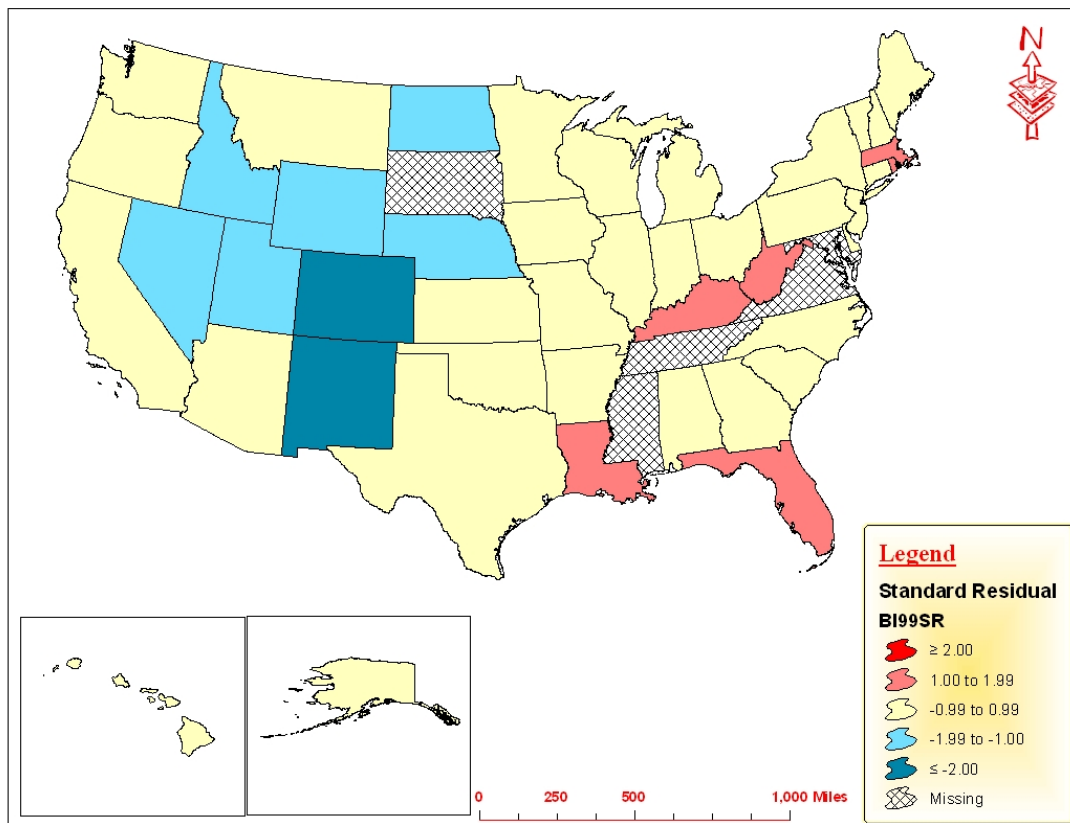
Map 1: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Incidence Rate, 1999

|   | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|   | State | BSIR[5] | %Smoking | State | BSIR | %Smoking |
| 1 | Massachusetts | 70.9 | 19.4 | Utah | 33.9 | 13.9 |
| 2 | Florida | 77.4 | 20.7 | New Mexico | 48.1 | 22.5 |
| 3 | Rhode Island | 80.0 | 22.4 | North Dakota | 51.5 | 22.2 |
| 4 | Louisiana | 84.2 | 23.6 | Colorado | 51.6 | 22.5 |
| 5 | West Virginia | 94.3 | 27.1 | Idaho | 54.2 | 21.5 |
| 6 | Kentucky | 99.6 | 29.7 | Wyoming | 59.7 | 23.9 |
| 7 |  |  |  | Nebraska | 61.3 | 23.3 |
| 8 |  |  |  | Nevada | 81.6 | 31.5 |

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[5] Observed Both-Sex Incidence Rate
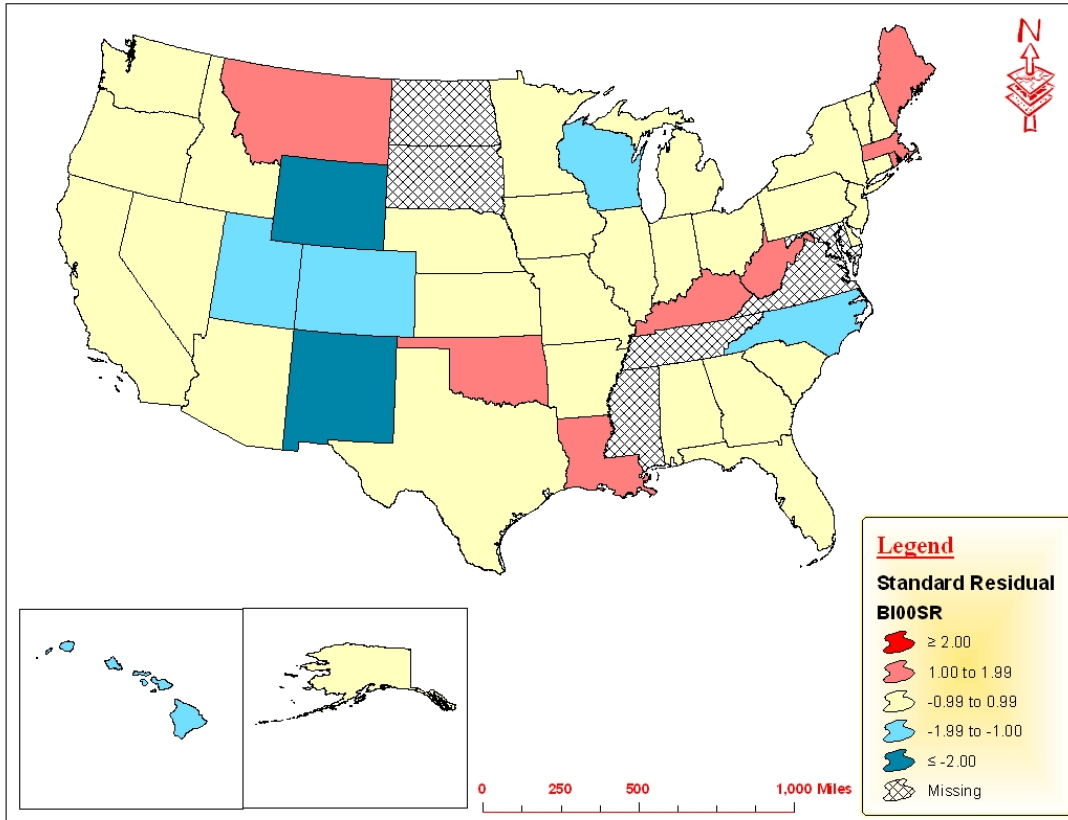
Map 2: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Incidence Rate, 2000

| | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | BSIR | %Smoking | | State | BSIR | %Smoking |
| 1 | Massachusetts | 70.1 | 20.0 | | Utah | 28.0 | 12.9 |
| 2 | Montana | 71.3 | 18.9 | | New Mexico | 48.8 | 23.6 |
| 3 | Rhode Island | 80.2 | 23.5 | | Colorado | 53.2 | 20.1 |
| 4 | Maine | 80.6 | 23.8 | | Wyoming | 54.2 | 23.8 |
| 5 | Louisiana | 81.7 | 24.1 | | Wisconsin | 64.1 | 24.1 |
| 6 | Oklahoma | 82.4 | 23.3 | | North Carolina | 71.2 | 26.1 |
| 7 | West Virginia | 91.7 | 26.1 | | | | |
| 8 | Kentucky | 101.3 | 30.5 | | | | |
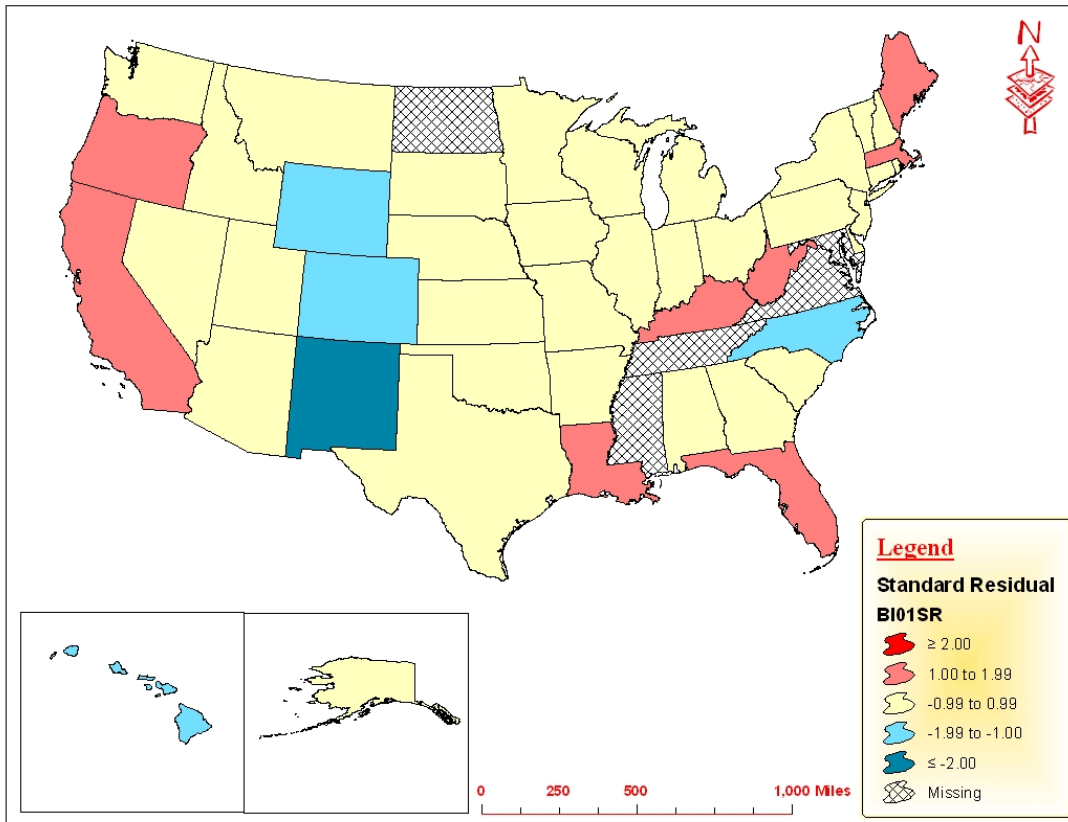
Map 3: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Incidence Rate, 2001

| | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | BSIR | %Smoking | | State | BSIR | %Smoking |
| 1 | California | 58.8 | 17.2 | | New Mexico | 46.5 | 23.9 |
| 2 | Massachusetts | 71.4 | 19.7 | | Hawaii | 46.9 | 20.6 |
| 3 | Oregon | 72.1 | 20.5 | | Wyoming | 50.4 | 22.2 |
| 4 | Florida | 76.0 | 22.5 | | Colorado | 56.0 | 22.4 |
| 5 | Maine | 81.7 | 24.0 | | North Carolina | 69.0 | 25.9 |
| 6 | Louisiana | 83.0 | 24.8 | | | | |
| 7 | West Virginia | 93.2 | 28.2 | | | | |
| 8 | Kentucky | 103.3 | 30.9 | | | | |

Map 4: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Incidence Rate, 2002

| | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | BSIR | %Smoking | | State | BSIR | %Smoking |
| 1 | New Jersey | 67.8 | 19.1 | | Utah | 29.0 | 12.7 |
| 2 | Connecticut | 70.1 | 19.5 | | New Mexico | 50.0 | 21.2 |
| 3 | Massachusetts | 71.7 | 19.0 | | Hawaii | 50.8 | 21.1 |
| 4 | Florida | 75.3 | 22.1 | | Wyoming | 52.0 | 23.7 |
| 5 | Georgia | 77.1 | 23.3 | | North Dakota | 56.5 | 21.5 |
| 6 | Rhode Island | 77.5 | 22.5 | | Arizona | 59.0 | 23.5 |
| 7 | Maine | 78.6 | 23.6 | | North Carolina | 70.1 | 26.4 |
| 8 | | | | | Alaska | 71.3 | 29.4 |

Map 5: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Incidence Rate, 2003

|   | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|   | State | BSIR | %Smoking | | State | BSIR | %Smoking |
| 1 | Massachusetts | 69.3 | 19.2 | | Utah | 31.1 | 12.0 |
| 2 | Washington | 69.4 | 19.5 | | New Mexico | 45.4 | 22.0 |
| 3 | Connecticut | 69.6 | 18.7 | | Wyoming | 58.4 | 24.6 |
| 4 | Maryland | 79.1 | 20.2 | | South Dakota | 60.9 | 22.7 |
| 5 | Delaware | 83.4 | 21.9 | | Pennsylvania | 70.0 | 25.5 |

Map 6: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Incidence Rate, 2004

| | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | BSIR | %Smoking | | State | BSIR | %Smoking |
| 1 | Connecticut | 64.5 | 18.1 | | New Mexico | 45.3 | 20.3 |
| 2 | Massachusetts | 69.7 | 18.5 | | Colorado | 50.8 | 20.1 |
| 3 | Georgia | 72.8 | 20.1 | | Wyoming | 53.6 | 21.7 |
| 4 | Florida | 73.9 | 20.4 | | Alaska | 70.7 | 24.9 |
| 5 | Maine | 79.1 | 21.0 | | Ohio | 72.9 | 25.9 |
| 6 | Kentucky | 99.5 | 27.6 | | | | |

Map 7: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Death Rate, 1999

| | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | BSDR[6] | %Smoking | | State | BSDR | %Smoking |
| 1 | Maryland | 58.7 | 20.3 | | Hawaii | 36.7 | 18.6 |
| 2 | Virginia | 58.8 | 21.2 | | New Mexico | 37.9 | 22.5 |
| 3 | Georgia | 60.1 | 23.7 | | Colorado | 40.5 | 22.5 |
| 4 | Alabama | 62.5 | 23.5 | | North Dakota | 41.5 | 22.2 |
| 5 | Louisiana | 65.4 | 23.6 | | Idaho | 43.1 | 21.5 |
| 6 | Tennessee | 67.2 | 24.9 | | Wisconsin | 48.6 | 23.7 |
| 7 | Arkansas | 67.7 | 27.2 | | Connecticut | 48.8 | 22.8 |
| 8 | Delaware | 68.2 | 25.4 | | Wyoming | 52.1 | 23.9 |
| 9 | West Virginia | 73.1 | 27.1 | | Alaska | 54.8 | 27.2 |
| 10 | | | | | Nevada | 64.3 | 31.5 |

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[6] Observed Both-sex Death Rate
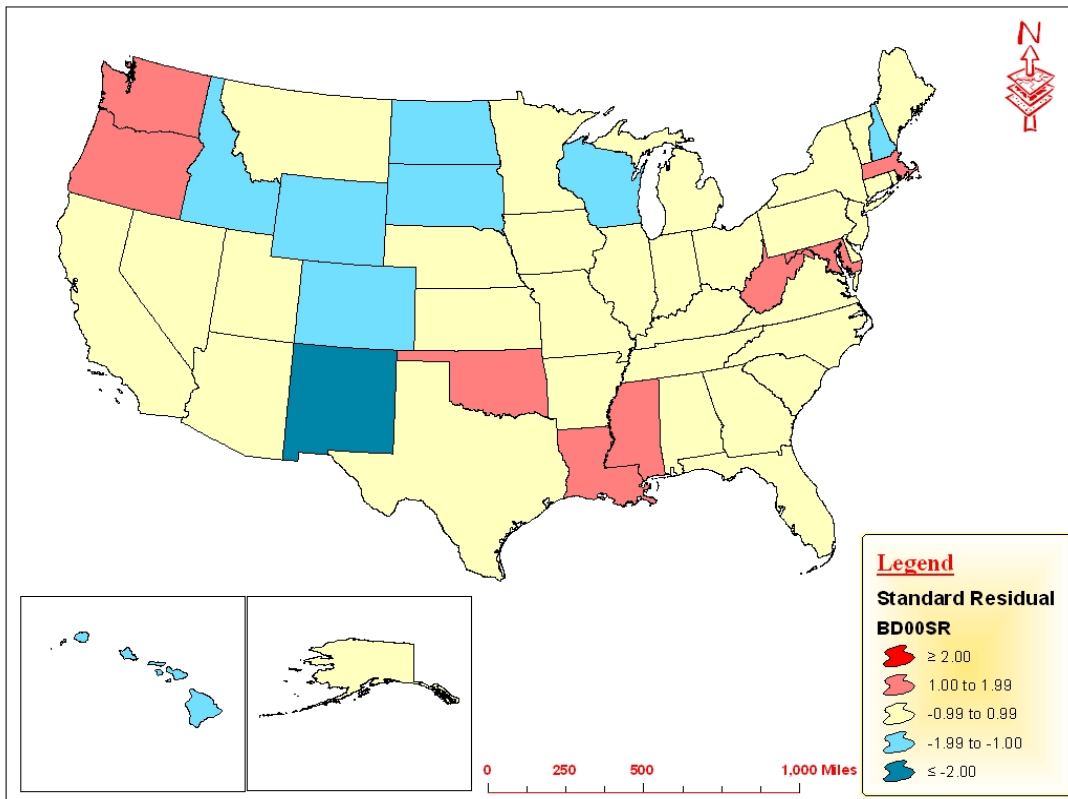
Map 8: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Death Rate, 2000

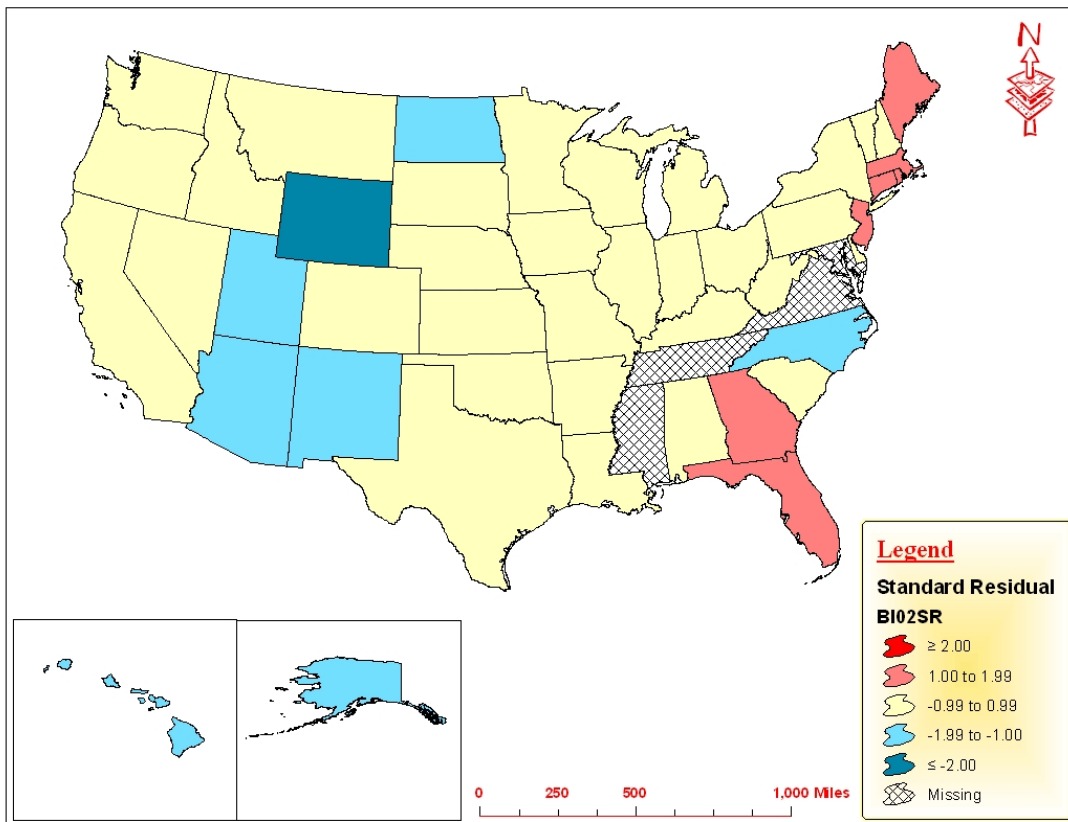| | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | BSDR | %Smoking | | State | BSDR | %Smoking |
| 1 | Massachusetts | 55.9 | 20.0 | | Hawaii | 35.4 | 19.7 |
| 2 | Washington | 57.5 | 20.7 | | New Mexico | 38.9 | 23.6 |
| 3 | Oregon | 58.6 | 20.8 | | Colorado | 41.2 | 20.1 |
| 4 | Maryland | 59.2 | 20.6 | | North Dakota | 44.1 | 23.3 |
| 5 | Oklahoma | 64.7 | 23.3 | | Idaho | 45.1 | 22.4 |
| 6 | Louisiana | 67.6 | 24.1 | | South Dakota | 46.9 | 22.0 |
| 7 | Mississippi | 70.6 | 23.5 | | Wisconsin | 48.2 | 24.1 |
| 8 | West Virginia | 73.4 | 26.1 | | Wyoming | 49.2 | 23.8 |
| 9 | | | | | New Hampshire | 54.7 | 25.4 |
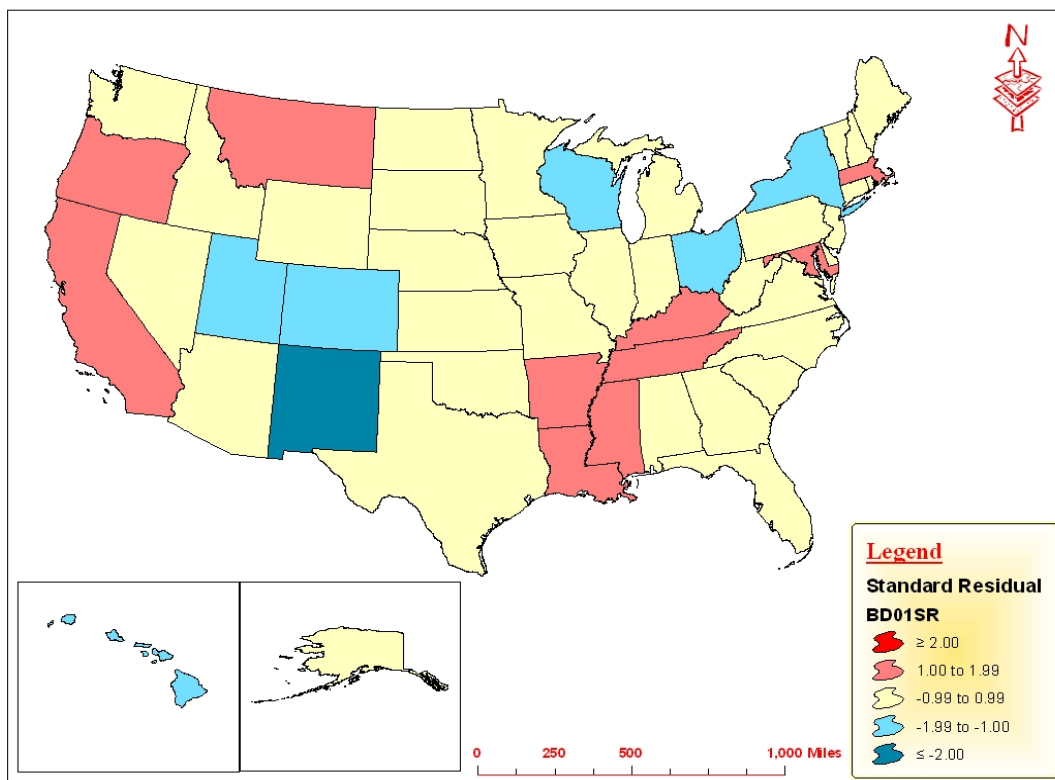
Map 9: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Death Rate, 2001

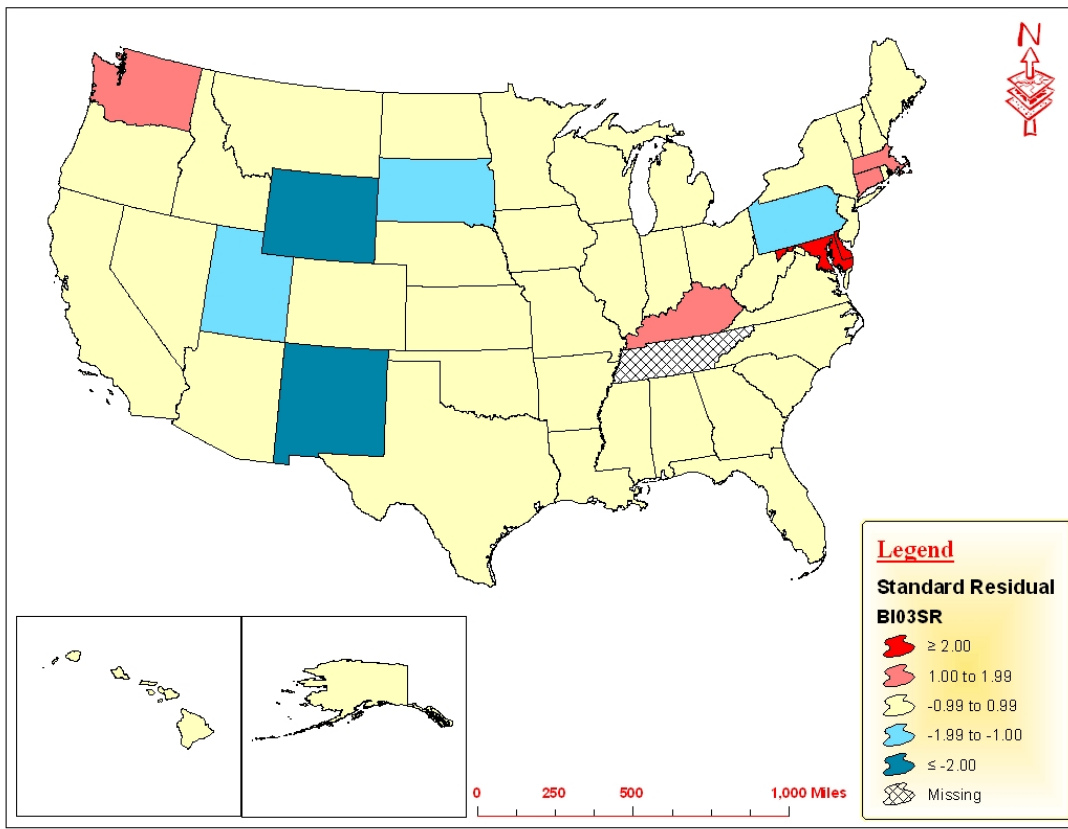|  | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | State | BSDR | %Smoking | | State | BSDR | %Smoking |
| 1 | California | 47.0 | 17.2 | | Utah | 23.4 | 13.3 |
| 2 | Massachusetts | 54.4 | 19.7 | | Hawaii | 36.6 | 20.6 |
| 3 | Oregon | 55.1 | 20.5 | | New Mexico | 37.7 | 23.9 |
| 4 | Maryland | 57.4 | 21.3 | | Colorado | 42.0 | 22.4 |
| 5 | Montana | 59.2 | 21.9 | | New York | 48.5 | 23.4 |
| 6 | Arkansas | 68.4 | 25.6 | | Wisconsin | 49.2 | 23.6 |
| 7 | Louisiana | 68.8 | 24.8 | | Ohio | 60.1 | 27.7 |
| 8 | Mississippi | 69.0 | 25.4 | | | | |
| 9 | Tennessee | 69.0 | 24.4 | | | | |
| # | Kentucky | 81.3 | 30.9 | | | | |
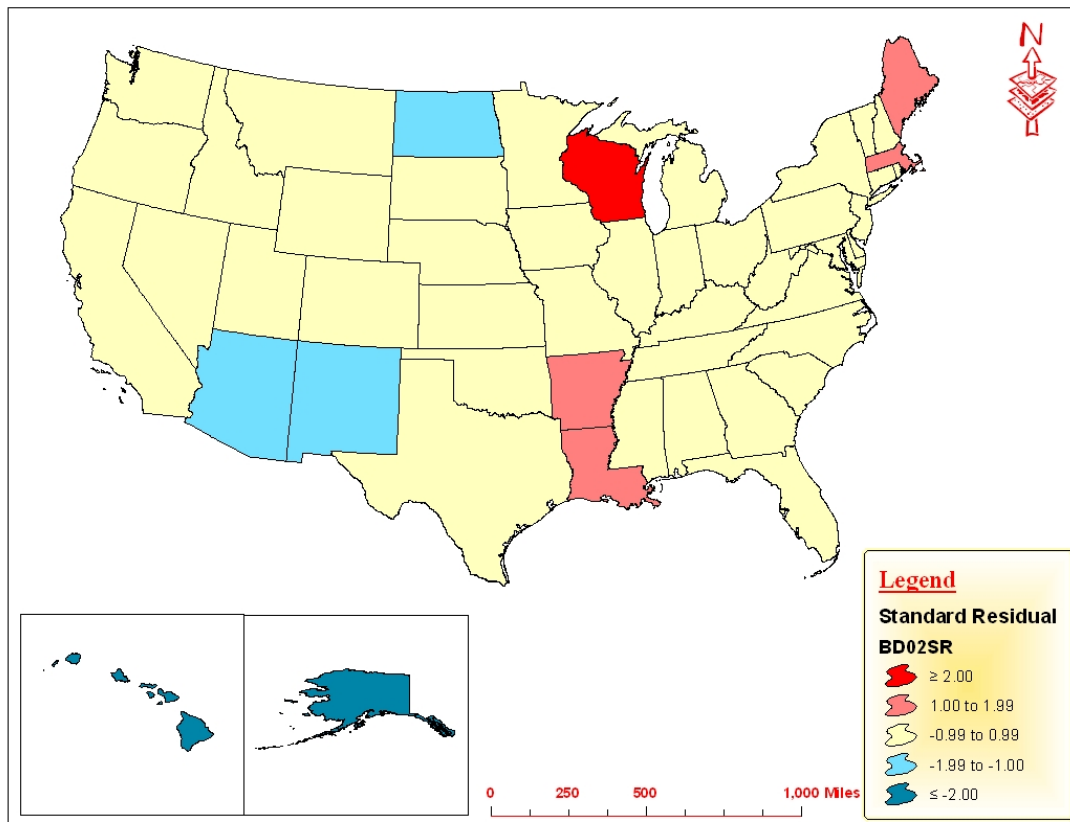
Map 10: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Death Rate, 2002

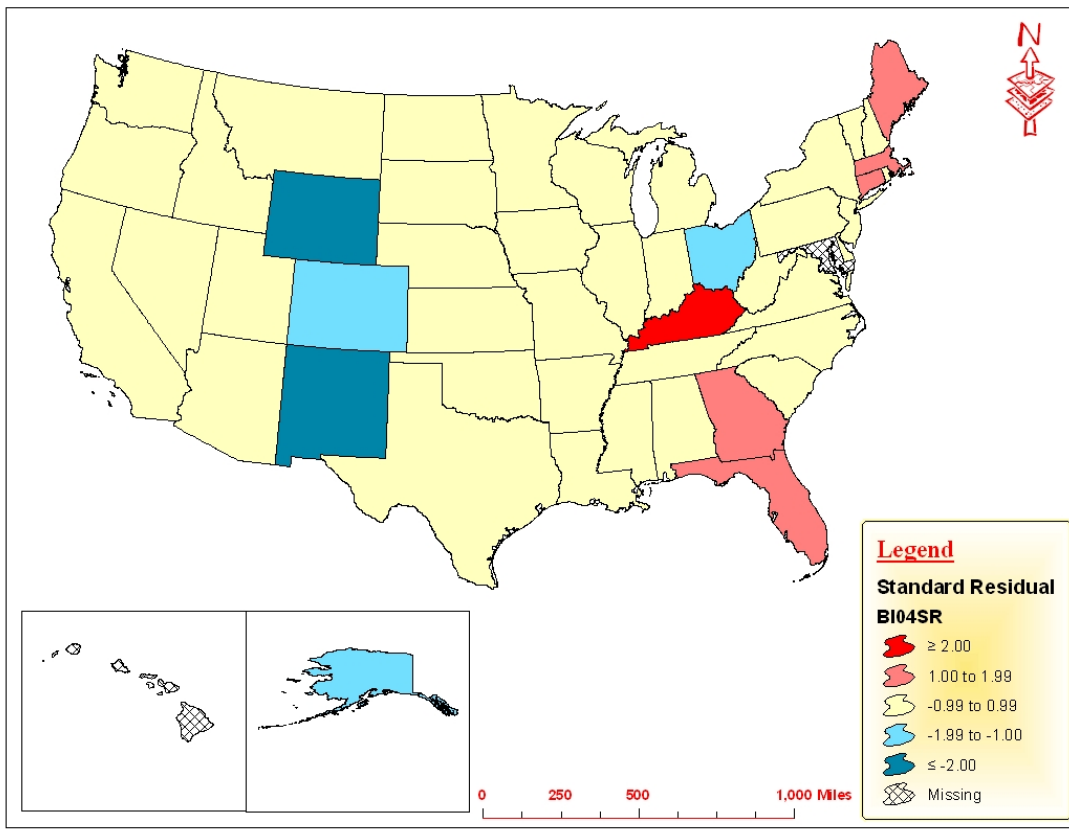| | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | BSDR | %Smoking | | State | BSDR | %Smoking |
| 1 | Massachusetts | 55.1 | 19.0 | | Hawaii | 31.5 | 21.1 |
| 2 | Maine | 63.2 | 23.6 | | New Mexico | 39.4 | 21.2 |
| 3 | Louisiana | 66.6 | 23.9 | | North Dakota | 42.6 | 21.5 |
| 4 | Wisconsin | 69.8 | 23.4 | | Arizona | 47.9 | 23.5 |
| 5 | Arkansas | 71.9 | 26.3 | | Alaska | 51.1 | 29.4 |
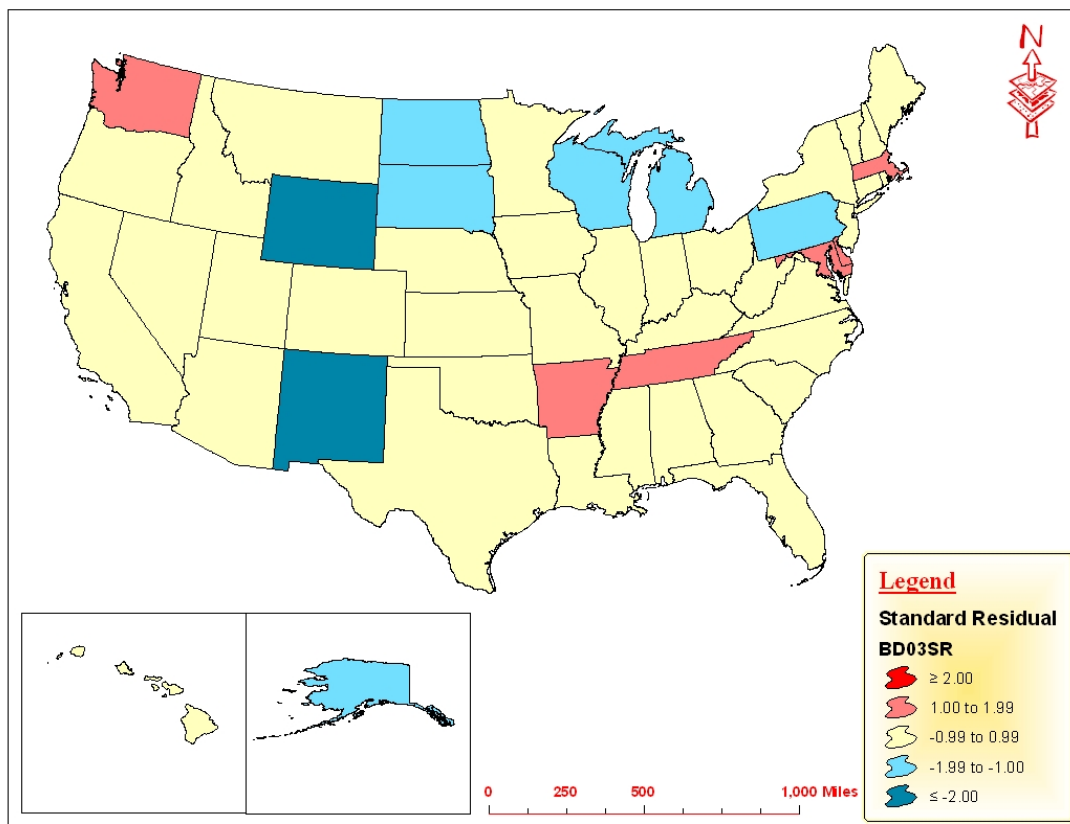
Map 11: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Death Rate, 2003

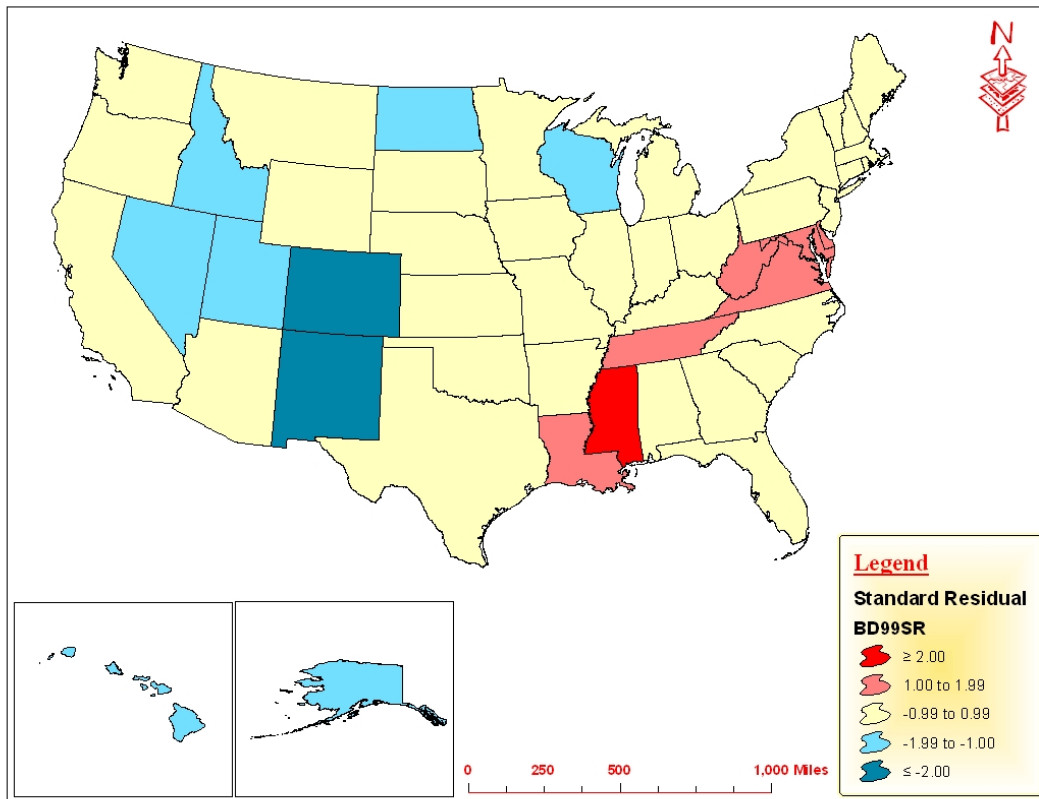| | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | BSDR | %Smoking | | State | BSDR | %Smoking |
| 1 | Massachusetts | 54.6 | 19.2 | | New Mexico | 39.6 | 22.0 |
| 2 | Washington | 55.6 | 19.5 | | North Dakota | 43.6 | 20.5 |
| 3 | Maryland | 57.4 | 20.2 | | Wisconsin | 47.5 | 22.1 |
| 4 | Delaware | 62.3 | 21.9 | | Wyoming | 47.5 | 24.6 |
| 5 | Arkansas | 67.4 | 24.8 | | South Dakota | 47.6 | 22.7 |
| 6 | Tennessee | 67.6 | 25.7 | | Pennsylvania | 53.3 | 25.5 |
| 7 | | | | | Alaska | 56.4 | 26.3 |
| 8 | | | | | Michigan | 56.4 | 26.2 |
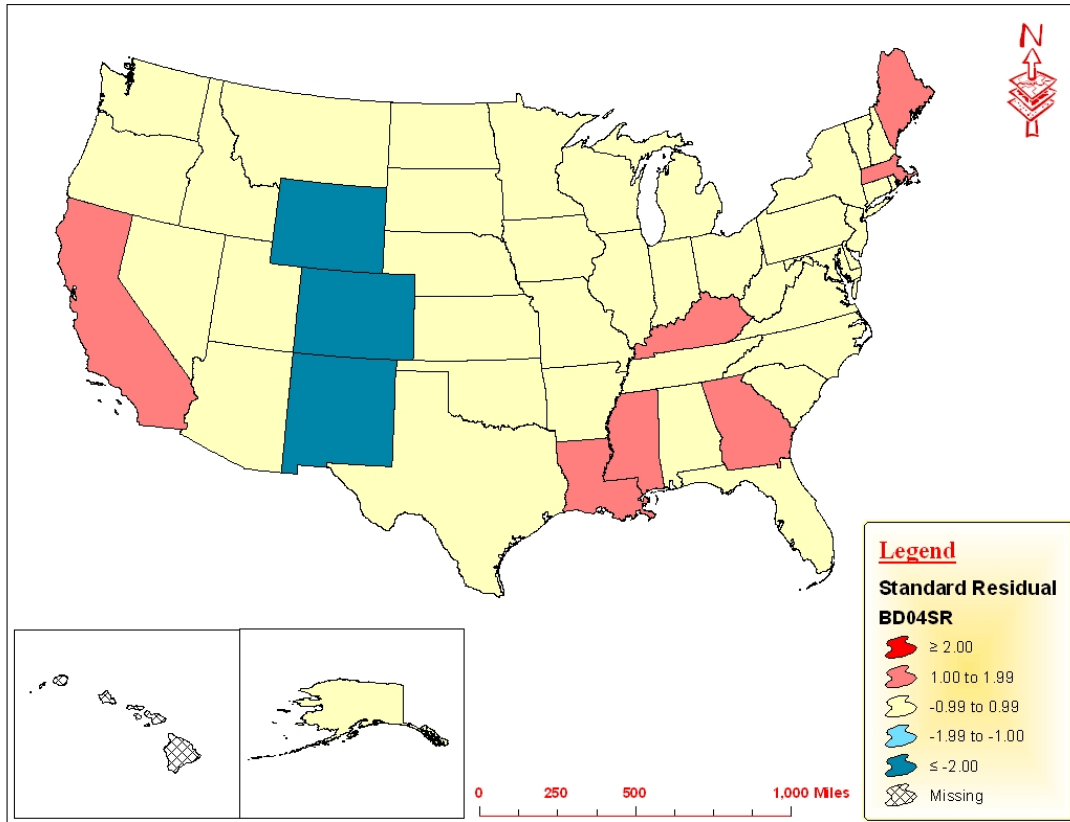
Map 12: Same-Year Data Regression Standard Residuals, Both-Sex Death Rate, 2004

| | Under-Predicted States (Red) | | | | Over-Predicted States (Blue) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | BSDR | %Smoking | | State | BSDR | %Smoking |
| 1 | California | 42.5 | 14.8 | | New Mexico | 35.8 | 20.3 |
| 2 | Massachusetts | 52.2 | 18.5 | | Colorado | 39.4 | 20.1 |
| 3 | Georgia | 58.7 | 20.1 | | Wyoming | 40.1 | 21.7 |
| 4 | Maine | 61.0 | 21.0 | | | | |
| 5 | Louisiana | 66.9 | 23.6 | | | | |
| 6 | Mississippi | 68.3 | 24.6 | | | | |
| 7 | Kentucky | 77.2 | 27.6 | | | | |

Although in this paper we are not including the residual maps for female and male incidence and death rates, we would like to include the following brief discussions on our findings.

Female Incidence Rate

There is no apparent geographic pattern in female incidence rate residuals, New Mexico and Utah are consistently slightly over-predicted or highly over-predicted from 1999 to 2004. Smoking prevalence rates in New Mexico and Utah are relatively lower compared to the other states. New Mexico, the 17th state in the nation to have a comprehensive law making most public places smoke free, has enacted strict smoking regulations including the Dee Johnson Clean Indoor Air Act in 2007. Prior to the Dee Johnson Clean Indoor Air Act, New Mexico already prohibited indoor smoking in major public places such as restaurants, parks, hospitals, bars, and workplaces. In the Mormon state of Utah, people are less likely to smoke cigarettes or drink caffeine and alcohol due to their religious belief, thus both smoking prevalence and lung caner incidence and death rates are consistently the lowest compared to any other states in the nation. In addition, Utah has a strict regulation on smoking both outdoor and indoor.

Other over-predicted states include Alabama, Colorado, Hawaii, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Wyoming, while Pennsylvania is highly over-predicted. These over-predicted states most likely are found in the central parts of the United States.

Massachusetts and Iowa are highly under-predicted in 2001, 2002, and 2004. In addition, Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington, and West Virginia are slightly under-predicted all or most of the six years. Most of the under-predicted states are found in the Northeast and the South regions of the United States; however, three states are in the Northwest.

Female Death Rate

Likewise, female death rate residuals are somewhat similar to those of incidence rate. Utah, New Mexico, and Hawaii are highly over-predicted in 2001 and either slightly over-predicted or highly over-predicted in the other years. In addition, Alaska, Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Carolina South Dakota, and Wisconsin are somewhat over-predicted. Pennsylvania and Washington are highly under-predicted in 2003 and 2004, respectively. Alaska, California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oregon, Rhode Island, and West Virginia are somewhat under-predicted.

Male Incidence Rate

There is an apparent geographic pattern of male incidence rate residuals. Alaska, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Wyoming are highly over-predicted in some years, if not all. Hawaii, Idaho, Minnesota, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, and Vermont are somewhat over-predicted. In sum, all over-predicted states are either in northern or western United States.

Georgia and Louisiana are highly under-predicted in 1999 and 2004. Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, Maine, Montana, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, and West Virginia are somewhat under-predicted. In other words, all under-predicted states except Montana are in the South and New England.

Male Death Rate

Likewise, there is a regional pattern of male death rate residuals. Alaska, Nevada, New Mexico, and Wyoming are highly over-predicted. Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, and Wisconsin are somewhat over-predicted. Again, all over-predicted states are in the northern and western United States.

Alabama and Georgia are highly under-predicted in some years, if not all. Arkansas, Delaware, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia are somewhat under-predicted. All under-predicted states except Kansas are in the South.

This residual analysis basically has shown that the under-predicted states are in the South and the East where generally tobacco is grown. Adult smoking prevalence rates are relatively higher in these tobacco growing states due to comparatively lower excise taxes and less strict regulations on smoking. In addition, higher rate of adult smoking is often related to less healthy diet, which is also considered as one of the major factors of cancer in general.

**CONCLUSION**

**Summary**

Increasing lung cancer incidence is one of the most pressing public health problem not only in the United States but also worldwide. Tobacco smoking, undoubtedly one of the major risk factors of cancer, plays an extremely important role in contributing to both lung cancer incidence and death rates. In this paper, we examined the spatial and aspatial correlation between lung cancer incidence/death rate and tobacco smoking prevalence among adults in the United States by states from 1989 to 2004. A series of simple regression analyses were used to illustrate the aspatial functional relationships between lung cancer and tobacco smoking, and a cartographic residual analysis was employed to gain a better understanding of the spatial patterns of these two related health phenomena.

In the regression analysis, although there are no significant temporal patterns in the variations of both female and male regression slopes (effect of adult smoking on lung cancer), female incidence/death rate regression slopes are consistently lower than those of male's. Using one-year to ten-year time-lag data regressions we found that the regression slopes peaked in 1990 and 1995.

Choropleth maps of over- and under-predicted for female incidence rate do not consistently reveal any geographic pattern. However, given similar adult smoking prevalence rate, female lung cancer incidence rate of over-predicted states are remarkably lower than those of under-predicted states. It is also the case for female lung cancer death rate.

Unlike the results of the residual analysis for female incidence/death rate, there are apparent regional pattern for the residuals of male lung cancer incidence rate. The over-predicted states are mostly located along the Rockies and the western part of the country, while the under-predicted states are most likely to be found in the South and New England. These under-predicted states are also mostly tobacco producing states: Kentucky (44,967 tobacco farms), Tennessee (14,995), North Carolina (12,095), Virginia (5,870), Ohio (2,811), Indiana (2,017), Pennsylvania (1,357), South Carolina (1,275), Georgia (1,180), Wisconsin (839), West Virginia (744), and Maryland (711) (Tobacco-Free Kids 2008). Likewise, there are apparent geographic patterns for the residuals of male lung cancer death rates. Again, the over-predicted states are most likely located in the West, especially the mountain states, while the under-predicted states are in the South and New England. Furthermore, there are clear-cut regional patterns for both-sex lung cancer incidence and death rate residuals, and they are similar to those of male incidence/death rate.

## Limitations and Research Agenda

Different smoking regulations and different levels of tobacco excise tax from state to state lead to smoking prevalence differences, which in turn affect lung cancer incidence/death rate with great variance. Although a major contributor, adult smoking prevalence is not the only factor of lung cancer. Therefore, to better predict lung cancer incidence/death rates, other major risk factors may be included in a future study. A pooled analytical cohort study on lung cancer occurring in never-smokers by Thun et al. (2008) indicates that other risk factors account for 10 to 15 percent of all lung cancer deaths. Although death rate for never-smokers is higher among males than females (same like smokers as discussed in this paper), female never-smokers may have higher risk of developing lung cancer than male.

Lung cancer data for this study are available for six years (1999 to 2004), although adult smoking prevalence data are obtainable for a much longer time period (1988 to 2007). It would be beneficial to a future study if lung cancer data are obtained for a longer period of time, matching the adult smoking prevalence data. Furthermore, single sex data for both of

these variables were not available until recently, making an analysis of gender differences less substantial.

A future study may be more comprehensive if an analysis of ethnic differences on lung cancer and adult smoking prevalence is included. Unfortunately, data for these variables are not obtainable at this time. A case-control study on lung cancer prediction by race (Etzel et al. 2008) reveals that African-American males had more than six-fold increased risk of lung cancer compared to White males, hence a geographic analysis of ethnic differences on the effects of adult smoking on lung cancer would contribute significantly to the current body of literature.

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## Submission ID Number is 327

1. **Title of the submission:** "LEVEL OF POVERTY AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERN IN SLUMS: THE CASE OF GWALIOR IN CENTRAL INDIA"

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6. **Abstract and/or full paper:**

Urbanisation and migration have led to the problem of urban slums wherein poverty and unemployment co-exist, besides many other problems including availability of water and sanitation. On the basis of a primary survey of 486 households, the study aims to find out the extent of poverty and the employment status of the slum population of Gwalior city in Madhya Pradesh. The study finds that most of the workers in Gwalior are engaged in casual or daily wage employment. The analysis shows that the poverty in Gwalior slums is around 68 per cent based on 1999-2000 poverty line estimates and around 80 per cent based on 2004-05 estimates.

*A Lesson from Our History:*

*An Examination of the Differential Effects of the Land Grant Mission on historically Black and predominantly White institutions*

*Submitted By:*

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**Introduction**

Johnathan Baldwin Turner, a Yale-educated farmer and college professor, first expressed the land grant idea in 1840. Turner believed that the American working class needed practical training.  This practical training differed from the classical training then offered by America's colleges and universities. At that time, the American university curriculum was similar to British and German university curricula.  At that time, higher education was only an option for the wealthy elite.  Moreover, the offerings of higher education mismatched the needs of the common worker and suited the ambitions of the upper class.  America of the mid-19th century was largely rural and centered on agriculture.  Courses in Latin, literature, and philosophy were viewed as impractical.

Justin Smith Morrill served as a Whig representative and senator from Vermont.  He was the sponsor and is the namesake of the land-grant acts that revolutionized higher education in America. The Morrill Acts authorized a major investment in the American public through education and research.  Ironically, Morrill never attended a college or university.  However, he did receive an honorary degree from the University of Pennsylvania. The Morrill acts continue to influence higher education today.  However, the intentions of the act and the relevance of the land grant mission are controversial.

This paper discusses two topics relevant to the land grant mission: (a) the historical plight of historically Black land-grant institutions and (b) the contemporary relevance and consequences of the land-grant mission.  Historically Black land-grant institutions are referred to as 1890 institutions because of the 1890 Morrill act granting them land-grant status. Predominately White land-grant institutions established by the 1862 Morrill act are referred to as

1862 institutions.  Though 1890 is used more often to describe historically Black land-grant institutions than 1862 to describe White land-grant institutions, the monikers are equally appropriate for the purpose here.

**The Morrill Acts and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)**

Senator Morrill introduced the first of the two Morrill bills in 1857.  President Buchanan vetoed that bill in 1859 because of its high cost and his concerns about its infringement on states' rights (Hightower, 1973, p. 9).  The first Morrill Act that President Lincoln signed on July 2, 1862 established the land-grant college system. It stipulated three focal points for land-grant institutions: instruction, research and extension.

Prior to researching this topic, I assumed the second Morrill Act authorized the creation of the 17 historically Black land-grant institutions.  It did, but that was not the original intent of the act.  According to Harris and Worthen (2004), "Only secondarily did it [the second Morrill Act] provide for the creation of separate land-grant institutions for African-Americans"( p. 447). The original intent of the second Morrill Act, passed in 1890, was to further endow already established land-grant colleges.   Several 1890 institutions already existed prior to the second Morrill act.  However, only Alcorn State University in Mississippi was designated a land-grant institution.  The federal government struggled to persuade states to establish colleges for Blacks prior to 1890 (Mayberry, 1991).  The 1890 Morrill Act solved this problem.

Expenses grew quickly at the 40 land-grant institutions then in existence (Hightower, 1973; Marbury, 1979).  Justin Morrill sponsored a second act to financially assist land-grant institutions.  The second Morrill Act included a clause about discrimination based on race.  The 1890 act states:

No money shall be paid out under his act to any state or territory for the support and maintenance of a college where a distinction between race or color is made in the admission of students, but the establishment and maintenance of such colleges separately for white and colored students shall be held to be a compliance with the provisions of this act if the funds received in such state or territory be equitably divided…" (Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1890).

This act explicitly established a dual higher education system in the former slave states. Schools were divided by race, and supposedly, equally supported. This approach was an attempt to maintain the unrealistic standard of separate but equal. The possibility of lost funding motivated states to designate established institutions as Black land-grant colleges, or to establish new institutions for that purpose. In 1896, the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision provided the federal government's stamp of approval of the separate but equal doctrine and guaranteed separate facilities and accommodations until the Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education decision in 1954.

Southern states remedied this dilemma of avoiding discrimination within Jim Crow's boundaries by designating land-grant colleges specifically for Blacks (Mayberry, 1991; Marbury, 1979). Therefore, historically Black land-grant institutions were established as a consequence of legal segregation. Today, this consequence is beneficial, yet bittersweet. It is beneficial because these institutions represented the only post-secondary education options for Blacks. It is bittersweet because historically Black land-grant institutions are chronically underfunded, accomplishing more with much less.

These institutions continue to thrive, despite questions of their purpose and relevance in today's racially integrated society. Legal battles for equal funding are in progress. In March of 2008, representatives from public HBCUs, including land grant institutions like Kentucky State

University, complained to Congress about federal and state budget policies toward HBCUs (Basken, 2008).

Moore (2000) questions the justification for HBCUs in the title of his work *Are State-Supported Historically Black Colleges Justifiable After Fordice? A Higher Education Dilemma.* He maintains that the United States vs. Fordice majority opinion is ambiguous in its determination of the fate of public HBCUs. (Moore, 2000)  One interpretation requires HBCUs to close or merge with white institutions.  The other stipulates that states may not place unfair burdens, like closing or merging HBCUs, on HBCU students and faculty.  The Fordice opinion is not detailed enough to offer a specific solution.  Moore (2000) offers the Bazemore vs. Friday case as an example of a satisfactory solution.  The Bazemore opinion stipulates that freedom of choice qualifies as a method of desegregation.  Today's college bound students are free to choose which college they would like to attend, whether it is an HBCU or a predominately White institution.

Though they existed primarily to educate Blacks who were denied access to White institutions, Minor (2008) argues that public HBCUs are still important today. (Minor, 2008, p. 9)  However, his research on state funding formulas for public HBCUs indicates otherwise.  In an analysis of public higher education funding in Alabama, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Mississippi, Minor (2008) found that the majority of  state funding is sent to schools where the majority of students are overrepresented in public higher education.  This demonstrates that state funding generally does not benefit underrepresented students, a group the land-grant mission seeks to assist.

In 2007, North Carolina State University, the state's 1862 land-grant institution, received $15,700 per student in state funding.  North Carolina A&T State University, the state's 1890

institution received $7, 800 per student in state funding. (Minor, 2008, p. 23) Minor's (2008) findings do not indicate the value of HBCUs to underrepresented or at-risk students. If HBCUs were valued by state legislatures as trailblazers in educating underrepresented or at-risk students, perhaps they would receive more public funding.

Seymore (2006) argues that the federal financial support of 1890 institutions retards diversity initiatives at 1862 institutions. In other words, supporters of HBCUs cannot simultaneously support diversity initiatives at predominately white institutions without contradiction. He labels public support of HBCUs as a race-conscious governmental action that is potentially un-constitutional (Seymore, 2006). However, the freedom of choice allowed in today's post-Brown, integrated society means that public HBCUs are for persons of all races. Their unique history and founding missions add variety to the selection of post-secondary institutions in the United States.

Southern states established new land-grant colleges for Blacks in one of three ways: (1) they designated a private or state-supported school as a land-grant college, (2) they assumed control of a private college and designated it as a land-grant college, or (3) they established a new institution after the second Morrill Act. As previously stated, Alcorn State University in Mississippi is the only historically black land-grant institution established by the first Morrill Act. The act allowed states to open more than one land-grant institution and Mississippi took advantage of that stipulation by establishing a land-grant institution for African-Americans. Other institutions were labeled "Negro departments" of 1862 institutions prior to the second Morrill Act. At that time, *Negro* was one term used to describe persons of African descent. For example, Prairie View Agricultural & Mechanical University was the Negro department of

Texas Agricultural & Mechanical University and the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff was the Negro department of the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville (Mayberry, 1991).

North and South Carolina established institutions for African-Americans under the first Morrill Act. However, these institutions were not designated as land-grant institutions until after the 1890 Morrill act. South Carolina State University and North Carolina Agricultural and Technological University were established by their state legislatures after the 1862 Morrill Act. However, both schools were initially housed on the campus of private historically black colleges. N.C. A&T was housed at Shaw University in Raleigh prior to moving to its current Greensboro location after land-grant designation. S.C. State was housed at Claflin University, prior to moving adjacent to Claflin's Orangeburg campus after land-grant designation. Any former slave state that did not have a post-secondary institution for African-Americans prior to 1890 established one after the second Morrill Act (Mayberry, 1991).

From the beginning, 1890 land-grant colleges and 1862 land-grant colleges chartered different courses. 1890 institutions focused primarily on training teachers while 1862 institutions were able to focus more on agricultural instruction and other practical pursuits (Mayberry, 1991). Teachers were in high demand because more public schools were for opening African-Americans. The popular idea during this time was that black students should have black teachers. As more teachers were trained, grade schools grew. This pattern increased the need for more teachers and increased the number of students desiring teacher training (Seymore, 2000 Marbury, 1979). discusses the dependence on HBCUs for black teachers. "Identifying the growth of a total system of black public education as the force responsible for the development of black colleges ascribes to these institutions a mission and an indispensable role as the source of manpower for the system…"(Marbury, 1979, p. 97). Also, teacher training is a relatively

inexpensive endeavor compared to other land-grant disciplines. Therefore, its emphasis was ideal for the very limited budgets of 1890 institutions.

**Booker T. Washington and the Land-Grant Idea**

Prominent Black American, Booker T. Washington believed that a liberal arts education was impractical for former slaves and their descendents. He believed Black Americans should stay below the Mason-Dixon and learn a trade or pursue the agricultural arts. Washington also believed vocational training would uplift Black Americans and earn them respect from White Americans (Seymore, 2000). This preference for vocational education aligns with Senator Morrill's land-grant idea. Washington served as the first president of Tuskegee University, the only private 1890 land-grant institution. Despite its private status, Tuskegee received land-grant designation because its mission, instruction, research, and extension activities, led by renowned scientist George Washington Carver, were virtually identical to the land-grant model expressed in the Morrill Acts. Several of Tuskegee's early buildings were constructed by students using skills learned at the institution. This is an ideal example of the land-grant model: using learned trades to improve one's lot, or in this case, campus. Tuskegee served as a model institution for 1890 institutions (Harris and Worthen, 2004, p. 450).

**Subsequent Acts Related to Land-Grant Colleges**

The Hatch Act (1887) established agricultural experimental stations at land-grant institutions. It states that in any state where two land-grant colleges are established, they must split the appropriations for an experiment station equally unless the legislature of the state directs otherwise. This clause allowed states to unequally distribute funds for experimental stations. The only 1890 institution to have an autonomous experiment station before 1971 is Prairie View

A&M (Harris and Worthen, 2004, p. 448). Experiment stations at other 1890 institutions were small subsidiaries of experiment stations at 1862 institutions.

The Adams Act (1906) authorized funding for original agricultural research conducted at experiment stations. According to Mayberry (1991), there is no record of 1890 institutions receiving any funding from this act. The 1907 Morrill-Nelson amendment provided additional funding for the training of agriculture instructors. The Smith-Lever Act (1914) established the cooperative extension system. Extension is probably the most tangible evidence of public service. One of the sponsors of this act, Frank Lever, served as a Life Trustee of Clemson University at the time. Now, institutions had the necessary funds to provide tangible services and valuable instruction to the public. The Smith-Hughes Act (1917) established a system for training vocational teachers and support for vocational education in secondary schools. 1862 institutions received funding to carry out the Smith-Hughes Act. In comparison, 1890 institutions did not receive direct funding from the Smith-Hughes Act. Instead, they were reimbursed by the Department of Education for the costs of Smith-Hughes programming. Purnell Act (1925) provided additional funding for sociological research at experiment stations. Since most 1890 institutions did not have experiment stations, they did not benefit from this act in any tangible way.

1890 institutions were required to administer the conditions of the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes acts. However, they received no funding toward these endeavors. Thus, these institutions were burdened with what were essentially unfunded mandates. According to Harris and Worthen (2004), only two of the land-grant acts passed between 1900 and 1935 stipulated the equitable funding of 1890 institutions: the Morrill-Nelson (1907) amendment and the Bankhead-Jones Act (1935). Both pieces of legislation provided more

funding for teacher training. As stated before, 1890 institutions focused heavily on teacher training.

The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC), formed in 1885, lobbied for the Hatch Act as one of its first major undertakings. Since then, the organization is involved in all legislation influencing land-grant institutions. 1890 institutions became active in the organization in 1954. (Hightower, 1973) Today, all 105 land-grant colleges are represented on Capitol Hill through this organization.

The civil rights movement greatly influenced changes in how 1890 institutions received funded (Mayberry, 1991, p. 107). New legislation needed to authorize a funding formula for black colleges. President Johnson signed Public Law 89-106 in 1965. Public Law 89-106 authorized additional grants to 1890 institutions. This law appropriated $283,000 annually for 5 years, to be divided based on a percentage formula. The funding formula was based on state population and research potential. He also urged government agencies to develop policies that eliminated discrimination barriers. The USDA responded by urging Congress to grant funding for agricultural research at 1890 institutions.

**The Bottom Line**

In 1971, less than 1 percent of land-grant research funding distributed by the Cooperative State Research Service went to 1890 institutions. The other approximately 99.5 percent went to 1862 institutions (Hightower, 1973, p. 13). The Hatch Act says states can decide how money should be distributed. However, the second Morrill Act says funds should be distributed evenly. The wording in these two acts is a devastating contradiction for 1890 institutions.

Though the Hatch act pertains to experiment stations, it is not intended to contradict the terms of the second Morrill Act. The Hatch Act specifically states that it is under the provisions

of the first and second Morrill Act. Other schemes diminished funding for 1890 institutions. In 1971, the USDA appropriated 12.6 million dollars directly to 1890 institutions (Hightower, 1973; Marbury, 1979). However, these institutions were supposed to collaborate on research with 1862 schools. As a result of this arrangement, the 1862 schools received the bulk of the money.

The historical underfunding of 1890 institutions is a clear example of institutional racism. Without a maliciously racist intent, institutions can adopt policies that are inherently racist. 1890 land-grant institutions should receive additional funding as a form of reparation for past discriminatory funding practices. States who fail to support 1890 land-grant institutions on par with 1862 institutions should relinquish some control or let these institutions go private. However, this alternative is unrealistic.

Given the difficulty private HBCUs experience in raising money, it is doubtful that 1890 institution could raise the equivalent of their state funding on their own. The Thurgood Marshall Foundation raises money for public HBCUs, including 1890 institutions. This foundation was established in 1987 by N. Joyce Payne, then director of the Office of Advancement for Public Black Colleges (a division of NASULGC). The need for an organization such as this demonstrates the dire financial needs of 1890 institutions and public HBCUs in general.

It is extremely difficult to atone for past injustice while remaining fair to present circumstances. However, money is an ordinal resource. It represents the same thing to everyone. Its value and definition are not hotly debated like words such as affirmative action, diversity initiatives, or race-based admissions. It is, arguably, easier for legislatures to allocate extra funding than to implement any of the aforementioned actions. This is not a suggestion that increased funding to 1890s is a substitute for diversity initiatives or affirmative action policies.

If legislatures attempt to "catch up" funding to HBCUs, it can further eliminate traces of a dual post-secondary system.

1890 institutions not only received inequitable funding, but also missed out on the wealth building opportunities from that funding. Therefore, 1862 institutions today are financially stronger than 1890 institutions. It takes generations to build a wealthy endowment. Institutions on solid financial ground today are benefitting from donations and decisions made generations ago.

**The Land-Grant Idea: A Blessing and a Curse**

Some scholars argue that the land-grant idea is actually a curse to small farmers and rural America. Hightower (1973) maintains that the development of agricultural technology forced the common man from rural areas to the urban cities. The increase in efficiency is detrimental to the family farm, contributing to its demise. A smaller number of farms are producing more food. In other words, the number of farms is shrinking, while the size of the farms has increased.

In his scathing critique of land-grant colleges entitled *Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times: A Report of the Agribusiness Accountability Project on the Failure of America's Land-Grant Complex,* Hightower (1973) argues that advances and increases in efficiency have hurt the very people land-grant colleges were supposed to help. He refers to the land-grant colleges, experiment stations and extension services as the land-grant complex. In 1968, the USDA-NASLGC taskforce on rural development determined that agricultural research paid insufficient attention to rural areas. Are not land-grant colleges supposed to research new technology to advance society? The answer is yes. However, instead of bringing the technological revolution to the common man, the land-grant complex brought it to big business. The research agendas of land-grant institutions are generally not directed to the people (Hightower, 2001). "The sad truth

is that research to help rural Americans is only of secondary importance to the land-grant community" (Hightower, 1973, p. 51).

Was the migration to urban areas and the decline of rural areas a part of the natural evolution of American society? Or did an economic decline in farming push rural citizens to the city, further contributing to a rural decline. Perhaps it was a combination of both factors.

Agricultural research should serve a purpose. It should not be research just for research's sake, or virtually aimless. The development of green cauliflower or spinach that tastes like potato chips is exciting and interesting for the palate. However, what practical, useful purpose do these items serve society? Arguably, they serve no purpose. It is important to note that aforementioned examples are not made up by the author. They are examples of actual land-grant university research projects listed in Hightower's (1973) work. These research projects support agribusiness by providing another product to sell and make huge profits from.

Corporations provide generous funding for research. Administrators undoubtedly feel that they must perform research that is in the best interests of the benefactor. If an insecticide manufacturer gives a large research grant to a land-grant college, that college is not expected to turn around and research chemical-free ways to fight insects. That is akin to biting the hand that feeds you. In lean times when administrators are pressed to stretch budgets as far as they can go, researchers cannot afford to offend large research benefactors.

Whether or not land-grant colleges pushed small farmers out of business is irrelevant. The world has changed. They heyday of the small farmer is over. Yes, small farmers should be assisted through research at land-grant colleges. However, more Americans are moving to urban centers. Land-grant institutions should reflect these changes in contemporary American society.

**The Land-Grant Idea: Renewable or Obsolete**

When America needed skilled farmers, machinists and home economists, land-grant colleges met that need. However, Seymore (2006) contends that this was not the most important part of the land-grant idea. Land-grants were to provide access to practical training. Access is the most important component of the land-grant idea. The Morrill acts increased access to higher education for the working class.

Once access is granted, the definition of practical training is flexible to the needs of society. In 1862, the most practical training was in agriculture. This is not the case in 2008. As the need for these types of workers continues to diminish in the 21st century, land-grant colleges will continue to adapt to the occupational needs of American society. Administrators at land-grant colleges must continue to gauge what skills and training are most practical and relevant to today's students.

Martin Jischke, president of Purdue University, stated in a speech to the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges that land-grant colleges have always been among the leaders in inclusion. The author disagrees with that statement. Land-grant colleges are and should continue to be products of their time. When segregation was the law of the land, land-grant colleges operated accordingly. Jones (2005) argues that the land-grant idea was flawed from the beginning since it allowed segregated institutions. The inherent inequality of separate institutions prevented the land-grant idea from reaching all races.

Today, the least educated and most downtrodden remain in rural areas, but are highly concentrated in the inner-city. This contrasts with 1862 when 80 percent of Americans resided in rural areas and 60 percent of jobs were tied to agriculture. Currently, 80 percent of Americans live in urban areas (Jischke, 2004). Perhaps land-grant institutions should direct their extension

activities to the inner-city. The University of Illinois and Louisiana State University are doing just that.

Vincent (2003) describes community partnerships established by the University of Illinois and Louisiana State University (LSU) that are benefitting urban areas in their respective regions. A group of East St. Louis, IL ministers partnered with the University of Illinois to create the East St. Louis Action Research Project. East St. Louis, one of the poorest cities in the United States, is nicknamed America's Soweto. (Vincent, 2003) This revitalization project is controlled by local residents and funded by the state. Illinois professors and students used scholarly research to develop and implement policy.

LSU partnered with the Old South Baton Rouge (OSBR) community to rehabilitate the historical community. In a multi-disciplinary effort, various departments from the university collaborated with residents to offer mentoring for young adults, entrepreneurial training, legal services, and complete an oral history of the neighborhood. These projects are wonderful, modern examples of land-grant activities that benefit today's common man. LSU and Illinois demonstrate what Vincent (2003) describes as the "new American College."

This new American College turns teaching, research, and service into community outreach programming. The new American College seems to be a contemporary interpretation of the land-grant idea. The projects at LSU and Illinois are not only extension, but engagement. Extension refers to a one-sided relationship of land-grant colleges extending their services. The term engagement describes a two-way, mutual interaction.

Martin C. Jischke, former president of the NASULGC, prefers the term engagement over extension. (Jischke, 2004). He argues that engagement is more indicative of a partnership. East St. Louis and OSBR residents determined how the universities would impact their communities.

In return, scholars at LSU and Illinois get a better idea of how their work can improve the community.

The land-grant idea must revamp in order to serve the public in the 21st Century. Today, the traditional land-grant mission is irrelevant. Non- land-grant institutions also focus on instruction, research and extension. (Jischke, 2004) It appears that land-grant colleges are mimicking elite, private universities.

Land-grant institutions compete with private institutions for the best students while private institutions establish research agendas similar to land-grant institutions. Eventually, colleges will all look alike. Marion (2005) argues that pressure to remain relevant cause universities to resemble each other and look more and more alike. (p. 283). This demonstrates the influence of land-grant institutions on all universities. Land-grant colleges must increase their private donor bases in order to decrease their dependence on government funding. This dependence places institutions in the proverbial catch-22 situation. Government funding is increasingly limited, yet friendlier to the land-grant model. LSU and Illinois received government funding to complete their community engagement projects. Private funding is more plentiful, yet conditional. Generous corporations and foundations may want research that benefits their interests, at the expense of the land-grant agenda. This is a challenge administrators continue to confront. This does not imply that private donors will not fund projects benefitting underserved populations. However, it is acknowledged that businesses exist to make profits.

In his book, *Land-Grant Universities and Extension into the 21st Century: Renegotiating or Abandoning a Social Contract*, McDowell (2001) considers labeling the book an epitaph for land-grant colleges. He argues that the land-grant idea renegotiate in order to survive. If it does not, he warns, land-grant colleges will resemble Harvard, Yale, or Stanford

(McDowell, 2001, p. 198). In other words, they will cease to exist as Justin Morrill intended. Those ivy-league institutions represent the classical impracticality the original land-grant idea shunned.

McDowell (2001) argues that land-grant colleges do not increase access for working class. "Land-grant universities have relinquished some of their early roles of increasing access to formal higher education, and thus have relinquished that part of their social contract to other institutions, such as community colleges" (McDowell, 2001, p. 6). However, land-grant institutions continue to increase access to graduate education.

**Conclusion**

The land-grant idea focuses on helping the common man and underserved populations. Today, this is exemplified in the 29 Native American tribal colleges that are designated as land-grant institutions. After a 2 year campaign, (NASULGC, 1995) Congress granted land-grant status to those 29 institutions in 1994. Historically Black land-grant colleges specifically exemplify the land-grant mission of helping the underserved. Traditionally, HBCUs have admitted students who have few alternatives for post-secondary education.

Mayberry (1991) gives the example of Tuskegee University. When Tuskegee opened its school of veterinary medicine in 1944, there were 10 schools of veterinary medicine in the country. However, there were less than five Black veterinarians. By 1990, Tuskegee produced 75% of Black veterinarians. Neighboring Auburn University did not admit a Black veterinary medicine student until 1981. Thus, Tuskegee provided an opportunity for aspiring Black veterinarians to pursue education. If Tuskegee's veterinarian school did not exist, the population of Black veterinarians would be significantly less.

105 land-grant institutions are in the United States and its possessions.

Current inequities in funding 1890 institutions amount to residual racism. Funding inequalities are a residual practice from a time when segregation and discrimination were legal and socially accepted. Seymore (2006) refers to 1890s institutions as icons of segregation. If lawmakers do not establish equitable funding formulas for 1890 institutions, they are ignoring the legacy of segregation upon which these institutions were established. Unfortunately, land-grant status does not protect 1890 institutions from the funding woes that plague other public HBCUs. The history of land-grant colleges shows how the law can perpetuate or eliminate inequality and injustice, and influence higher education policy. The power resides within lawmakers to make substantive changes that reflect the true intent of Justin Morrill's land-grant vision, yet remain relevant to contemporary society.

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# *Do Reminders of Stereotype Unfairness Increase Stereotype Threat? Live but not Video White Presence Appears Necessary.*

Lloyd Sloan[1], Grady Wilburn[1], Debbie Camp[1], Jamie Barden[1] and Daniel Martin[2]

Sloan, et. al. (2000a) and subsequent others (Marx & Goff, 2005) extended Steele and Aronson's (1995) original proposal when they found that diagnostic testing with challenging stereotype-related materials in exclusively in-group settings didn't produce performance decrements, but Stereotype Threat performance decrements did occur in out-group context testing, suggesting that stereotype threat outcomes may require out-group presence. Additionally, Stereotype Threat performance decrements are eliminated when the tests are described as ethnically "fair", suggesting that anticipation of immediate, perceived potentially biased evaluations by out-group members may be needed to produce stereotype threat decrements. The central question raised here is whether stereotype threat's impact in minority settings (where it's usually absent) merely requires continuous, visible out-group reminders, perhaps as a simple continuous race prime or is substantial White social control or impact on evaluations of one's self is also necessary?  Would displaying a video presence of a White co-experimenter lead to Stereotype Threat when only a Black experimenter was physically present?  264 African-American university students took challenging verbal (SAT) tests described as individually Diagnostic or Nondiagnostic by White or Black experimenters or by Black experimenters with a White Participant present. In a fourth condition, the Black experimenter presented a projected video of a White male test-giver presenting the SAT instructions. The still video of the White test-giver remained projected throughout the test session in order to maximize reminders of out-group presence and potential evaluation.  The White experimenter produced stereotype threat performance decrements while the African American experimenter didn't, except when a White test taking participant was present in the test group, suggesting that some out-group presence is required for Stereotype Threat effects.  The Black experimenter's projection of the White tester's instruction and image had no impact on Black participants' performance.  These findings stand in strong contrast to the performance damaging impact of the continuously present and evaluating solo White tester.  Taken together, these findings suggest that biased evaluation concerns, possibly involved in arousing stereotype threat, may require White presence coupled with the unrestrained potential for biased evaluation in order to create Stereotype Threat's negative consequences on the performance of those stereotyped.

In a notable elaboration or evolution of Steele and Aronson's (1995) theory of Stereotype Threat, recent studies have shown that personally diagnostic testing of minority students with challenging, stereotype-related materials in stereotype threatened, exclusively minority settings does not produce Steele and Aronson's predicted performance decrements (c.f., Sloan, Jones, Philip, Maitland, and Starr, 2000a; Marx & Goff, 2005). However, Stereotype Threat performance decrements do result within those uniformly in-group settings when the testing is done by a White researcher. This may suggest that stereotype threat performance damage additionally may require out-group presence or environment, perhaps acting as, or emphasizing, reminders of the stereotype or of expected negative stereotyping or unfair evaluation.

This unique and important exception to the original notion of Stereotype Threat continues to propel efforts to more completely understand the impacts of the presence

of out-group members in generating the performance drops associated with the most deleterious outcomes of the Stereotype Threat phenomenon.

**The Stereotype Threat hypothesis:** In 1995, Steele and Aronson proposed that a newly named phenomenon, Stereotype Threat, could be aroused by taking a difficult, frustrating, personally diagnostic test in an area (e.g., intellectual) that is a component of a relevant, negative, in-group stereotype. they described such a situation as placing one in the possible position of confirming by one's own behavior and performance, a negative stereotype about one's group. An individual's concerns that they might fulfill the stereotype or lend credibility to the stereotype through weak performance (i.e., as a result of Stereotype Threat arousal) may create additional threats to the individual's self-evaluation and may damage performance through other mechanisms including increased self or group consciousness, lowered performance expectations, reduced task effort, added evaluation apprehension, or even simple distraction from the task.

Many of these possibilities parallel hypothesized causes of the negative performance effects of Social Facilitation on difficult, challenging tasks undertaken in social settings compared to doing the task alone and without social impacts. Zajonc and Sales (1966) suggested that this was due to the presence of others while Cottrell et al. (1968) found support for evaluation apprehension as well. Later Baron (1986) argued that observing others and co-actors produced distraction and resulting conflict with task attentional demands. That latter position was recently supported when Huguet et al. (1999) demonstrated that the presence of others produces a narrowed attentional focus that may hinder performance. Most of the above agree however with Zajonc's interpretation that somehow arousal occurs and increases reliance on the prepotent response, altering performance depending upon whether that response is correct or incorrect.

Jamieson & Harkins (in press) recently demonstrated that stereotype threat diagnostic instructions, which produce decrements in performance, appear to do so by increasing the likelihood that the performer will employ the prepotent task response. On SAT mathematics problems the prepotent response is to try to "solve" the problem (versus estimating it). This is precisely what social facilitation hypotheses predict for difficult tasks like the mathematics problems on the SAT, increasing performance on "solve"-type problems but decreasing performance on "estimation" tasks which test-takers often try to solve instead. Thus the long presumed underlying mechanism for Stereotype Threat appears to have been supported.

Other consequences of Stereotype Threat conditions that may impair performance: Recent findings have shown only modest support for the direct performance damaging role of performance anxiety (Sawyer and Hollis-Sawyer, 2005), but have shown strong impacts on less anticipated cognitive shortfalls. Numerous researchers have now confirmed that Stereotype Threat conditions reduce working memory capacity, a serious problem for high intellectual performance (c.f. , Schmader and Johns, 2003; Chasteen, Bhattacharyya, Horhota, Tam and Hasher, 2005), perhaps in part by adding an extra mental load (Croizet, Despres, Gauzins, Huguet, Leyens and Meot, 2004) and/or by generating negative thinking in the performer (Cadinu, Maass, Rosabianca

and Kiesner, 2005).  Still others have suggested that the Stereotype Threat effect may be essentially initiated by a simpler cognitive priming event (Wheeler and Petty, 2001) perhaps leading to poor performance or withdrawal of effort.  A combination of these sorts of mechanisms or any one singly, could reduce performance under the hypothesized stereotype threat conditions.

In their seminal report, Steele and Aronson (1995) observed the hypothesized performance reductions on difficult verbal ability tests administered to African American students when describing the test as being "diagnostic" of their personal ability but not when the same test was described as a "nondiagnostic" task as part of a verbal problem solving study. White students did not show this relative drop in the diagnostic condition. This is consistent with the hypothesis because the stereotype related to this task did not apply to them. Steele and Aronson (1995) also demonstrated the cognitive activation of negative ethnic stereotypes when African American students anticipated immediately taking such a difficult verbal ability test under diagnostic circumstances.

Since that time the Stereotype Threat phenomenon has been shown to be very robust, generalizable and may have great impact across many performance situations and for many negatively stereotyped social groups.  This generality of the Stereotype Threat phenomenon has been observed in many stereotyped group situations.  These include in part, Hispanic students in similar verbal testing events (Salinas, 1998), women in difficult mathematics tasks (Spencer, S.J., Steele, C.M., & Quinn, D.M.,1999; Inzlicht, M. & Ben-Zeev, T., 2000; Oswald, D. L. & Harvey, R. D., 2000), low versus high SES French students in SAT-type testing (Croizet, J.C. & Claire, T.,1998), White men in math-computer testing in the context of more successful Asia competitors (Aronson, J., Lustina, M.J., Good, C., Keough, K., Steele, C.M., & Brown, J., 1999), White men in stereotypically less successful (than African Americans) athletic tests (Stone, J., Lynch, C.I., Sjomeling, M. & Darley, J.M., 1999) and White men compared with women in a social sensitivity task (Koenig and Eagly, 2005) to note a few.

Understanding the multiple components of Stereotype Threat. The researchers above have focused on the mechanisms through which an aroused sense of Stereotype Threat actually degrades performance. Another equally central issue is discovering what events or factors within the performance situations influence or cause the stereotype awareness and  arousal that leads to performance decrements?  In addition to the hypothesized notion that stereotype awareness may be increased by being faced with a negative stereotype related, difficult test, other suggested factors that possibly increase stereotype awareness may include simple reminders of race or race differences, expected bias and perhaps the implied comparisons that thoughts of stereotypes may suggest.

The Impact of Out-group Presence on Stereotype Awareness Increases and Performance Decreases. Early research was conducted at Stanford University and other largely majority institutions. Thus a hidden additional contributor to the activation of the stereotype in the African American test-taker's mind may have been the ethnic context of the setting or the ethnicity of the experimenter. It may be the case

that the arousal of stereotype threat is intensified by the proximity of out-group potential stereotype holders (majority members), in addition to the taking of a self-diagnostic, difficult, test relevant to a negative stereotype. Would stereotype threat be substantial in a minority institution environment? Is it possible that some immediate out-group racial context (e.g., the presence of potentially stereotyping majority group members) is particularly important to stereotype threat arousal?

Sloan, Gurira, Starr, Sloan and Jackson (1999) addressed these hypotheses by measuring stereotype avoidance, stereotype activation and other hypothesized indicators of stereotype threat in an overwhelmingly African American University. Sloan, et. al. (1999) paralleled the methods of Steele and Aronson (1995) but added variation of the race of the experimenter (White or Black males). Overall results revealed exceptions to the Steele and Aronson (1995) less complicated original stereotype threat hypothesis. Interaction of experimenter race and the diagnosticity manipulation clearly emerged. Increased stereotype avoidance did occur in the Diagnostic Condition with the White Experimenter (the only out-group presence), but did not occur for the African American experimenter. Subsequent research found analogous results of experimenter race and diagnosticity on intellectual performance degradation as well (cf., Sloan, Phillip, Starr, Ridberg and Oleson, 2000b; Sloan, Glenn and Craig, 2002; Sloan, Wilburn, Martin, Fenton, Starr, Craig, Gilbert, and Glenn, 2003; Marx and Goff, 2005). Notably, Inzlicht and Ben-Zeev (2000; 2003) found similar results for women taking math tests with versus without men test-takers present. Thus the out-group member when present may be an additional reminder of the related stereotype or may cue possible stereotype-related bias/fairness concerns which then have performance consequences. One focus of this research program is the better understanding of the out-group presence impact and its centrality to the phenomenon of Stereotype Threat.

Could ethnic out-group presence be central to the arousal of Stereotype Threat? Research findings above suggest that a homogeneously African American environment may not have all the components needed to cause stereotype activation and stereotype threat that may be found in a majority institution and that such cues may be needed to induce stereotype threat consequences. Stereotype Threat arousal may be increased by cues of notable stereotyping potential from out-group members present in addition to the diagnostisity of stereotype relevant task performance. There is other evidence to suggest that some African Americans may have enduring outlooks on out-group (majority members) that might inspire stereotype activation.

Suggestive findings come from Terrell and Terrell's (1981) work in Cultural Mistrust. African Americans who were high in Cultural Mistrust did substantially worse on intellectual IQ measures including the Sanford-Binet and the WAIS when the assessment was administered by a White tester, as opposed to an African American (Terrell, Terrell & Taylor, 1981; Terrell & Terrell, 1983; Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994; Alston, & Bell (1996). Expectations of possible prejudices and negative stereotyping of the minority member by the White test-giver seem likely to produce lower perceptions of trustworthiness and credibility in the test-giver. This possibility finds support in Whaley's (2001a; 2002) meta-analyses across cultural mistrust studies

which show similar effects of an individual's high level of cultural mistrust in mental health and in other areas of psychosocial research. High negative expectations are associated with the African Americans who have high levels of cultural mistrust; that is, individuals who simply are more likely to expect prejudice or adverse stereotyping from their out-group (White) test-giver. For example, other findings from our laboratory confirm that African American students at this university expect a significantly higher likelihood that they will be negatively stereotyped and less favored by White Americans than by other American subgroups or any of the other nationalities examined.

Thus, negative expectations and cultural mistrust may be an important part of the Stereotype Threat phenomena. If many African Americans feel cultural mistrust toward Whites or other ethnicities, then they likely feel increased concern with being stereotyped and unfairly judged thus further exacerbating worries that they might perform poorly and embarrassingly confirm the negative performance stereotype. This added performance anxiety during testing could diminish further performance and would be consistent with Stereotype Threat theorizing.

Pursuing the ethnic out-group effect in arousing Stereotype Threat:

The impact of ethnic out-group presence in activating stereotype threat arousal and performance damage for African Americans has been hypothesized to be due to heightened perceived potential for negative stereotyping and unfair or biased evaluation, especially in comparison to White students' performances. Testing the impact of these variables may be examined from several approaches. One approach has attempted to remove one potential negative element from the stereotype threat producing situation. Sloan, Philip, Jones, Starr, Ridberg and Oleson (2000b) and Sloan, Maitland, Starr, Philip & Jones (2001) focused on altering the minority students' perception of the unfairness of the intellectual test being used in a stereotype threat setting (i.e., Black test-takers with a White experimenter). The presence of the White Experimenter may increase the participants' awareness of the related stereotype, and/or it may more specifically suggest the possibility of biased testing or evaluation. Sloan, et. al. (2000b), informed participants that the items on their tests had been selected because they had been pre-tested and found to be, "culture-fair, that is, that Blacks, Whites and Hispanic students did equally well on the items". With this explanation, the White Experimenter condition no longer produced performance decrements, suggesting that the concerns underlying stereotype threat had diminished, perhaps by reducing the concern that one could confirm a negative in-group stereotype through one's own performance. Others have found that fairness assurances reduce performance decrements usually observed in diagnostic testing of women in challenging mathematics examinations (Oswald and Harvey, 2000).

An analogous approach to identifying important underlying mechanisms of Stereotype Threat has built on the fact that the Black Experimenter produced no performance decrement in diagnostic conditions while a White Experimenter did. In brief, hypothesized variables can be added into the situation that does not typically produce the stereotype threat performance decrement, that is, African American test-takers

with an African American experimenter within an African American environment. Sloan, et al., (2003), for example employed an African American experimenter presenting standard diagnostic or nondiagnostic instructions to African American participants but also adding that the test was known to be culturally and ethnically biased and unfair. This added Stereotype Threat relevant manipulation produced no diagnosticity effect however, and the authors suggested that out-group member presence may be required to make an unfair test a threat.

An additional series of studies using this alternative approach examined the role of anticipated comparison to others. If one is concerned about fulfilling a negative stereotype, that may presuppose that there will be performance comparison to others, especially to the ethnic stereotype out-group. Sloan, Glenn, & Craig (2002) addressed the issue of comparison by having a Black experimenter inform African American students (in both Diagnostic and Non-Diagnostic Conditions) that their scores were to be compared with those of white students at another university. While other prior findings were replicated, the Comparison manipulation had no impact on performance as hypothesized based on Stereotype Threat conceptualizations, nor did any of a series of increasingly more specific claims of impending comparison by White researchers. It appears then that other mediators of Stereotype Threat phenomena, perceived fairness or bias in testing for example, may be more likely to be important.

Other factors added to the Black experimenter condition employed tests of the role of concerns over unfair evaluation or stereotyping judgments in contributing to Stereotype Threat in minority settings, Sloan, Wilburn, Camp, Craig-Henderson and Martin (2005) tested even more transparent threats of possibly biased evaluation. In Black experimenter conditions, Black students were told (1) that their performance data was being collected for later evaluation by a White experimenter, or (2) that a White researcher would arrive before the end of the session to score their performance test with them, providing immediate evaluation of performance. Neither condition produced a stereotype threat diagnosticity effect in this exclusively in-group context where stereotype threat is typically absent. An unfair test or biased evaluation may be of little concern when one's performance will be evaluated only by other in-group member researchers or if the evaluation will happen only after one has departed.

In a direct statement of evaluation by White persons, Sloan, Wilburn, Camp, Barden, and Martin (2006) had a White researcher appear briefly prior to the performance test during a Black experimenter conducted testing session and mention that he would return before the end of the session. This was done to make evaluation by the out-group seem more likely. This condition produced no diagnostic effect however, possibly because the White researcher's presence was too brief or not adequately clearly evaluative in impact. An additional experiment was conducted to test whether a non-evaluative, uninvolved, but continuous White "mere presence" alone would be sufficient to create Stereotype Threat effects within a Black experimenter conducted standard instruction condition but this condition produced no stereotype threat performance decrement either (Sloan, Wilburn, Van Camp, Barden, Price and Martin, 2007) leaving unclear whether stereotype threat impacts require out-group presence or evaluation or both.

Does stereotype threat simply require out-group presence, perhaps as a prime or reminder of possible negative stereotyping or is more required? Is White evaluation threat (possibly biased) also necessary in addition to White presence as is actually the case in the solo White experimenter condition?

Key Research Questions:

Prior research has shown that in-group (Black) experimenters do not produce Stereotype Threat effects even when they inform test-takers of test bias or of impending White presence or evaluation or data handling or live test scoring (e.g., Sloan, Wilburn, Camp, Craig-Henderson and Martin, 2005).   In contrast, a continuously present White experimenter-evaluator does produce stereotype threat effects. Is this impact of White presence due to that person serving as a continuous prime or reminder of the stereotyped performance decrement expectation or is out-group (potentially biased) evaluation also required? In order to attempt to separate these two possibilities, this research has the testing session's Black experimenter present a video of a White researcher giving the SAT testing instructions and remaining on the screen during testing to provide White video presence and perhaps an accompanying stereotype reminder without the evaluation potential inherent in actual presence. For comparison, this research also examines the impact of a White out-group test-taker's presence during the test as a continuous reminder of the out-group incorporating the indirect implication of evaluation through the comparison of performance outcomes (self versus out-group member).

## METHODOLOGY

African-American women and men students at an historically African-American University (n= 263) participated in this research as part of an introductory psychology course for course credit. Students from this overwhelmingly minority institution participated in the research in experimental groups ranging from 5 to 22 persons, composed of other Black students from the same university.

Participants took a timed, 15-minute test described as a difficult-to-complete, 28-item, SAT-type verbal abilities test composed of one "analytic" read-and-interpret passage with seven questions, followed by 21 verbal analogies problems (similar to Steele and Aronson's, 1995 test). Scores on this difficult test could range from 0 to 28. A White male experimenter or a Black male experimenter described this SAT-type verbal test as "diagnostic" of their personal abilities, that is, "to provide a genuine test of your verbal abilities and limitations", or as a "non-diagnostic", non-evaluative study of the verbal problem solving process. In all conditions, randomly assigned participants were strongly encouraged to try as hard as they could to perform well on the problems.

There were two other conditions with the Black experimenter testing African American students. In the first the Black experimenter conducted the session but

showed a video of a White researcher giving the test instructions including a statement noting past stereotypic differences in test scores for Black and White students. The White tester's image remained on the screen during the testing. This situation was created to provide a White reminder but without immediate evaluation potential. In the second additional condition the Black experimenter gave only standard instructions to testing groups which contained a White female test-taker sitting near the front of the room. This situation was intended to provide continuous White out-group presence with potential unfair comparison and evaluation of the minority test-takers' performance.

Following the performance test, participants completed a series of items including measures of distraction, performance concern, academic engagement, stereotype avoidance, self-handicapping, manipulation checks and ethnic group identity. The entire procedure required approximately 40 minutes, after which participants received explanations, credit and thanks.

## RESULTS

Diagnosticity was successfully manipulated in subjects' perceptions ($X^2$=9.7 (1), p<.001). African American participants tested in exclusively minority contexts (Black experimenter) showed no performance decrement in the standard "diagnostic" compared to "non-diagnostic" testing (F<1), but participants did show significant performance decrements when tested by a White experimenter (F(1,75)=5.90, p<.03; see Figure 1).

## Figure 1: Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task (African American Subjects)
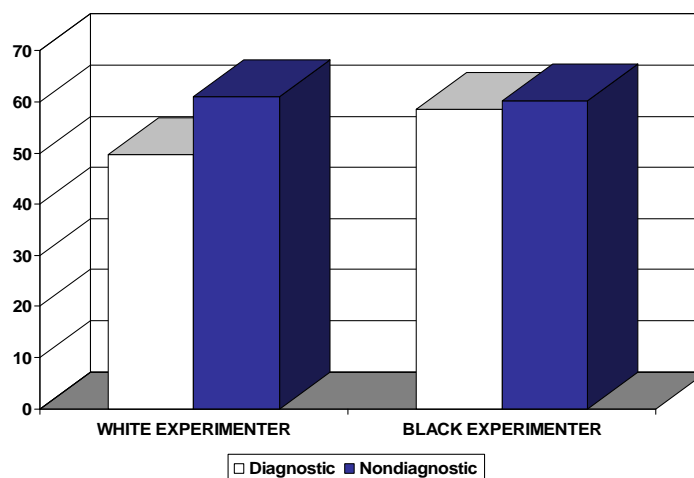
# Figure 2: Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task: Video Presence and Performance Deficit Reminder from White Tester on Video with Black Experimenter.
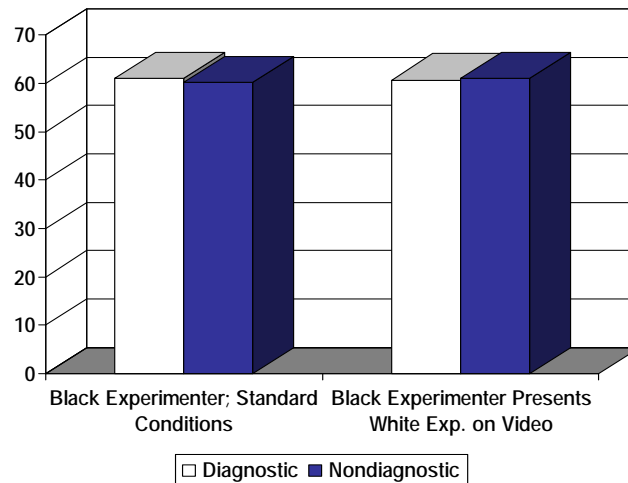


The video presentation and video presence of the White Test Instruction Giver had no decremental effect on Black students' performance (F<1; see Figure 2). This is in strong contrast to the impact of the continuously present White student co-test-taker whose presence produced the stereotype threat predicted performance decreases in minority students' performance. When a White woman participant was included as another test-taker with minority students and the Black Experimenter (employing only standard instructions), minority students' performance was lower in the Diagnostic Condition (F (1/45) = 4.20, p<.05) compared to the nondiagnostic condition (see Figure 3 below).

# Figure 3: Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task (African American Subjects)
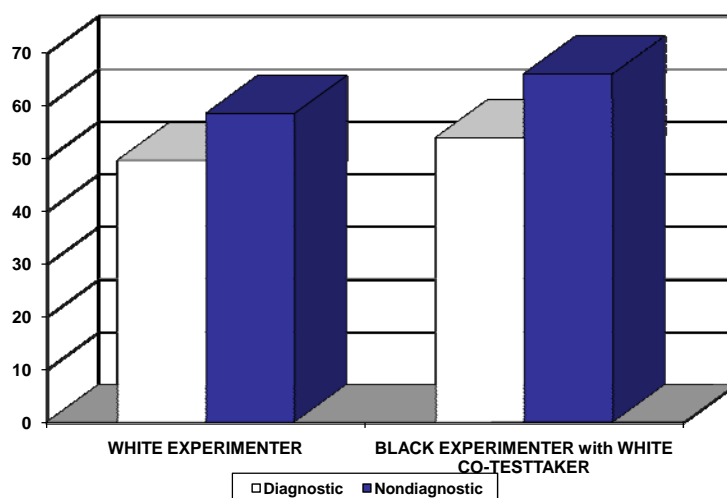


**CONCLUSIONS**

This research attempted to separate the effects of visual reminders of White test-giver presence, authority and involvement from actual out-group (White) presence and implied evaluation consequences for the African American test-takers. This was done to approximate (without a White person actually being present) one set of notions of the critically different features of the experimental conditions represented by the live White, as opposed to, the Black experimenters. This manipulation, which had no out-group members actually present, had no Stereotype Threat effects on participant performance.

Recall that when potentially stereotyping out-group testers presented SAT tests as being ethnically fair the Stereotype Threat performance decrements were eliminated, suggesting that perceived unfairness in testing-evaluation was an important factor in Stereotype Threat. However within entirely in-group contexts (with a Black experimenter), expected immediate or future potentially stereotype related, unfair evaluations by out-group member researchers have not lead to hypothesized performance decrements in prior research or here. Dramatically, the mere presence and possible comparative evaluation-relevant White participant in the test taking group did lead to stereotyped minority members' performance decrements. These findings suggest that if perceived or expected bias in evaluation may be a significant part of the concerns that drive the Stereotype Threat Effect then those factors may require some perhaps amplifying impact produced by the actual presence of potentially stereotyping out-group members in order to create Stereotype Threat's negative consequences on the performance of those stereotyped.

Only with the solo White test-giver or the White test-taking participant in the Black experimenter's testing session did the diagnostic-nondiagnostic manipulation have the predicted performance damaging consequences for African Americans. Stereotype Threat concerns and performance decrements appear to be increased by the presence of out-group members (here, the White experimenter or White co-participant), acting perhaps more strongly as cues to expectations of stereotyping, or of unfair evaluation or as stereotyping primes or as distracters or enhancers of evaluation concerns. However this effect seems to occur thus far only when the White out-group member is physically present and perceived as actively evaluating minority test takers' performances.

Findings summarized here tend to suggest that there may be some other factor than simple comparison or evaluation concerns accompanying the presence of an out-group member in the testing setting that leads to the Stereotype Threat phenomenon and its consequences. In particular, the extensive, live presence of an out-group member may provide the test-taker with a believable possibility of potentially unfair evaluation and thereby increase the Stereotype Threat impact.

Unfair evaluation concern may be critical especially if mistrust is widespread. Terrell and others have demonstrated the existence of measurable levels of such cultural mistrust (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; 1983; Whaley, 2001a) and this outlook may be central in magnifying negative stereotype awareness concerns. Recall that the simple presence of the White test-giver produced performance decrements but that when the White test-giver proclaimed the assessment itself to be unbiased and culture-fair, that the performance decrements disappeared (Sloan, et. al., 2000b). Thus, even if the test-giver may be suspected of prejudice or stereotyping, the assessment's own culture-fairness would serve to mitigate or negate the adverse impact of the tester's personal motives.

In any case, as in earlier findings, the current results may suggest that a uniformly minority environment may not have all the cues to stereotype salience that may be found in a majority institution or environment, and that such cues may be needed to induce stereotype threat consequences. However, even the continuous video-presence of a White researcher (in a Black researcher lead session) produces no stereotype threat effects. These collected findings suggest that reminders of the stereotype of lower performance by one's group may not be sufficient by itself to produce stereotype threat. It may be more likely that such reminders of negative performance stereotypes may require the multiplying impact of a persistently present cue, a potentially stereotyping out-group member, in order to create Stereotype Threat's negative consequences on the performance of those stereotyped.

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# State Capitalism, Contentious Politics and Social Revolution

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Attractive and feared, the growing power of the modern state has long been a focus of fascination. Meanwhile, the social and intellectual history of state capitalist analysis emerged forty years earlier than the 1917 Bolshevik-led October Revolution. Since then, state capitalist analysis has intermittently received heated attention. Despite at least four diverse analytic streams or traditions, until recently competing epistemic communities using state capitalist analyses have interacted sporadically. Differences in language, historical period, locale, and political commitments have contributed to the lack of sustained exchange. The paper summarized and illustrates four streams of state capitalist literature. Sensitive to possible future social change in formerly Marxist-Leninist social systems and elsewhere, this reading of the literature enables scholars and activists better to understand state capitalism in the pre-1917 Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, People's Republic of China (1949-1978), post-communist Russia, and contemporary China in the "reform and opening up" period.

Clarifying the legacy of state capitalist analysis is a prerequisite for the success of social movements seeking to realize their preferred futures in Asia, the Pacific, Europe, Africa and the Americas. If transmitted historical memories and documents of socialist and communist movements are examined for what went wrong, they can be a resource for radically and humanely transformative social change.

Thus, with an eye to preferred futures, an emerging debate over state capitalist theory should help us focus on the most important actors for social change in the contemporary and former communist societies and elsewhere (and the obstacles). The debate may help civil society organizations seeking to clarify which historical examples are appropriate models for radical social transformation in the coming decades. As evidenced by recent conference panels, publications and other indicators, this dialogue has begun anew. Setting the stage, this paper invites lively debate.

# MAPPING IN SETTLEMENT STUDIES: A CASE STUDY OF SELECTED SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

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## INTRODUCTION

Maps, from ancient times up to the present, have provided humans with the opportunity to express innumerable variables that appear both figuratively and theoretically upon the land. The earliest known map, made during the classical time period, was done by the Sumerians in approximately 2700 B.C. Maps were developed to display information about locations of markets, cities, roads, ports, navigational routes, and topographical features. Often early maps displayed pictorial information as well, including such illustrations as drawings of monsters at sea, strange creatures in various unexplored lands, and boiling water along the equator. All of these drawings represented the prevailing beliefs of the time, so these maps presented far more than geographic information. Due to the inclusion of this type of representations/misinformation on maps, many explorations were cut short or misdirected resulting in unexpected or even catastrophic events (Wood 1992).

As technology advanced and increasing knowledge about the earth was gained, maps became more and more accurate and new types of information could be displayed. Development of scientific methods and data collection techniques produce huge amounts of new information that could be represented in various forms on maps. These include topographical, climatic, economic, and demographic data, just to name a few. Researchers increasingly utilized the flexibility of maps to impart detailed and vast amounts of information into generalized and simplified formats that could be easily understood by the lay viewer. Today, the general public is bombarded with maps that display information

about nearly every type of human activity, and these maps as well can be manipulated to support nearly every point of view. Thus, it is vital to approach maps with caution and respect, understanding that they could be subjective.

In the tradition of employing maps in ethnic studies, Berry and Henderson (2002) edited a meta-study of geographic identities of ethnic Americans, in which excellent examples of various kinds of cartographic techniques are used in locating and identifying ethnic settlements within communities or regions in the United States. This is a compilation of research from eleven different authors with studies that range from a very microscopic view of ethnic settlement to that of macro-settlements across the United States. Equally diverse are the immigrant/ethnic groups studied, the topics/issues discussed, and the types of maps employed to depict these ethnic areas.

Following Berry and Henderson (2002), this paper reviews the way in which maps have been employed and applied to ethnic settlement studies in the United States during recent years. As a case in point, we will illustrate that the immigration of Africans into the United States is largely uninvestigated due most likely to the fact that this group represents a relatively low number in the volume of immigrants. Much research has been done on the settlement patterns of African-American populations in the United States due to the racial complexities of the society and the inequalities that have resulted from this, yet the new migration of African populations has remained quite obscure except in a few locations. Due to the lack of literature on recent African immigration to the United States, which has been increasing steadily since the 1980's (Roberts 2005), we will review research that includes mapping as it has been applied to settlement patterns to study the settlement of a selected few African ethnic groups.

## USE OF MAPS IN ETHNIC STUDIES: A LITERATURE REVIEW

There are many different aspects of immigration that can be studied and mapped. The obvious and most common include mapping the destinations of immigrants and the neighborhoods in which they take up residence. Beyond this, mapping can include displaying macro-scale characteristics of migrations into the United States from an international perspective or general information such as a second-step migration patterns within a national or regional setting; while micro-scale projects could include mapping information such as residential mobility, economic integration (employment locations), and cultural assimilation (school enrollments) of a particular immigrant group.

Data for such projects can often be obtained from government agencies, such as the United States Census Bureau, or state and city agencies. Many times these data are broken down into various levels of resolution. For instance, data may be found for states, counties, cities, and census tracts. Therefore, the selection of data from different levels of resolution depends upon the type of study being conducted. Some data are easily accessible, for example, demographic data. However data that involve sensitive or personal information, such as medical records, can often be particularly hard to recover due to laws protecting

privacy. This also leads to the necessity to do field work and to build a primary data set for analysis when researching obscure topics.

In urban geography and settlement study of the United States, much research has been devoted to examining residential segregation resulted from racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic differences (Johnston 2003). These studies are also important for the research of immigration issues because immigrants often find themselves residing in low-rent districts that are defined by certain racial or ethnic groups. This is particularly true for African immigrants because they are identified more by their skin color than their culture due to its instant visibility (Bashi and McDaniel 1997). Crowder (1999) conducted a study in the New York/New Jersey metropolitan areas to investigate the roles that race and ethnicity play in shaping patterns of residential segregation in this area. His study involved the use of maps to depict two important characteristics; first he identified the predominant number of West Indian populations as residing within the African-American neighborhoods of the greater New York area, and second he found that within this region, West Indian blacks developed their own ethnic enclaves. Crowder effectively portrayed this information through the use of choropleth mapping; after selecting predominantly black neighborhoods through the use of census data, one map depicts African-American areas, and the other map identifies predominantly West Indian neighborhoods within this greater region. The visual components of the map provide the reader with a clear and easily understood representation of this phenomenon.

In a more comprehensive manner, Allen and Turner (1996) focused their attention upon the Los Angeles metropolitan area and selected twelve immigrant groups in an attempt to plot out their assimilation using a spatial perspective. Ethnic group concentrations were located and two more distant regions were recognized in order to identify assimilation that had occurred over time. This study was conducted using 1990 Public Use Microdata Sample file (PUMS). A map was constructed to effectively portray the zones of concentrated, dispersed, and highly dispersed settlement of these twelve ethnic groups.

To continue their research on multi-ethnic mapping, Allen and Turner (2004) conducted a study on the emergence of a quilt-like pattern of ethnicity in the Boston metropolitan region. By merging 2000 tract-level census data from the U.S. Census Bureau (first-reported ancestry) with boundary files in ESRI's[1] ArcGIS mapping program, they were able to produce choropleth maps that represented nine major ethnic groups beyond larger aggregations of White, Black, Latino, and Asian. The interpretations of the distribution and locations selected by the immigrant groups were based primarily on immigrant spatial assimilation theory. Through the visual use of maps, four factors could be assessed that this theory contributes: (1) areal variations in the price of housing, (2) group differences in economic resources, (3) the desire of many immigrants to live near others of their own group, and (4) the desire of most people to distance themselves from poorer neighborhoods and, in some cases, from people of other groups. Through the tool of mapping, a visual analysis is

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[1]    ESRI is Environmental Systems Research Institute, a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and geodatabase management applications software company based in Redland, California.

possible and makes it much easier to determine the locations and proximity of these ethnic groups to both each other and variables such as housing values.

Due to its historical importance as a gateway city, New York is often the site of ethnic enclave studies.  Alba et al. (1997) discussed the traditional invasion and succession theory of immigrant spatial mobility patterns as contrasted to the alternative view that ethnic neighborhoods can and do survive regardless of the economic and social potential for group members to assimilate into the mainstream population.  Important information can be obtained from close examination of the traditional white ethnic neighborhoods, the Germans, Italians, and Irish, because of their long and established presence on the New York urban landscape.  By applying a mapping strategy using census data from 1980 and 1990, maps generated in the study depict ethnic neighborhoods for both years.  The data used are based on ancestry data as well as compositional data that include ancestry type, language, socioeconomic, and housing variables that further identified ethnicity.  This study identifies, through the use of choropleth maps, the assimilation of neighborhoods, or the converse, the stability and continuing presence of historic white ethnic enclaves.

In a way Canadian cities share many common characteristics of American cities, and it is true in the settlement patterns of immigrant groups within a metropolitan area.  In his examination of Toronto, Canada, Owusu (1999) examined the residential patterns and housing choices of Ghanaian immigrants in the late 1990s.  His study required the residential locations of the Ghanaian households in the regional municipality of Metropolitan Toronto.  In order to accomplish this task he collected data from a variety of sources to establish two important components in his study: (1) the generalized vicinities within which Ghanaian population reside and (2) the exact locations of these household addresses in which to complete his geographic distribution analysis.  His data sources include immigration data for Ghanaians from the Ethnocultural Data Base of the Ministry of Citizenship and Statistics Canada, as well as from Bell Canada telephone directories (selecting distinctively Ghanaian names) to get specific addresses.  The generalized data provided the location concentrations of Ghanaians within the Toronto metropolitan area, and then by using the telephone directory addresses for these vicinities, specific ethnic enclaves were located.  The addresses were then geo-coded and matched to census tracts through the use of the Statistics Canada Street Index File.  Once these steps were accomplished, a dot map was generated depicting the Ghanaian residential locations.   Due to the relatively small number of Ghanaian households, Owusu (1999) was able to use a single dot to represent one household, making the resulting map very easy to visualize and analyze.  Owusu (1999) was more interested in the distribution of the Ghanaian population in the suburban neighborhoods than the predominate presence of the population inside the central city area, as is commonly the case with immigrants, so mapping plays a vital role in his study.  Without a doubt, the importance of mapping in his study can be recognized because the clusters of Ghanaian populations are very visual and easily located.

Several other notable authors also made excellent use of dot maps to portray both the location and number of immigrants.  Roseman (2002) plotted locations of various immigrant groups across the American landscape using both dot and graduated circle maps.  Deskins

and Bettinger (2002) use graduated circle maps in their study of "Black and White Spaces" in selected metropolitan areas in the United States to denote the segregation level in metropolitan areas around the United States. Both pie chart mapping and the use of polygon overlay techniques were used by Smith (2002) to identify the locations and proportions of the Hispanic population in his study of cultural landscape change among Hispanic population. He also employed the use of symbols on maps to locate areas of enclave activity in a chronological order and also to denote types of settlement areas.

Perhaps the most interesting use of maps was done by Airriess (2002) and Hardwick (2002). In his study of Vietnamese landscape and place in New Orleans, Airriess (2002) used a simple large-scale city reference choropleth map to explain specific neighborhood land use in a New Orleans' Vietnamese community. Hardwick (2002), in her examination of Russian acculturation in Sacramento, also made use of choropleth maps to depict Russian population numbers. However, to portray the dispersal pattern out of original settlement areas, she uses arrows of orientation, providing the viewer with a clear picture of Russian relocation settlement patterns. In a more recent co-authored study on ethnicity networks and refugee communities in the Portland area, maps were amply used by Hardwick and Meacham (2005) to portray various aspects of their research. For example, they made extensive use of choropleth maps to depict settlement areas of the Russian, Vietnamese, and Ukrainian populations in the Portland metropolitan area. Moreover, they used dot maps with varying shades of gray to depict population locations and intensities of different ethnic groups. They also used graduated circle cartography to denote businesses catering to Russian speakers, thereby presenting a visual depiction of Russian population concentration.

## USE OF MAPS IN ETHNIC STUDIES: AN APPLICATION

As a case study in this paper, we apply the use of maps to the study of recent African immigrants in the United States. Locating and describing different ethnic enclaves in various cities in the United States are very important geographic aspects of ethnic/immigrant studies. Providing a visual description is a powerful tool and can effectively communicate otherwise obscure information. Obvious mapping techniques that could be applied are choropleth maps, dot maps, graduated circles, and pie charts as amply illustrated in the literature review.

Through the above discussions in mapping applications in ethnic settlements in the United States and Canada, it is clear that little has been directed toward African immigrant populations. Therefore simply mapping the largest population concentrations of these ethnic groups in the United States appears to be fundamental yet vital. On the onset, we constructed a choropleth map showing the concentrations of total sub-Saharan African immigrants in the United States using 2000 Census data (first ancestry reported - county level) illustrating the locations of these immigrant groups (see Map 1). Then we generated five additional choropleth maps for five specific Sub-Saharan immigrant groups: Ethiopian, Ghanaian, Nigerian, Somali, and South African (see Maps 2-6) in the United States using the same Census file data.

## Map 1: Total Sub-Saharan Africans
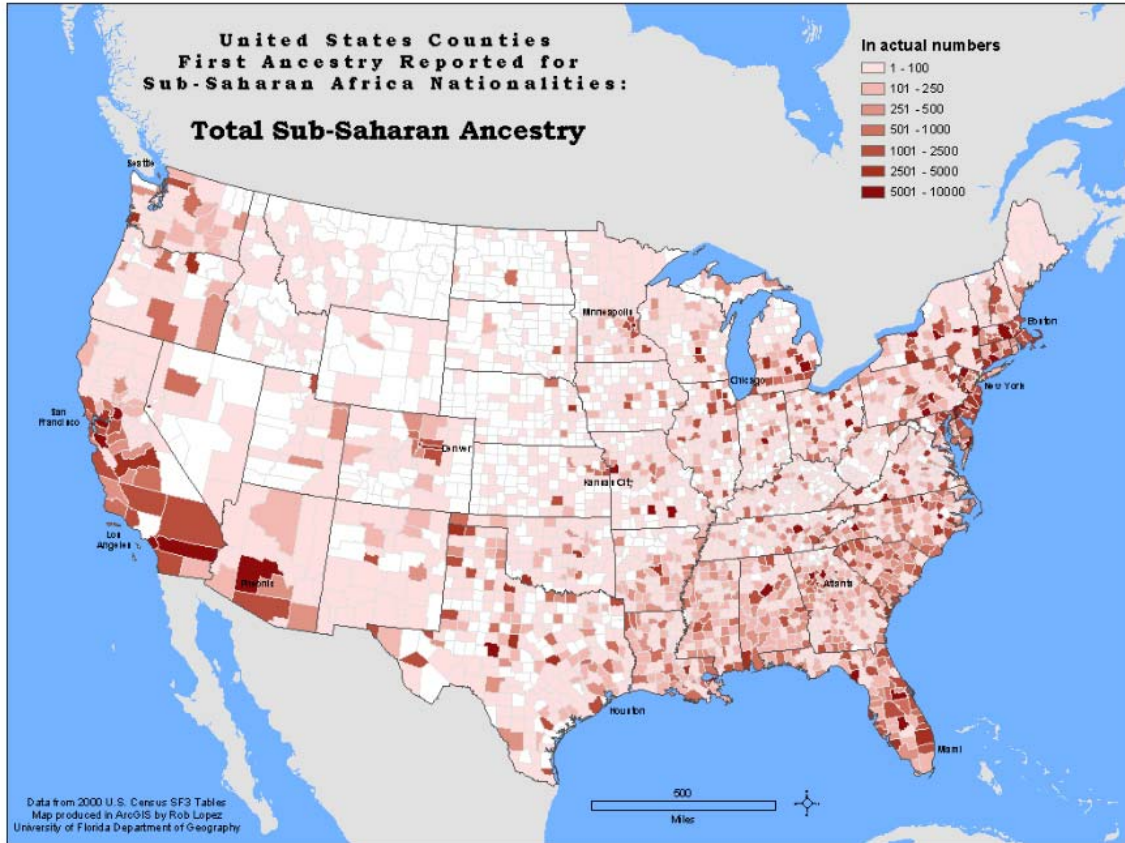
## Map 2: Ethiopians

## Map 3: Ghanaians



United States Counties
First Ancestry Reported for
Sub-Saharan Africa Nationalities:

**Ghanian Ancestry**

In actual numbers
Ghanian
- 1 - 100
- 101 - 250
- 251 - 500
- 501 - 1000
- 1001 - 6300

Data from 2000 U.S. Census SF3 Tables
Map produced in ArcGIS by Rob Lopez
University of Florida Department of Geography
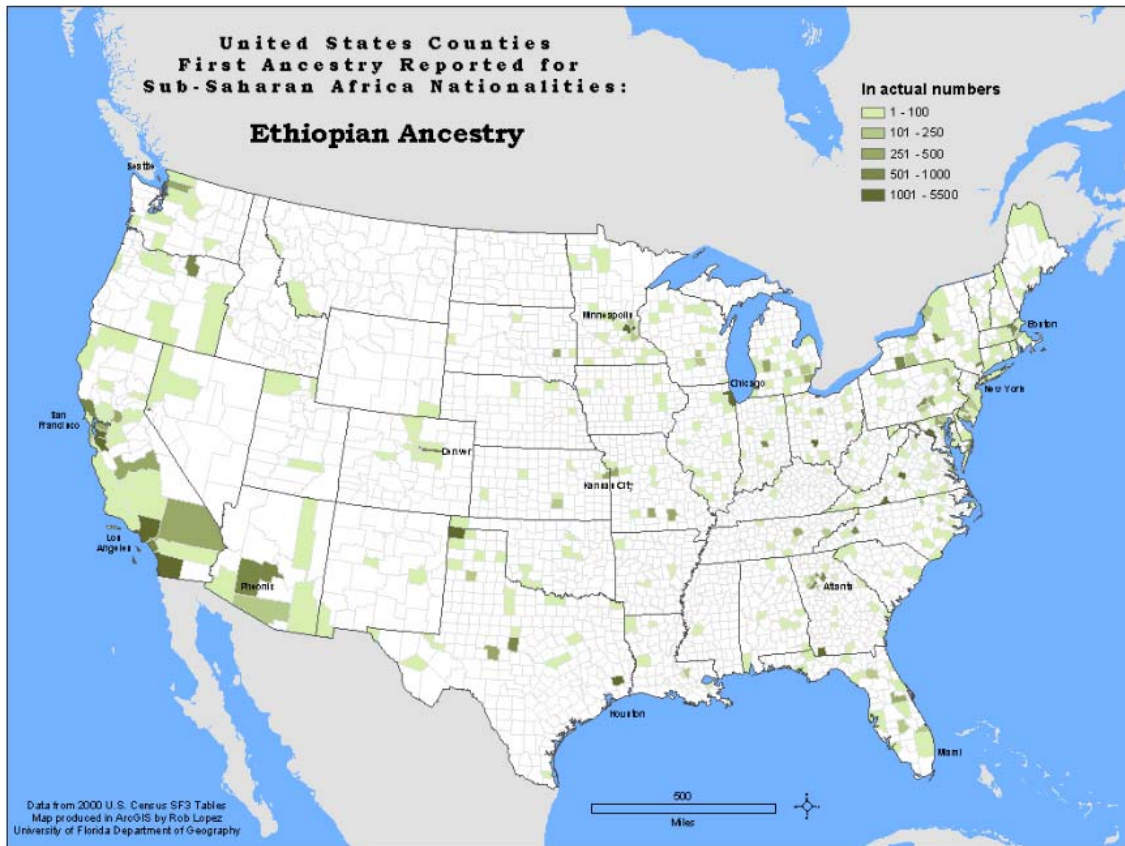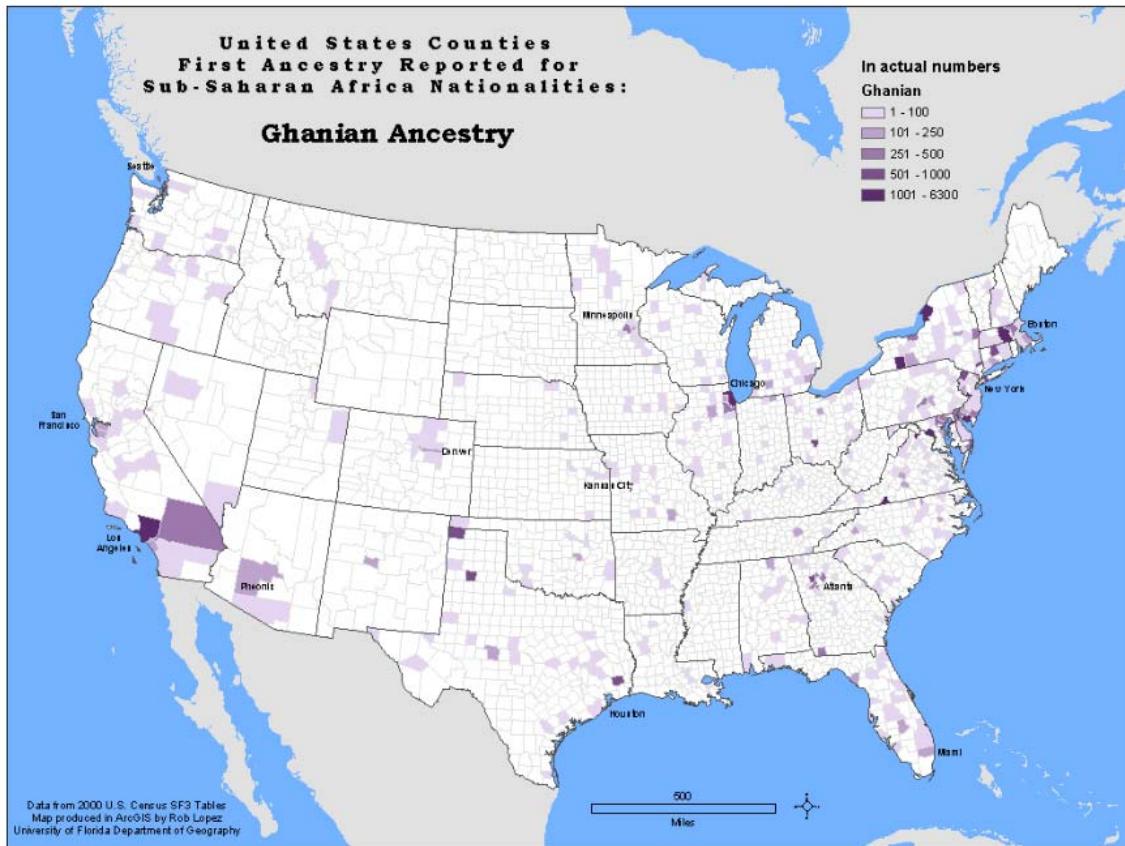
## Map 4: Nigerians

**Map 5: Somali**



United States Counties
First Ancestry Reported for
Sub-Saharan Africa Nationalities:

Somali Ancestry

In actual numbers
1 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 1000
1001 - 7500

Data from 2000 U.S. Census SF3 Tables
Map produced in ArcGIS by Rob Lopez
University of Florida Department of Geography
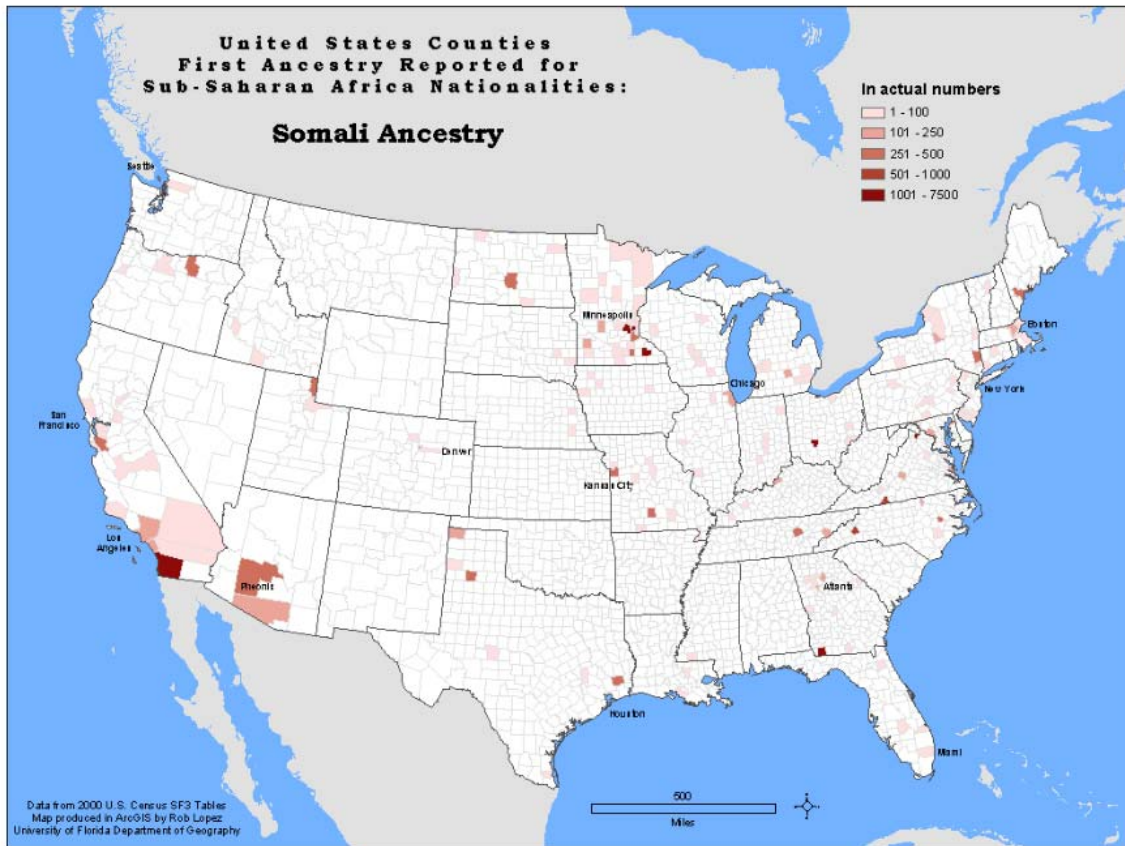
## Map 6: South Africans
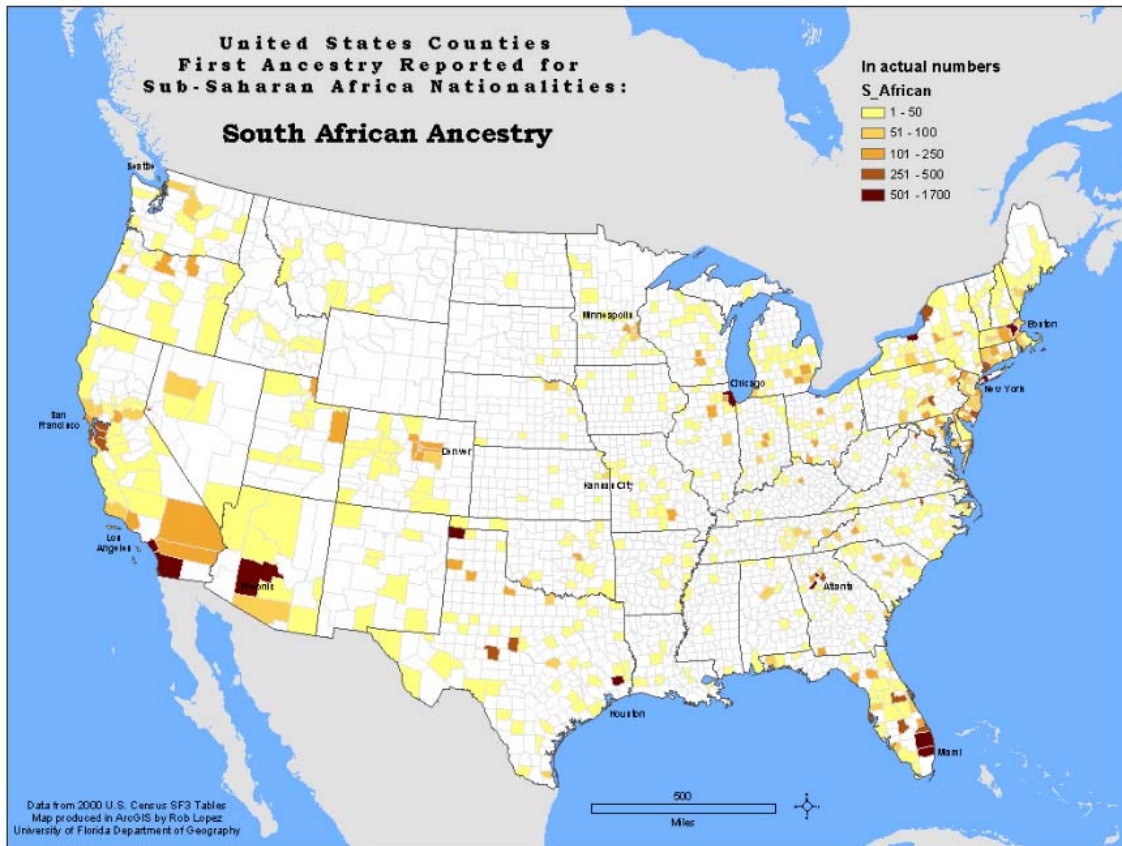


Of particular interest to the authors were the unexpected locations of many of these Sub-Saharan African immigrants (see Table 1).  In the following section, we will discuss the implications of the distributions of the five selected Sub-Saharan African immigrant groups: Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Nigerians, Somali, and South Africans (see Maps 2-6).

**Table 1: Geographic Distribution of First Ancestry Reported for Selected Sub-Saharan African Nationalities: Expected and Unexpected Concentrations**

| Nationality | Expected Concentrations (Major Metropolitan Areas/ Gateway Cities) | Unexpected Concentrations (Smaller Urban Places/ Rural Counties) |
|---|---|---|
| Ethiopian | Boston<br>New York/ New Jersey<br>Washington, DC<br>Chicago<br>Phoenix<br>San Francisco Bay Area<br>Los Angeles/ Southern California<br>San Diego | Allegany County, NY<br>Madison County, NY<br>Amherst County, VA<br>Patrick County, VA<br>Fayette County, OH<br>Decatur County, GA<br>Dallam County, TX<br>Hardin County, TX<br>Morrow County, OR |
| Ghanaian | Boston<br>New York/ New Jersey<br>Washington, DC<br>Chicago<br>Los Angeles/ Southern California | Allegany County, NY<br>Patrick County, VA<br>Dallam County, TX |
| Nigerian | Boston<br>New York/ New Jersey<br>Washington, DC<br>Miami<br>Detroit<br>Chicago<br>Phoenix<br>San Francisco Bay Area<br>Los Angeles/ Southern California | Allegany County, NY<br>Guernsey County, OH<br>Fayette County, OH<br>Crawford County, OH<br>McDowell County, NC<br>Decatur County, GA<br>Sevier County, TN<br>Cumberland County, TN<br>Shannon County, MO<br>Dallam County, TX<br>Swisher County, TX<br>Foard County, TX<br>Tom Green County, TX<br>Hardin County, TX |
| Somali | San Diego | Patrick County, VA<br>Clarke County, VA<br>Fayette County, OH<br>Decatur County, GA<br>Olmsted County, MN<br>Burleigh County, ND<br>Morrow County, OR<br>Rich County, UT |
| South African | Boston<br>New York/ New Jersey<br>Miami<br>Chicago<br>Atlanta<br>Phoenix<br>San Francisco Bay Area<br>San Diego | Jefferson County, NY<br>Wayne County, NY<br>Dallam County, TX<br>Hardin County, TX |

In observations of the Sub-Saharan African immigrant destinations (Map 1), two important distinctions can be made: economic immigrants arriving in traditional gateway cities through social network links and immigrants arriving under refugee status being resettled in non-traditional immigrant-destinations[2]. On the one hand, economic immigrants or foreign students frequently make their initial migration destination into major gateway cities in which relatives or social contacts have already forged a place. With these migration links, previous migrants provide support and knowledge to gain housing and employment, thereby determining the destination cities. On the other hand, unlike economic immigrants, refugees receive sponsorship for resettlement. Sponsors such as the Catholic Charities USA and World Relief identify various cities that can provide adequate inexpensive housing and employment opportunities that do not have rigid language and technical skill requirements. These parameters provide the basis for which relocation decisions can be made with the hope of establishing a sustainable environment of opportunities for newly arriving refugees (Lininger 2008).

Due to the divergence of these two migration channels, refugee destination cities can differ significantly from the traditional gateway metropolitan areas (Lininger, 2008), notably New York/ New Jersey, Los Angeles/ Southern California, and Chicago, which attract the largest number of immigrants (Waldinger, 1996). Furthermore, second-step migration patterns appear as clustering in areas surrounding the larger traditional gateway cities but not the smaller non-traditional destinations.

In the examination of the five Sub-Saharan African immigrant groups in this paper, Ethiopian and Nigerian immigrants are very similar in population size, geographic distribution, and types of destinations, implying similar types of immigrants - economic or refugees (see Maps 2 and 4). Both of these groups settle in many gateway metropolitan areas as well as a large number of non-traditional destinations. Furthermore, they share these destinations well: seven gateway cities (Boston, New York/ New Jersey, Washington DC, Chicago, Phoenix, San Francisco Bay Area, and Los Angeles/ Southern California) and five non-traditional destinations (Allegany County NY, Fayette County OH, Decatur County GA, Dallam County TX, and Hardin County TX). This is likely due to the fact that both Ethiopians and Nigerians have been entering the United States under varied status, as either economic immigrants/students and as refugees. Also their wide-ranging locations upon the landscape spreading out from these major cities are probably due to their relatively longer migration history into the United States and consequent second-step migration.

Examining Map 3 reveals that the Ghanaians have similar immigration destinations compared to the Ethiopians and Nigerians but in a smaller scale. They share the five gateway cities (Boston, New York/ New Jersey, Washington DC, Chicago, and Los Angeles/

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[2]     In the examination of the five Sub-Saharan African immigrant groups in this paper, we found that the most popular non-traditional immigrant-destinations (population size in 2000 Census following county name) are Bainbridge, Georgia (Decatur County; 28,618), Belmont, New York (Allegany County; 49,927), Dalhart, Texas (Dallam County; 6,222), Kountze, Texas (Hardin County; 48,073), and Washington Court House, Ohio (Fayette County; 28,433).

Southern California) and the three non-traditional destinations (Allegany County NY, Patrick County VA, and Dallam County TX) with the Ethiopians and Nigerians.

In close examination of Maps 5 and 6, we notice a divergence between the settlements of Somali and South African immigrants in the United States. On the one hand, observing the largest settlement destinations of Somali, it can be concluded that they have been arriving the United States primarily under refugee status. The only gateway city for the Somali is San Diego, but the largest clusters of Somali immigrants are in non-traditional destinations such as Rochester, Minnesota (Olmsted County), Washington Court House, Ohio (Fayette County), and Bainbridge, Georgia (Decatur County). Although there are also significant Somali populations in Phoenix, Arizona and Minneapolis, Minnesota, they have little history as being immigrant destinations other than Hispanic migrants for Phoenix. On the other hand, by examining Map 6, we conclude that most South Africans arrived in the United States as economic immigrants and not as refugees. Their largest settlements include eight gateway cities (Boston, New York/ New Jersey, Miami, Chicago, Atlanta, Phoenix, San Francisco Bay Area, and San Diego) but only in four non-destinations (Jefferson County NY, Wayne County NY, Dallam County TX, and Hardin County TX).

In sum, due to the differing circumstances and status under which immigrants arrive, different migration destinations are likely to be selected. However, once established immigrants frequently develop second step migration patterns that are often related to either economic opportunities or kinship ties. Mapping can help identify the emerging patterns of immigrant groups particularly when used in chronological sequence.

**CONCLUSION**

The application of maps to present research is an effective tool and one that geographers use as a foundation for their work (Martin, 2005). Because new cartographic techniques are being developed continually there will be increasing ways to express attributes upon a map. With these advancing tools, researchers also will have a greater ability to produce maps that will well illustrate the information that have been gathered, organized, and analyzed. As illustrated in this paper, maps can also simplify and display data for easier visualizations, faster examination, and thus allow readers to gain information and to reach conclusion in a more effective manner.

Due to both the increasing mobility of humans and the process of globalization, interactions between different culture groups are likely to increase, and this in turn will require an expanding need to understand the spatial components involved in ethnic studies. Maps will provide that important visual description, and thus their importance and value will intensify. As a case in point, in a more micro-scale, maps are also useful to display various social or economic attributes of these sub-Saharan African immigrant groups and ethnic communities. For instance, by locating the primary areas of the city in which these immigrants are employed, then by contrasting this to their residential neighborhoods, an analysis could be constructed concerning some of the logistical challenges or conveniences that they face in their new environment. In this case, maps can be used to identify the

location of African-owned businesses and numerous other attributes, which may assist these immigrants in their daily life.

Applying various migration theories, most of the unexpected geographic concentrations as shown in this paper for the five selected Sub-Saharan African immigrant groups are not parts of the usual pattern displayed by immigrants, who normally will stay in larger gateway cities (Alba et al. 1997, Allen and Turner 1996). Learning from this, our research agenda are two-fold. First, through future research we will attempt to uncover the process by which these communities developed, and the results will greatly enhance our knowledge about these migrants' networks and their mobility (Lininger 2008). Secondly, to further illuminate the spatial diffusion and growth of these populations, maps can be generated using both the 1990 and 2000 Census data. These maps will afford us the information on the growth and second-step migration patterns of these immigrant groups in the United States during the 1990's. In addition to enrich our comprehension of the spatial spread of these sub-Saharan African immigrant groups, these cartographic analyses also will assist us in the understanding of the geographic mobility of ethnic groups in general.

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# Dictatorship, Democratization and the Nuclear Freeze Movement in the Philippines

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Hanging over the Philippines during the Cold War was the likelihood that the Philippines would become "a magnet for nuclear attack" in any conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. While Nuclear Freeze social movement organizations grabbed international headlines in the 1980s with massive protest demonstrations in Europe, North America, Japan, New Zealand and elsewhere, the Nuclear-Free Philippines Coalition (NFPC) was more successful than most in achieving institutional change.

Along with other organizations, the NFPC participated in forcing the dictator President Ferdinand Marcos from power on 25 February 1986. Then, commissioners appointed by President Corazon Aquino wrote a new constitution during June-October 1986. Among the commissioners was an unexpectedly large and tactically imaginative minority committed to removing nuclear weapons from the country's land, water and airspace. As the Constitutional Commission deliberated, the NFPC and its political allies wrote, debated and voted for procedural and policy restrictions into the draft constitution. The proposed changes prioritized the removal of nuclear weapons and foreign military facilities.

On 1 February 1987, Filipino voters overwhelmingly ratified the new *Konstitusyon*. Four and a half years later, a Senate majority handily rejected a successor treaty to the 1947 Military Bases Agreement with the U.S. And at the end of 1992, the United States withdrew from Subic Bay Naval Base and several smaller military facilities in the Philippines. Awareness of the danger posed by atomic bombs to the lives and health of Filipinos was acute long before the rise of the transnational Nuclear Freeze Movement, although that movement facilitated exchanges of crucial information between activists in the Philippines and the United States. In the end, a long-term perspective combined with the ability to respond to rapidly changing domestic and international circumstances to generate the success of the NFPC and the Anti-Bases Movement in the Philippines, even though similar movements elsewhere were less effective.

# Does HIV related Stigma vary by different Institutional and Stochastic Contexts ?? Evidences from India

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## I.    Introduction

One of the reasons behind the rapid spread of HIV (Human Immuno-deficiency Virus) is that those engage in practices that may expose to the virus do not seek medical diagnosis soon enough. And the reason of doing so is the stigma of being discriminated by the society.  The stigma from HIV is such that all the blame is placed on the sufferer and as a consequence, the sufferers prefer short-lived blissful ignorance. The aim of this study therefore is to understand the stigmatization process with the view to minimize this so that those who may carry HIV will be more forthcoming for medical checkups. The understanding can also reduce the misconceptions on HIV and AIDS leading to stigmatization among people in general as well as infected ones. Hopefully then, HIV infection may be slowed.

Generally speaking, the nature and level of stigma vary with different environmental contexts. That means different stakeholders and factors (social, cultural, economic and so on) can influence the nature and intensity of stigma. In the direction, specific endeavors to combat the spread of HIV and to improve the quality of life of People Living with HIV (PLH), organizations and individuals have taken various actions to address stigma. However, these actions often have not been supported by a broad bio-social understanding of stigma and AIDS-related discrimination (UNAIDS 2004). The Joint United Nations Program on

HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) often refers to the need to fight stigma for combating HIV/AIDS, in spite of the fact that the definition of stigma continues to be unclear.

Theoretical Framework

Stigma has been defined by different schools of thought considering diverse aspects of life within societal frameworks. Goffman (1963) defined stigma as the identification that a social group creates of a person (or group of people) based on some physical, behavioral, or social trait perceived as being divergent from group norms. This socially constructed standing lays the groundwork for subsequent disqualification of membership from a group in which that person was originally included. He underscored the importance of analyzing stigma in terms of relationships rather than individual traits or attributes. The nature of the stigma has been categorized differently by different studies across time. Gerhard Falk (2001) a renowned sociologist describes stigma in terms of two categories, such as "existential stigma" and "achieved stigma." Existential stigma is defined "as stigma deriving from a condition which the target of the stigma either did not cause or over which he has little control." The achieved stigma is defined as "stigma that is earned because of conduct and/or because they contributed heavily to attaining the stigma in question." Stigma can take two forms: perceived or enacted (Brown *et al.,* 2003). Perceived (or felt) stigma occurs when there is a real or imagined fear of societal attitudes regarding a particular condition and a concern that this could result in acts of discrimination directed to individuals with that condition. Enacted (or actual) stigma, in turn, refers to experiences of discrimination directed to individuals because of specific attributes or conditions that characterize them. Herek and Capitanio (1998) and Herek (1986, 2002) use the term "instrumental stigma" to describe intended discrimination based on an inflated fear of contracting HIV, as well as intended discrimination based on resource concerns due to judgments about the likely social

contribution of a person living with HIV/AIDS. This might include not wanting to shake hands with such a person, for example, or refusing to care for or support financially a family member living with HIV/AIDS. Herek and Capitanio use the term "symbolic stigma" to describe the kinds of moral judgments that may cause a third kind of discrimination, such as refusing to provide the same treatment for intravenous drug users and "innocent victims" of HIV/AIDS because the former are judged to be more blameworthy for contracting the disease, or not allowing PLHA to serve on a school board because they are judged as immoral.

Key anthropological and sociological contributions (Parker & Aggleton, 2003, Alonzo and Reynolds, 1995) to the understanding of AIDS have introduced new components to Goffman's (1963) definition of stigma and offer the promise of novel conceptual frameworks. Some have attempted to understand stigma through association of certain diseases with racist ideology such as cancer, TB, STD etc. in the US or cholera in Venezuela (Wailoo, 2001; Brandt, 1985).

Most theoretical models have defined stigma as occurring psychologically and limit its negative effects to self-process within individuals (Lawrence and Arthur, 2004). Majority of the psychological research focus on individualistic perceptions and attitudes, rather than broader social context in which such perceptions are grounded. Again, these studies often discuss the implications of these beliefs in terms of misunderstandings, misinformation, and negative attitudes as far as efforts to change the perceptions of the stigmatizer are concerned. Such approaches seek to improve HIV/AIDS education and to enhance sensitivity and empathy training or tolerance through personal contact with people living with HIV. These laudable efforts however, have placed little emphasis on the larger economic and political processes in which stigma is grounded (Castro and Farmer, 2003). More recently, some anthropologists (Parker & Aggleton, 2003; Farmer, 2002) have challenged approaches that

emphasize cognitivist explanations of stigma rather than the structural violence that generates the social inequalities in which stigma is invariably rooted.

In conceptualization by Link and Phelan (2001), stigma exists when the following interrelated components converge. In the first component, people distinguish and label human differences. In the second, dominant cultural beliefs link labeled persons to undesirable characteristics to negative stereotypes. In the third, labeled persons are placed in discrete categories so as to accomplish some degree of separation of "us" from "them." In the fourth, labeled persons experience status loss and discrimination that lead to unequal outcomes. Finally, stigmatization is entirely contingent on access to social, economic, and political power that allows the identification of different-ness, the construction of stereotypes, the separation of labeled persons into distinct categories, and the full execution of disapproval, rejection, exclusion, and discrimination. Goffman (1963) notes that stigma is not merely an attribute, but represent a language of relationships. Drawing from Goffman, Alonzo and Reynolds (1995) argue that the stigmatized are a pejorative category of people who are devalued, shunned or otherwise lessened in their life chances and in access to the humanizing benefit of free and unfettered social intercourse.

There are some theories which describe the processes involved in self-stigmatization. Self-stigmatization happens when people internalize stigmatizing views of themselves. People can blame and discredit themselves for having HIV. This can result in depression, withdrawal and loss of self-esteem (Santana & Dancy 2000). Chapman (1998) and other memory work projects (Morgan 2004) have looked at how internalization of HIV/AIDS stigma and the experience of the illness changes the perception of the body over the course of an illness. Kübler-Ross's (1969) Grief Cycle model describes five discrete stages by which people deal with grief and tragedy, especially when diagnosed with a terminal illness. The stages are denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance. Kübler-Ross originally applied these stages to any form of

catastrophic personal loss (job, income, freedom), including the death of a loved one, divorce, drug addiction, or infertility. She claims these steps do not necessarily come in order noted above, nor are all steps experienced by all patients, however, a person will always experience at least two of them.

Stigma can also be internalized, leading to self-doubt, lower self-esteem, depression, immuno-suppression and even premature death (Berger *et al*., 2001; Fife & Wright, 2000; Frable *et al*., 1997; Santana & Dancy, 2000). The nature and depth of perceived stigma, and views of external agencies (e.g. the media) affecting PLH (People living with HIV) perceptions, is thus an essential aspect of research. How stigmatization affects PLH depends on their perceptions of stigma, the stage of the disease and the resources available to them as well as the social context in which a stigmatizing interaction occurs.

The biology of a disease is an important factor that influences the depth and nature of the stigma, but the interpretation of the phenomena is often culturally mediated. Hence change in knowledge about biological processes is of great interest. Crandall *et al*. (1997) suggest that knowledge about the severity, contagiousness and tractability of a disease are significant determinants of instrumental stigma; knowledge about a disease does not necessarily filter directly from medical experts to the lay public, especially if there is a cultural mismatch or a low trust relationship. Alonzo and Reynolds (1995) suggest that in different phases of HIV/AIDS, PLHA (People living with HIV and AIDS) experience stigma differently. They describe the changing experience of stigmatization in different phases of HIV/AIDS as a "stigma trajectory". The HIV/AIDS stigma trajectory is described by four phases: (1) at risk: pre-stigma and the worried well; (2) diagnosis: confronting an altered identity; (3) latent: living between illness and health; and (4) manifest: passage to social and physical death. These studies conceptualize how individuals with HIV/AIDS experience stigma and demonstrate how these experiences are affected by changes in the biophysical

dimensions of HIV/AIDS. In the line of individual level of stigmatization Alonzo and Reynolds (1995) observe that illnesses that are stigmatizing frequently go through the process of first being considered sinful, next willfully deviant, followed by illness and finally if lobbying efforts are successful, a normal, accepted variation. Stigmatizing illness; however, does not achieve acceptance at individual level, at best only tolerance. Freidson (1970) on the other hand maintains that certain diseases are viewed as illegitimate and stigmatizing. From a social constructionist perspective, if one can socially and politically lobby for or against an illness in terms of whether it is sinful, deviant or an illness, than the degree of intrinsic meaning attached to it must have little genuine value, aside from the disease interfering with the value of life.

Some studies have shown how the same disease is stigmatized differently in varying time and space (places and communities). Works by Goffman (1963), Katz (1979) and Alonzo and Reynolds (1995:305) draws upon a number of factors that affect the intensity and nature of disease stigmatization. The nature of specific cultural associations of the disease with particular marginalized groups (for example, gay men) or with behaviors already labeled as deviant can lead to stigmatization, because they transgress moral codes (e.g. female promiscuity, unfaithfulness in marriage). The social acceptability of expressing stigmatizing beliefs towards a specific group can be determined by cultural or community norms as well as mass media, politicians and other social leaders. Sometimes, there are some cultural associations linked with other historically stigmatized diseases (Wailoo, 2001; Brandt, 1985). At individual level, culturally mediated assessments of the role and responsibility of the individual in contracting the disease may be the root cause of self-stigmatization. Mantler *et al.*, (2003) suggested that controllability, responsibility and blame may have different psychological constructs, forming an attributional hierarchy in which blame is the final step.

In situational context, stigmatization (both actual and perceived) varies according to the social context of and power differentials in an interaction (Malcolm *et al.,* 1998:365; Worthington & Myers, 2003; Jennings *et al.,* 2002), which can include the number and status of stigmatized people present. In socio-economic context like certain resource-poor contexts where there is little state support, some beliefs about PLHA will have greater impact (e.g. they will be draining on resources) and create more of a focus for stigmatizing ideology (Patient & Orr 2003).

In terms of disease biology, culturally mediated assessments of the biological nature of the disease in each of its phases, and interpretations thereof (visibility, severity, speed of progress, aesthetic qualities, contagiousness) is responsible for the magnitude and nature of stigma. Same as the culturally mediated assessments of the nature of a specific epidemic (origin identified in certain groups, its differential prevalence in certain groups, its severity) and medical knowledge such as the degree of uncertainty, level of knowledge and efficacy of treatments associated with the disease in lay and medical contexts (Brashers *et al.* 1998) determine the level of stigma.

Rationale of the study

Discussions across studies right from Goffman (1963), Katz (1979) to Reynolds (1995), have revealed the effects, manifestations or types of stigma, but the actual process or mechanism behind the development of the stigmatization in specific situations and different populations (stakeholders) is almost a mystery. Most studies have considered stigma as a single composite product, rather than uncovering different facets of stigma in varing contexts. Parker and Aggleton (2003) observe that "…as though stigma were a static attitude rather than a constantly changing (and often resisted) social process has seriously limited the ways in which stigmatization and discrimination have been approached in relation to HIV and

AIDS." Clear knowledge on differential effect of specific factors on stigmatization in varied circumstances would be helpful to understand the process. For example, "time lapse" as a factor could have both reducing as well as amplifying effect on the level of stigma. If a person (PLH) in due course of time gains proper knowledge about the epidemiology as well as contiguousness of HIV and AIDS, or gets exposure to subsequent rehabilitation programs, the magnitude of stigma can be reduced. Alternatively, with the passage of time, the progress of situation towards advanced stages of the AIDS related illness leading to death can heighten the stigma.

Many research works as discussed earlier (Alonzo and Reynolds, 1995; Freidson, 1970) has shown that the stigma attached with HIV/AIDS occur either at individual or social level which may or may not be in relation to the society at large. Some have mixed the individual level stigma with that at non-individual levels such as societal or family level stigma. This does not provide a clear picture, because stigma related to the self (individual) may have reasons and processes different altogether from that related to the family or society (social process). Even if the sociologist, Gerhard Falk (2001) has recognized the role of stigmatizer to be important in understanding the stigma, little emphasis is  noticed across any other studies. Hence the role of stigmatized person itself, that is the individual / internal role vis-à-vis role of external or social factors in influence the stigma need to be explored. Bond et al. and Lie & Biswalo (in Visser et al. 2007) observes that people are sometimes more fearful of the social consequences of AIDS than of the disease itself. This kind of observations throw an impression that probably stigma as a situation takes different shape with  varying aspects of life such as social, biophysical and so on. However, not many studies have made disaggregated analysis to explain this phenomenon in terms of the nature and intensity of stigma at different contexts. Stigma as a process adds negativity to the existing value of life; the intensity of which vary from person to person with changing aspects of life, a detailed

study of this process will be useful for intervention purpose. This in turn can help policy-makers and health communicators design programs for successfully combating with HIV and AIDS. Against these backdrops the paper looks at understanding the process of stigmatization among People living with HIV (PLH) across major socio-economic and epidemiological categories in India. The objective the study is to develop an understanding of the process in exploring causes (underlying factors) and possible variations in the nature and level of stigma. A process definition can help us to emphasize that stigma is produced not by some amorphous social control "factory" (interpersonal or inter-group) but by also individuals (intrapersonal) who are in the process of constructing and reconstructing "safe" social identities. In addition this, the study aims to identify the stakeholders involved in stigmatization process and their possible roles.

## II. Conceptual Framework of this study

The process of stigmatization among infected persons occurs at multiple level and the way stigma is perceived vary by contexts. A number of factors decide the nature and intensity of stigma, which again are influenced by background characteristic of the stigmatized and other stakeholders .

The diagrammatic representation shown in Figure 1 depicts different types of factors influencing the stigma. The factors responsible for shaping stigma are not only affected by the background of the individual (self stigmatization) but also by that of people and institution (stakeholders) around her/him. The role of stakeholders in creating or influencing stigma could be active or passive, explicit or implicit (catalyst) and proximate or distal (indirect).

Figure 1 about here

## III. Hypotheses

Based on the literature review above, the following hypotheses are proposed.

H1: The more the knowledge about the bio-physical aspects of HIV and AIDS, the lesser the stigmatization inflicted

H2: The level of stigmatization depends on whether the context is physiological economic or social.

## IV. Materials and Methods

This study follows a mix of diagnostic and experimental research design. Issues and respondents of the study being sensitive, sophisticated qualitative tools such as Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and Narratives were employed to elicit information from HIV positive people. The respondents comprised of individuals in Ahmedabad, a western city of India, recruited from AIDS service organizations and Associations of HIV positive people. Necessary information were collected from people across major socio-economic (age group, sex, education status, standard of living, religion), and epidemiological (period of diagnosis, ART (Anti-Retroviral Therapy) status) categories (Table 1). Data collection was conducted through six different phases of face-to-face discussions during August 2008 – January 2009.

*Table 1 about here*

The data collection process strictly followed ethical principles while contacting HIV positive persons and conducting Focus Group Discussions. While the respondents were not mandated to sign a consent form, they were clearly explained that the information they provide will not be divulged to anyone, and it will be used for research purpose only and that they were free not to respond to all or any of the questions put to them. Their decision would be respected and it will in no way harm them or held against them at any point. The study examined people from three categories such as not-yet-identified, just-identified and already-living-with HIV to understand their stigma perceptions before, during and after being HIV

positive. The phase 'before' is again analyzed by 3 possible sub-phases such as non-exposure to HIV incidents, exposure to HIV incidents and exposure to interventions.

## V. Analysis and Discussion

Phases of Stigmatization:

To understand possible differential effect of 'time lapse' on the intensity of HIV/AIDS related stigma, the current study makes a disaggregate analysis by three phases of time:

    a.  "before" the detection of HIV status

    b.  "during" the immediate detection of HIV

    c.  "after" life

The first stage (denoted as Stage A in figure 2) begins with complete ignorance about HIV or AIDS. With the passage of time and acquaintance to situations (or cases) related to HIV/ AIDS in the form of incidents, discussions or media communication, a person may develop an impression, which in turn may or may not take the shape of stigma. Length of this phase may vary from a day to months or few years before the actual detection of HIV with a person itself.

The time, around which the actual information (test or any relied information) comes about the HIV status, the person (PLH) starts building up stigma immediately as an impulse which may continue for few more days, often a relatively shorter period. The stigmatization process continues further till the time when perceptions or experience of discrimination take more or less a definitive form. This phase is termed in this study as "during" phase (denoted as Stage B in Figure 2) which may vary from an hour to a couple of days or a week. This phase is vital since many such HIV positive people take as stringent action as suicide

immediately (Times of India, Ahmedabad version, 23rd October 2008 page 10) or within few months (Times of India, Ahmedabad version, 19th November Page 3). This shows the significance of research on stigma for working out proper interventions.

The stage studied in this paper as "after" phase starts with the process of coping with impulsive stigma and changes due to exposure to service system such as health care, counseling and so on. This phase may continue from one to few more years persisting as stigma in some form and magnitude till the PLH gets anchored with any service agency providing humanizing benefits. With this arrangement, stigmatization may come down on the aspects in which the person perceives some normalization of life. This stage may continue from 1-2 years to as long as 8-10 years till the period closer to death (denoted as Stage C and D in Figure 2).

Perceived (internalized) and Actual (Enacted) Stigma:

The processes involved with both perceived and actual stigma at individual level and beyond (family/ society) are presented separately so as to find possible differentials. Since stigma in different aspects of life could be vary by nature and magnitude, the responses are analyzed for different phases of time separately again disaggregating them by three broad aspects such as physiological, social and economic life. The **Table 2 and 3** present the stigma perceptions of the respondents (PLH). The words in italics indicate the frequent responses.

*Table 2 about here*

The **Table 2** presents the nature of stigma of PLH related to own self (in relation to self). The physiological aspects in which PLH stigmatize related to own self (self-stigmatization) depend mainly on the epidemiological status of their illness (HIV) and their bodily experiences. It is observed from the analysis that with the passage of time, the stigma has changed by nature as well as intensity. Before the detection of own HIV status, a majority

did not attach any defined negativity to life than mere impairment due to any general illness, which at the time of detection all of sudden goes southward close to zero (value of life) level. This came as an impulse in the form of enacted stigma such as "immediate end of life as HIV is AIDS and AIDS means death". This is plausible reflection of lower level of people's knowledge on epidemiology of HIV/AIDS. The stigma level also get aggravated by stereotype behaviour of health care workers (doctors, lab technician) such as non provision of clear information or test results, sometimes denial of services and immediate referral to big hospitals, high estimate of time and cost for treatment and so on. This is also attributed to a situation that people might not differentiate between HIV and AIDS and take only the later as a stage preceding to death. May be to some extent, some people at different domain hold the responsibility who present (written or verbal) the words HIV and AIDS together just putting a slash (/) between the two and this leads people to think HIV and AIDS as a single situation rather than putting any interest or efforts to understand the actual long time-difference between the two. During the detection of their HIV status, PERSONS develop some more stigma which are physiological in nature. They varied from a well defined form like abomination (disfigured skin) to equivocal concepts like "mind gets blocked as could did not think further" or "did not react explicitly as knew the possible route".

The negative valuing of life or stigmatization reduces steeply after a considerable departure of time. With passage of time, PLH get exposure to knowledge environment from health system or mass media or service agencies, and similar circumstances such as PLH and HIV cases. This brings down the level of stigma from death to life, even if fear of untimely death and opportunistic infections continue to exist (shown in figure 2). Although people feel the importance of not stigmatizing about HIV/AIDS, at the same time emphasize the need of responsible sexual behaviour, better diet and lifestyle for prolonged normal life. Further, they

consider their situation as an accepted variation as media advocates and some people develop apathy to suffering due to long time exposure to infection (acceptance/ tolerance).

In terms of social aspects of life, the stigma at individual level develops due to interaction with society in terms of the person's cultural, religious or political life. The stigma on social aspects becomes more defined after the detection of HIV compared to before or during phases. This is because the social problems crystallize into more visible or perceivable forms sometimes after the person's infection status is known to and reviewed by the society. The stigmatization in the form of "character blemish" or "discrimination from family/ society" is reported to exist at all the three phases of time. Before detection, the stigmatization on social aspects is reported as consideration of having bad character, but after infection, this perception changes to its worst as fear of separation from family/ close friends. Even PLH stigmatize of migrating outside the current locality to keep away from known people. During the detection phase, PLH stigmatize in terms of devaluing of social life or fearing partial or increased discrimination within family or society members in the form of blame, stereotype or isolation, where as some time after the detection, things look more pronounced. The stigma is perceived by majority of persons in the form of spousal disharmony, care and support with some blame and shame, link with unappreciated high risk group and so on. People from lower socioeconomic strata manifest the enacted stigma to a level that PLH keep mum on own problems or strictly tell service providers not to come home. Less often than not PLH perceive speaking out HIV in public or nondisclosure to unrelated people (HIV negative and people not working with HIV positive people) may bring down stigma level. Sometimes after detection of HIV, the stigma becomes defined in the form of social isolation or fear of labeling as black ship in family / society or link with undesirable behaviour or high risk group even if innocent.

Stigma in economic aspects represents the negative attitude related to damage of occupation and income or degradation in living standard of own as well as of family members. The changes in this aspect also vary by phases of time. Before the detection of HIV status, PLH did not have much idea about economic repercussion of HIV/AIDS, and merely think of some more expense towards treatment like any other illness. However, during the detection the economic insecurity runs so much acute that PLH stigmatize to the level of being thrown out from job by the employer or loss of face and discrimination leading to poor business (earning) both at individual as well as family level. In course of time that is in "after" phase, the enacted stigmatization in economic aspects are subjected to some reduction in intensity due to supports provided by service agencies in the form of free treatment.

*Table 3 about here*

The **Table 3** presents the process of stigmatization which the PLH experience regarding their family or society (in relation to others). The physiological aspects in which PLH stigmatize about family members or society looks relatively different than that happened in case of own self. Before the detection of own HIV status, PLH stigmatize about some kind of infection to family/ society members probably due to ambiguous perception about contagious nature of HIV. This situation around the time of detection (during phase) of HIV is different, that is, the PLH feel insecure about the life of sexual partner and the offspring fearing an obvious infection. However, in course of time, knowledge on technology aided avoidance of infection to child brings down the intensity of stigma of the PLH. In terms of social aspects, the PLH increasingly perceived stigma in the form of difficulty in social networking to family members to the extent of break of marriage or marital engagement, isolation and discrimination towards public access such as denial by shopkeepers, neighbors, othering attitudes and so on. The stigma level becomes more pronounced after passage of time following the detection of HIV infection. The PLH stigmatize that their family members

or society people are subjected to stereotype or ambiguous non-verbal cues or could disclose status only during major life decisions to avoid problem in future with a hope people will understand. The PLH also stigmatize about possible social distance to their children by service providers and peers (school, playground). Often the people with HIV stigmatize as bringing shame to family or community (tribal stigma), and to be responsible for reduced/ lost social bargaining power of family members who need strong lobbying efforts for rights.

For family and society, PLH stigmatize the economic disaster to the extent of seeing family members on road. Unlike physiological aspects, the departure of time does not significantly reduce the stigma in economic aspects of the PLH. The PLH continue to stigmatize perceiving higher discrimination in skilled category to the extent of job loss and reduced chance of new recruitment. The stigma on economic aspects is perceived as family continuing to face economic pressure due to possible reduction in family income attributed to HIV related illness and increased cost (money, time and opportunity cost) of care.

Factors influencing the Level and Nature of Stigma

As discussed earlier, there is a gamut of factors that play significant role in developing stigma or altering its intensity or simply acting as a catalyst in the process of stigmatization without being explicit. As observed by a number of studies across populations, the factors could be individual, social or a mix of both. In depth analysis of narratives from field study revealed a range of such important factors responsible for stigma in relation to person itself (as internalized stigma observed by Berger *et al*. 2001) and to society at large. However, the mechanism involved with effect of these factors on the contents and magnitude of stigma is so complex, that drawing a thin line between purely individual and social level factors is absolutely tricky.

At individual level, the magnitude of education and awareness of PLH about the HIV and AIDS emerged as a significant determinant of intensity and nature of stigma at all three phases of time. Correct information particularly on the biophysical nature of HIV as well as AIDS can help people reducing the stigma. Another significant factor is the prior history of marginalization- social, economic or physiological has a strong bearing on stigmatization. People coming from lower social (education) and economic section (standard of living) or with poor physical health (less immunity, weak, disable) are more vulnerable to stigmatization. The higher level of self-esteem often linked with higher socio-economic background are found to have a positive impact on the intensity of stigma. Among social factors, the availability of social support has an inversely proportional relationship with the level of stigma.

Among behavioural factor, the ambiguous nonverbal cues like minimal eye contact by health care provides and family members is reported to increase the enacted stigma. Some such behaviour such as, private doctors spelling HIV as AIDS and end of life, giving estimate of very high expense for treatment, even doctors advising to start ART, some health workers directly refereeing to other hospital units without revealing the blood test result have contributed to elevated level of enacted stigma. Some other important factors that influence the level of stigma are, the access to and quality of treatment, long time exposure to HIV, migration out of current locality, life after divorce, unskilled/ unorganized type of occupation, exposure to service agencies or associations of HIV positive people, exposure to public programs and trainings.

Stakeholders influencing Stigma

As stigma in many cases are the result of negativity towards life processes in relation to social process, a number of social beings, both human as well as institution can play the

role of stigmatiser or stakeholders. Analysis of narratives from PLH revealed a number of such important stakeholders who contributed to stigma at different situations. Health care providers like doctors, laboratory technicians and counselors as human stakeholders and hospitals, service agencies, media etc. as institutional stakeholders can produce varied intensity of stigma. Some private hospitals or doctors often keep people uninformed about the details of HIV status of the person, and equate HIV with AIDS thereby elevate the stigma level of PLH. They also sometimes charge quite high expenses towards treatment which also lead to increased stigma in terms of economic aspects both for individual as well as for family. The local civil hospital with its trained counselors through proper information is reported to bring down the stigma with PLH regarding effect of HIV on life. They also refer PLH to service agencies through which stigmatization reduce with proper knowledge, support, lobbying environment. They also help PLH combating with stigma in making life normal at economic and social aspects to possible level. Some PLH however developed stigma from some government doctors who do not give certificate for rest aggravating problems of PLH who could not disclose their HIV status to the employer in case of physiological exigencies. Workplace has played a major role as an institutional stakeholder influencing stigma level. The job loss or discriminatory approach at workplace has increased enacted stigma level among many PLH, for which necessary policy has been suggested by PLH and many other right based forums. As observed in narratives, sometimes spiritual leaders have also played significant role in making way to combat stigma at PLH level by convincing the family members about the non-contagiousness of HIV. Police and law makers are also reported to be other important stakeholders in reducing stigma level if positive measures are taken to safeguard PLH in the society against discrimination.


Stigma Curve Surrounding HIV and AIDS

A comparative analysis of stigmatization processes at different phases of time (as defined earlier in this paper) and on different aspects of life, both perceived and actual about own self as well as family/ society, reveals a complex but interesting phenomenon. A simple observation on the number of different stigma perceptions reported by different PLH gives an impression that people develop more stigma related to their physiological aspects followed by economic and social aspects. As shown in **Figure 2**, within each aspect in different phases of time, that is before (Stage A), during (Stage B) and after (Stages C, D and S) the detection, the stigmatization process in terms of all three aspects present different pictures. The magnitude of stigma in physiological as well as economic aspects tends to peak during the immediate detection of HIV (Stage B), which comes down slowly (Stage C) with the exposure to knowledge on health and economic support systems. Then the stigma dips further (Stage D) when the PLH actually gets anchored with some definite programs from service agencies for humanizing benefits.

In case of social aspects, the stigma process follows the Stage A and Stage B as others. The stigma in terms of social aspects become more pronounced only some time after the actual detection phase of HIV, as social realities come one by one to the life of PLH. Hence the reduction (Stage S) is found to be slower than other aspects. The final shape stigma curve acquires look like a 'fork' or 'bi-arched'.

End result:

So the final result of all analyses consolidate into the explanation of two very important variables, they are,

     a. individual resilience or adaptability

     b. the amount of support which may vary by individual stigmatized of differ

The former tend to vary by individual stigmatized, so do the institutional support depending on the background characteristics. These two variables are responsible for the variation in shape of curves at different stages and this is also true for different contexts may it be social, economic or physiological with regard to life with HIV.

**Stages→**  Pre-diagnosis  Diagnosis  Just diagnosed  Post diagnosis

Stage B

Stage S

Level of stigma

Stage A

Stage C

Stage D
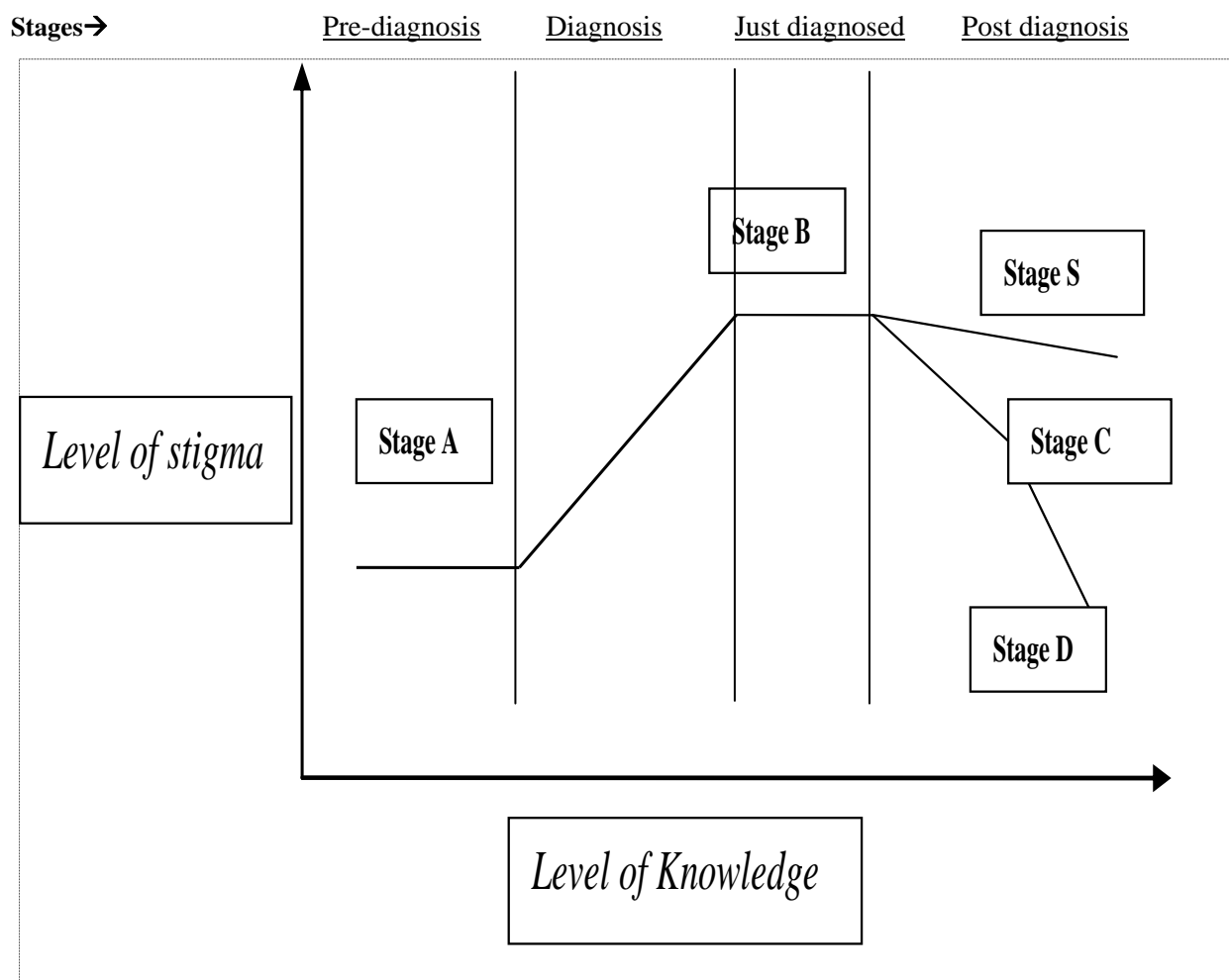
Level of Knowledge

(*Figure 2*- *Inverted J- shape curve shows change of Levels of Stigma by Knowledge)*

## VI. Major findings and Conclusion

In the line of understanding the theoretical framework of stigma added with its applicability for policy makers, current study is a modest attempt to unearth possible facets of stigma. Evidences from live experience of PLHA juxtaposed on earlier theoretical understandings from other country situations could bring out some important insights.

PLHAs are largely unaware that their attitude and actions are stigmatizing. They spoke of the importance of not stigmatizing about HIV/AIDS but at the same time talked on the need of "being responsible", "behave correctly, "discuss when necessary", "happened to

self and others should not get" etc. Although, the words look positive, but they emerge out of some negative feeling about the situation by the stigmatized itself in the form of self-stigmatization. There are no words for expressing stigma in some languages as opposed to discrimination; language is central to how stigma is expressed, through words used by individuals, the media and in educational materials as also observed by a study of McKee *teal* 2004. For instance, people working with PLHA are often referred to as *AIDS wale log* (persons affected with AIDS), *jindegii chota hey* (going to die very soon- in days). Sometimes, stigma is expressed by avoidance added with non-verbal expression.

The interaction between knowledge and fear manifest in unexpected ways that allow stigma and discrimination to persist side-by-side. People maintain both correct and incorrect knowledge; for example, even when people know how HIV is transmitted, they still fear casual contact. Irrespective of understanding the difference between HIV and AIDS, People equate HIV-positive test results with imminence death and they may shun HIV- positive people for this reason. Some of the close correlates of HIV-related stigma are Sex, morality, shame and blame existing within the PLHA and society around. HIV is usually associated with identified high-risk groups: sex workers, MSM, IDU and bar ladies etc. These groups have often been seen to have brought shame to their family and communities. General people infected with HIV but not falling to high-risk groups get stigmatized to be identified by society as members of high-risk category and through which might have contracted HIV.

In ideal condition, individuals living with HIV should feel able to disclose their status, but current attitudes of probably being discriminated (meta-image) by society towards HIV/AIDS make it difficult to do so. Rather people often try to infer HIV status through changes in behaviour, symptoms and weight loss. Extensive care and support for HIV positive people coexist with stigma and discrimination. Love and care coexist with blaming, separating, stereotyping, or believing PLH are less worthy or worthless.

Some of the distinct factors such as distal migration, longer period after divorce, apathy due to longer period of exposure to HIV have a reducing effect on the degree of stigma. The study overall infers that that the nature and level of stigma are largely affected both by personal and geo-cultural (social) background of persons affected by HIV. Individual level knowledge and attitude towards life, and familial or societal interpretation on worthiness of life after infection emerged as major determinants of stigma. The stigma curve developed in this study shows that the change in stigma process varies by different aspects of life. The results suggest that stigma may be reduced through appropriate intervention.

As this is very clear for critical analyses of situations across people at different stages of HIV infection that it is the individual level adaptability and institutional level support which can heighten or reduce the HIV related stigma, hence the current study provides a strong theoretical base in new understanding of the process. Unlike earlier studies (Goffman, Alonzo & Reynolds, Falk and so on), results from the current disaggregate study contribute some innovative approaches to HIV/AIDS communication theory in not only giving a broad picture on the stigma dynamics but also the variation in the stigma level by different realistic contexts such as social (include cultural and political), economic and physiological. In turn this brings about strong and extensive implications to specific stakeholders working towards combating against social, economic and physiological stigma both at Indian and International level. Particularly the current study reflect upon the communication dimensions of the fight against HIV/AIDS in the sense that stigma reduction will lead to improved life condition of PLH as well as people hidden with HIV will volunteer for testing & treatment. This could be a critical approach to HIV/AIDS communication, exploring multi-dimensional nature of the epidemic.

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**Appendix**

**Figure 1:** An Operational Framework of Stigmatization in HIV/AIDS

*Background Factors*     *Intermediate Factors*     *Level of Action*     *Outcome*
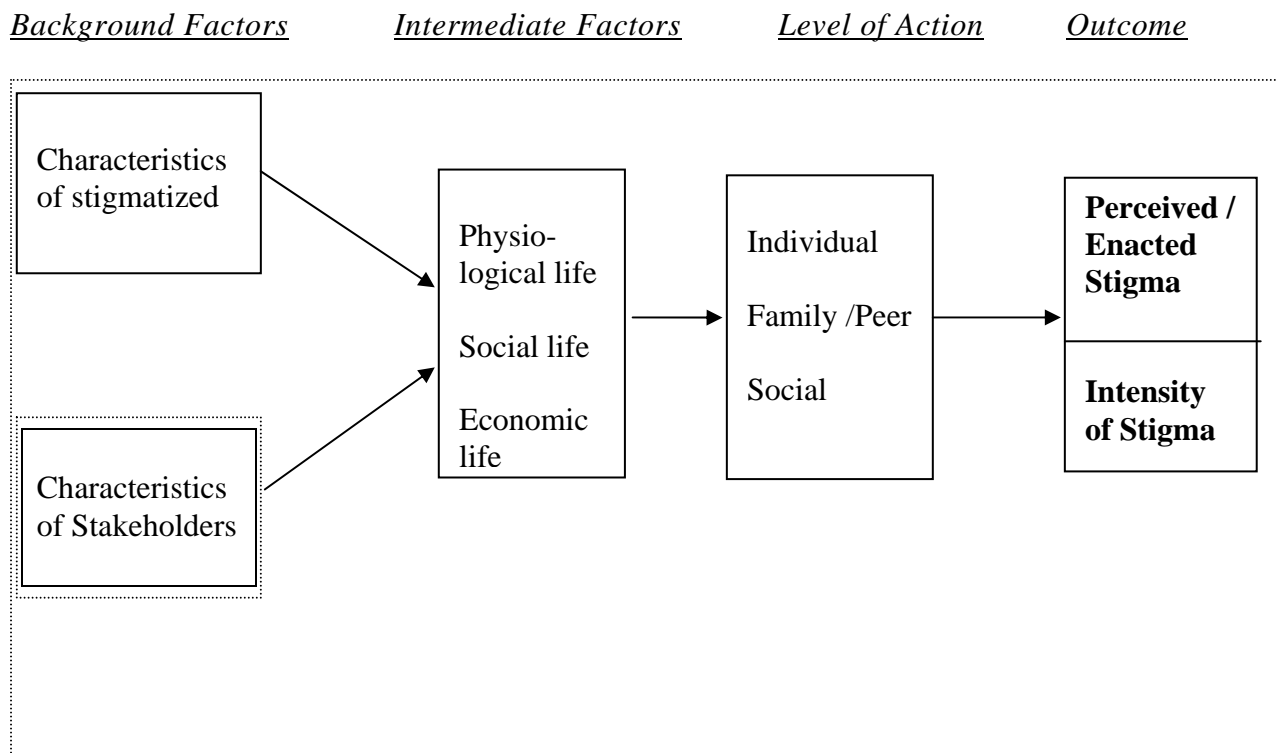
**Table 1:** *General background of the Study Respondents*

| Background | Categories |
|---|---|
| Age groups | Up to 25 years |
| | 26 years and above |
| Sex | Male |
| | Female |
| Habitation- urban area/ slum etc. | Slums/ rural |
| | Urban |
| Religion | Muslim |
| | Hindu |
| Broad education categories | Graduates |
| | Undergraduate/ illiterate |
| General Standard of Living | Medium |
| | Low |
| Period after diagnosis of HIV– years completed | 1yr. |
| | 2-4 |
| | 5+ |
| Period of exposure to service organizations or associations | 2 yrs. |
| | 3+ |
| Special Category- Children, Care-taker, Migrant | Care taker of +ve children |
| | Migrant |

**Table 2:** The Nature of Stigma developed by respondents related to own-self

| Phases of time | Nature of Stigma related to Own self | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Physiological Aspects | Social Aspects | Economic Aspects |
| **Before** | • *A general health problem like many others*<br>• *AIDS is danger to life but no idea on HIV*<br>• May lead to major illness<br>• Some probability of getting infected, though magnitude and route is unknown | • *Bad character*<br>• Acquaintance with unaccepted people or situations<br>• Discrimination by social networks but the exact nature unknown | • Unclear<br>• *May be some more expense towards treatment*<br>• Some vague idea on higher expenses on treatment |
| **During** | • *Immediate end of life since HIV=AIDS = death*<br>• Stereotype by health care workers (doctors, lab technician) in the form of<br>  1. no information on result<br>  2. denying service and referring to big hospitals<br>  3. high estimate of time and cost for treatment<br>• Continuous degradation of life processes and sufferings before untimely death<br>• Undesirable/ painful death<br>• Abomination (disfigured skin)<br>• Mind gets blocked could did not think further<br>• Uncertain and negative life course<br>• Did not react (much explicitly) as knew the route<br>• Acceptance | • *Character blemish (Labeling)*<br>• *Devaluing (reduced worthiness) of life*<br>• Partial Discrimination/ separation within family<br>• Stereotype<br>• Social distance/ isolation<br>• Blaming<br>• Feeling Sinful<br>• Willfully deviant<br>• Migration to keep away from known people | • *Employers may throw out considering him/her useless (less productive) for the organization*<br>• Employer and colleagues may discriminate<br>• May loss work efficiency<br>• Loss of face and discrimination may lead to poor business (earning) |
| **After** | • Sharing problems with PLH may reduce stigma on painful life to some extent<br>• Reduced aspiration to live due to probable anxiety from people around<br>• *HIV is not AIDS and death, so some life before death even if untimely*<br>• *Opportunistic infections with progress to AIDS*<br>• Responsible sexual behaviour, better diet and lifestyle<br>• *Feel Importance of not stigmatizing about HIV/AIDS*<br>• Apathy to suffering due to long time exposure to HIV (acceptance/ tolerance)<br>• Indifferent about life course (acceptance) as feeling not responsible for infection<br>• An accepted variation as media advocates | • *Social isolation*<br>• Labeled as black ship inside family / society<br>• *Linked to undesirable behaviour or high risk group even if innocent*<br>• Stereotype / ambiguous non-verbal cues<br>• Spousal disharmony<br>• *Care and support with some blame and shame*<br>• *No physical ostracization but symbolic separation*<br>• Mum on social problems<br>• Service providers strictly told not to come home<br>• No disclosure to unrelated people (HIV negative and people not working with HIV positive people)<br>• Divorce and Out migration reduced stigma as less responsibility and isolation | • Less discrimination for unskilled category<br>• Higher discrimination in skilled category to the extent of job loss<br>• *No/ reduced chance of new recruitment*<br>• *May be removed in soon on ground of HIV related illness*<br>• Lower contribution to family income<br>• Discriminated in job appraisal<br>• *Less economic stigma as service agencies provide free care and treatment*<br>• Less work efficiency |

**Table 3**

*The Nature of **Stigma** Developed by respondents **related to Family/ Society***

| Phases of time | Nature of Stigma related to Family/ Society | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Physiological Aspects | Social Aspects | Economic Aspects |
| **Before** | • Infection to family/ society members due to contagious nature of HIV | • Reduced or *problematic social networking*<br>• Discrimination but not clear about the intensity and nature | • Family expenses will increase (towards treatment) |
| **During** | • Sexual partner will get infected<br>• Virus may pass to children or unborn children<br>• Cannot give birth to healthy child<br>• Congenital anomaly in child after infection<br>• Acquaintances are affected<br>• Family members/ relatives may get infected | • Character blemish (Labeling)<br>• Social distance/ isolation<br>• Othering<br>• *Discrimination and prejudice* (marriage/ engagement of daughter may break)<br>• Happened to self but others should not get<br>• Social distance to children by service providers and peers (school, playground)<br>• Denial of public access like denial by shopkeepers, neighbors | • Economic disaster (family will be on road)<br>• *No/ reduced chance of new recruitment*<br>• Loss of face and discrimination may lead to poor business (earning)<br>• Prolonged illness & burden to the family |
| **After** | • Careful or conscious about sexual partner's life<br>• *Changed sexual behaviour*<br>• Specific medical intervention to avoid infection to child | • Symbolic stigma/ Stereotype / ambiguous non-verbal cues<br>• Keep secrecy of infection to avoid problem from social or cultural network<br>• Disclose own status only during major life decisions to avoid problem in future with a hope people will understand<br>• *Shame to family or community (tribal stigma)*<br>• Reduced/ Lost social bargaining power<br>• Require strong lobbying efforts for rights | • *Family continue to face economic pressure* as total productivity reduce due illness and increased expense (money, time and opportunity cost) towards care<br>• Loss of face lead to poor business (earning)<br>• *Prejudice to family member parents/ spouse/ sibling/ offspring in job* |

29

# Humanizing Robots and Robot-Like Humans

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## Introduction

I have been interested in knowing how far we, human beings, have come in the name of evolution. As I have reported in the previous studies (Kurato, 2007; 2008), we appeared as if we stopped our evolution as *Homo Sapience*, a creature of wisdom since we have been continuously facing the fights among nations, criminals, exploitation, and power struggles among others. All of these are devastating elements to the quality of human beings. Domestically, pupils who were long absent from school increased as high as over130,000, pupils who dropped out of high school exceeded over 120,000 in the year of 2008 alone, child abuse were reported almost daily in the news, criminals such as homicide of young people increased. All in all, we seemed to have entered in the age of darkness again. In other words, we look deteriorated in the sense we have stopped using our wisdom for the sake of our happiness. It is the time, in the age of darkness, not knowing where to go, we are supposed to use our wisdom more than ever as *Homo Sapience* since we are questioned if we are still able to remain as *Homo Sapience.*

While we face difficult time, the robot, the humanizing robot that is humanoid or human-like robot, is under progressing tremendously. This owes to our technological development, especially computers. Some highly industrialized nations like the USA, Germany, and Japan have developed the human-like robots, capable doing many things in stead of humans for assembling parts, handling dangerous explosives, and so on.

As a clinical psychologist I am interested in finding how the robot becomes able to take the place of our human nature as I find a baby-sitting robot, an aid robot for the persons who have lost their limbs, or a robot that does house keeping. The robot, as far as I understand, is originally in the service of humanity, but we, in the very near future, may have to face the robot taking control over us. As a Czech writer, Karel Capek's novel, *Rossum's Universal Robots*, depicted, the robots may escape the control of human masters and doing harm. *Braid Runner (Jerry Perenchio & Bud Yorkin Present, directed by Ridley Scott, and Harrison Ford Starring),* a recently released DVD, indicated a possibility of Robot's threat of overtaking control on human being. In the DVD it was hardly distinguished a human-like robot from a real human. The human

made robot ate as we do, run as we do, and even performed sex as equally as we do, and nobody was able to tell the difference between the robot and the human being.

Therefore, I wanted to know how the present-day people viewed the future of the robot.

**Method**

I administered a survey for 88 students and adults whereby I analyzed the images of the future robot. The questionnaire administered for this study was an imagery survey as shown below:

1. Would you say that the human being would be surrendered and taken over his place by the robot?      Yes・?・No
2. What, if any, would you expect from the robot?
    1) As a tool, for example, house keeping, washing, gardening.
    2) Nursing,(child care), for example, feeding, discipline, basic daily life necessities, play.
    3) As a transportation, for example, automobile.
    4) As a companion, for example, accompany, guide, shopping together.
    5) Care for loneliness, for example, sympathy with, words of comfort, someone to talk to.
    6) Contact/sex mate, for example, dance, physical comfort, sex.
    7) As a counselor, for example, do the listening, and acceptance, or analysis.
    8) As a financial aid, for example, financial supporter, money making machine.
    9) Labor, for example, work instead of human beings, do the dirty job.
    10) Expressing emotion, for example, share the expression of joy, sorrow, anger, laughing.
    11) Study, for example, taking notes, reading books, writing papers.
    12) Free impressions.
3. Would you expect the robot to choose or decide for you, when making friends, choosing school, job, marriage, or where to reside?
4. Would you think that the robot will have a soul some day?

**Results**

First, results indicated that 79.0 % responded "No" to the No1 question; *"Would you say that the human being would be surrendered and taken over his place by the robot?* Followed by "Yes" 11.89%, and "?" 9.12%, accordingly (Fig.2).

Second, among No.2 sub-questions; *"What, if any, would you expect from the robot,?""1)* As a tool ($\chi 2＝9.72<$ p 0.01, df=1)," *"3)* As a transportation ($\chi 2＝3.57<$p 0.05, df=1)," "4) As a companion ($\chi 2＝8.46<$p 0.01,df=1" "5) Care for loneliness($\chi 2＝28.09 <$p 0.01, df=1)," and "5) Contact/sex mate($\chi 2＝4.248<$p 0.01, df=1)" were questions that yielded statistically significant differences when compared between the 20's age group and the 60's age group. A linier tendency throughout all age groups that was expected before the study was not found.

Those questions yielded statistically significant difference were shown in Fig.2 and Fig.31-5. However, figurers were drawn with all age groups.

Some findings are shown in the figures as below;

Fig. 2. Would you say that the human being would be surrendered and taken over his place by the robot?
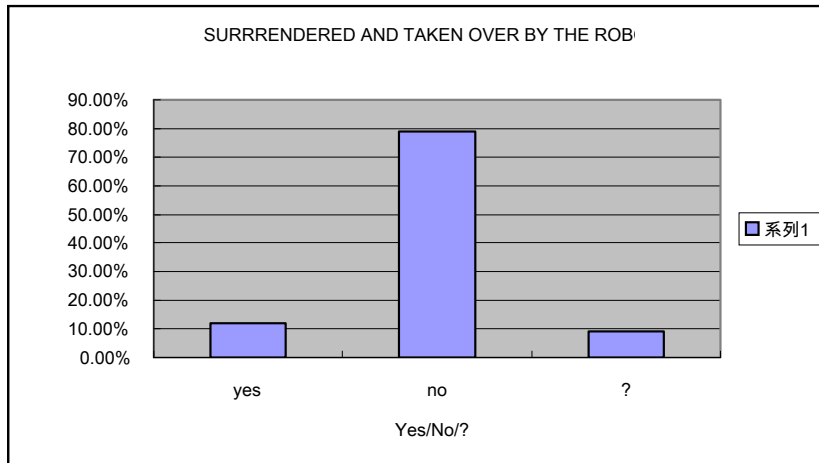


Fig.3-1. What, if any, would you expect from the robot?
1) As a tool.
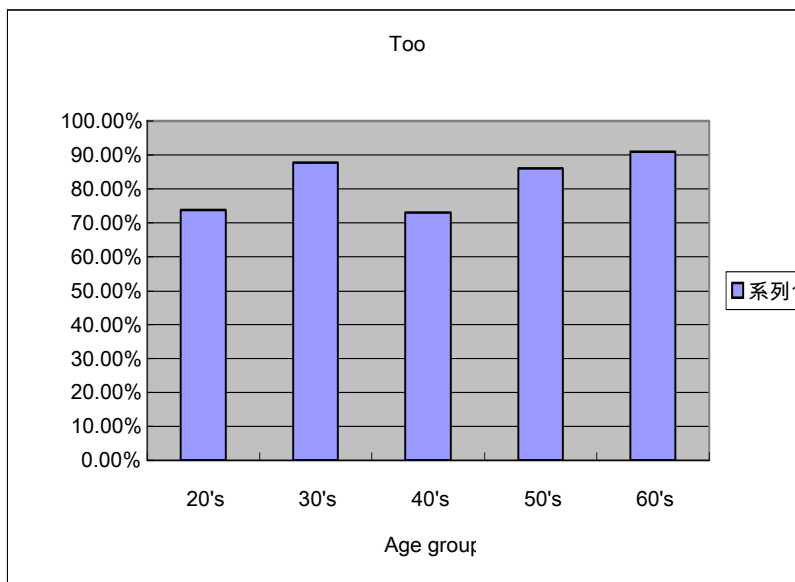


Fig. 3-2.
3) As a transportation.
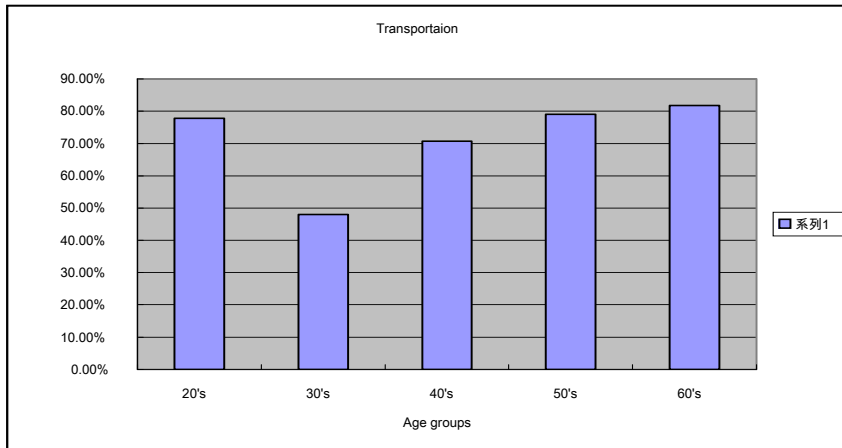
Fig.3-3.
4) As a companion.
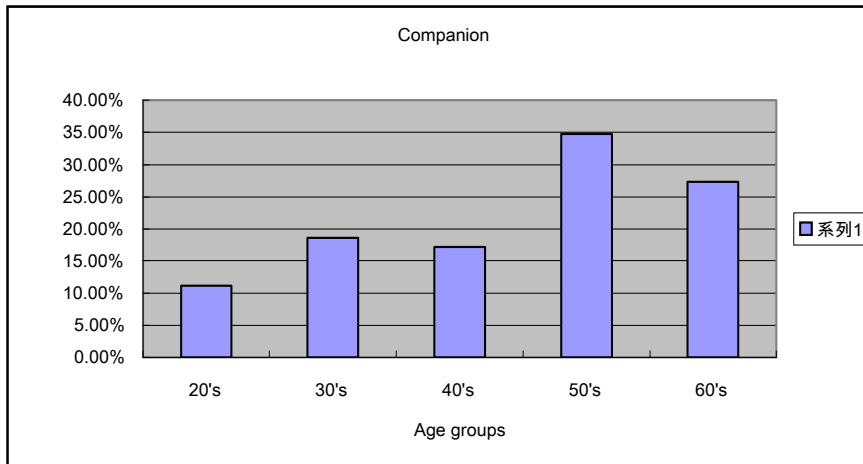


Fig.3-4.
5) Care for loneliness.

**Care for loneliness**
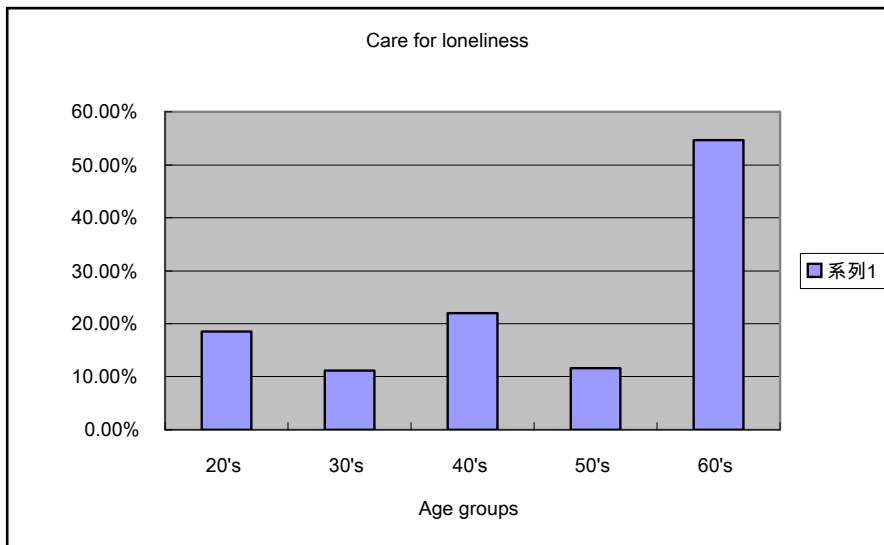


Fig.2-5
6) Contact/sex mate
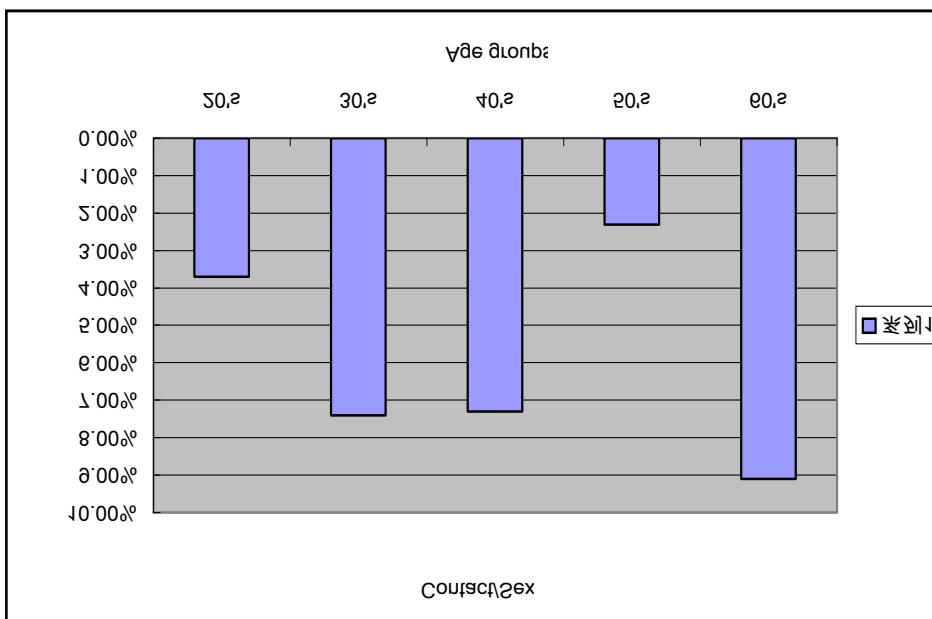


**Discussion**

The "No" response as high as nearly 80% to the No.1 question; *Would you say that the human being would be surrendered and taken over his place y the robot?* means that our subjects believed we, human beings, would not be surrendered and taken over our

places by the robot. It sounded rather healthy to me. It also related to the response to the No. 3 question; *Would you expect the robot to choose or decide for you when making friends, choosing school, job, marriage, or where to reside?* Almost all responses said "No." They say it is a life where we encounter both pleasant and unpleasant things, which gives a chance for us to think and enjoy what and how we do it. This is what a life is all about.    And all, without any exception, say "No" to the No. 4 question; *Would you think that the robot would have a soul some day?* Well, it sounds all right. But, what is soul?

It leads to a discussion about what we, human beings, are. What makes the human beings so unique that is different from the robot. Emotion was once thought to be something that made different from the robot as well as other creatures. But some animals such as chimpanzees, horses, dogs are said to show emotions. Recently the robot like the one that appeared on the BBC also expresses emotions. Therefore what makes us unique is still remain unanswered. This seems to go round and round in circles and doesn't get anywhere. Nevertheless, we must keep asking what we, human beings, are all about.

As to sub questions when compared between the 20's age group and the 60' or above age group, the latter thought the robot to be more useful as a tool. It may well tell the more aged the more depended on tool in terms of house keeping, washing, or gardening in their daily lives. Also the aged group was higher in their dependency on transportation than the 20's age group. It is understandable if we ask about the mobility in those aged group. As to the robot as companion, the aged group wanted it more. It is well taken, especially, when they become alone and get older. They feel they need somebody to talk with. Care for loneliness by the robot was more desired by the aged group. It tells a need on the part of the aged group is so great that they feel all right with the robot that is artificial and not real. As to the robot as contact/sex mate, it was the aged group rather than the younger aged group who wished to have someone to contact with or sex with. It is rather sad that they don't have real person to contact with. However, it tells the reality they must face.

On the other hand, when we look at what is happening in our modern society. We find fight, war, conflict, economical struggle, religious conflict, to name a few. We can hardly say that we are the creatures of wisdom. We don't look like clever. We seem to repeat the same pattern of mistakes, that seen from the age of Old Testament. We are

affluent now in terms of materialistic lives. However, how are the quality of affluent lives? We are in the middle of uncertainty and unstableness and look like we have almost lost our backbone, that is, the center of ourselves, or the base that develops wisdom. This also leads to a discussion of ethics. Ethics is our center of behavior and something that helps our quality of lives. Ethics was originally supposed to be shared by the professional groups to protect them and facilitate and maintain their quality of lives.

The above discussion helps us to keep thinking what we, Homo Sapiens, are in the age of technology. In the age of technology, the robot is becoming more and more humanizing while the human is loosing his sense of wisdom by changing into a robot-like creature.

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# Lost and Found: Reconstructing Chinese American Family Histories

# Using Historical Documents

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## Abstract

The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act created a vast paper trail documenting the immigration of every Chinese individual who entered the United States. These immigration files, which are housed at various regional facilities throughout the United States, are a part of the National Archives and Records Administration. This paper explores Chinese American family history through these immigration files, U.S. census records, and family history interviews. As a case study, this paper examines the experiences of two Chinese brothers, one who settled in Hawaii, the other who settled in California, and how their lives took such different trajectories. During the late nineteenth century, and throughout most of the twentieth century, the Chinese in California lived in segregated communities both in rural and urban Chinatowns. Their lives were more difficult because of their racial minority status, and the long history of anti-Chinese sentiment. In contrast, the Chinese in Hawaii lived in a diverse, multi-ethnic and pan-Asian society. Their lives showed a much more cohesive and supportive ethnic community than the Chinese who lived on the mainland.

Key Words: Chinese American families, fictive kin, paper sons, Hawaiian Chinese, California Chinese, Exclusion Act

February 15, 2009: The Angel Island Immigration Station is re-opened after a three-year closing for historic renovations. The restored immigration station, now a museum and national landmark, was the major point of entry for Chinese entering the United States. It is there that Chinese entering the U.S. were detained, sometimes for days, but often for weeks, and months, in order to ascertain whether the individual applying for immigration had the right to enter the country. The interrogation and interview process was documented through a paper trail: Each person who came through the immigration station were given a federal file number, and those files have become a part of the public record of Chinese immigration to the United States. It is through these documents that I have recreated my family's history.

In this paper I explore my Chinese American family roots and trace the story of two brothers who immigrated to America—one was my great-uncle, who immigrated to Hawaii, the other, my grandfather who came to the mainland United States. While I began this research more than 15 years ago, it has always been something on my mind. I often wondered why my father never had anything to say about his family. It has also been challenging to reconstruct my family narrative because my father really did not know much. His mother died when he was 3 years old and he lived an unsettled life in orphanages and foster homes—of which he has very little recollection. (In the 1930 census I found he and his brother listed as "inmates" of the Sacramento Orphan Asylum). What he does remember of his early years was a short period living with his father and older brother in San Francisco Chinatown where he attended Commodore Stockton School. He told me he was poor and did not have much to eat. Because he never talked much his family to me—either because he didn't know or didn't want to, I

inferred that it was a taboo subject; I believe he did not want his children to grow up the way he did—without a family, poor, hungry, and with few possessions.

Nor did he want us to know about all of the other early death's in his family. Two sisters died from tuberculosis in the 1920s. My dad's brother William, was a merchant marine who died at sea during World War II; one of my dad's sister died of an undiagnosed appendicitis in Helena, Montana. I just never asked him about this while he was alive.

Thus, in an attempt to piece together my Chinese family's history, I use the historical record as created by discriminatory laws passed toward the Chinese (Exclusion Act), along with census, birth, and death records to reconstruct what might have happened to my father's family in California. In addition, I interviewed surviving family members of Chan Young Ng (my great-uncle) to put together my family's history in Hawaii.

**The Historical Context**

The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act is one of the most defining historical markers for Chinese Americans. The "era of exclusion" or the "dark ages" of Chinese American history (Chan 1991) lasted roughly between 1882-1943.  During this time, only those from "exempted classes" (merchants, students, diplomats, and travelers) were allowed entry into the U.S. (Chan 1991: viii).  Because of the Exclusion Act, Chinese were subject to intense scrutiny such that thousands were detained and questioned in order to gain entry into the United States. Whether legal or illegal immigrants, all individuals, with the exception of those with diplomatic or governmental ties, had to prove their right to enter the United States.

To circumvent the law, the Chinese devised methods to provide for continued immigration through false adoptions, and the use of forged papers.  Chinese already in the U.S. lay claim to "paper sons" or in some cases, though more rarely, "paper daughters" from China. These individuals would pay fees to purchase false papers that stated their relationship as a son or daughter of someone already in the U.S. in order for them to immigrate.  Sometimes they were actually related, maybe a distant cousin.  But many were not.  Many families kept "secrets" and are wary about discussing their true identities in fear of being deported.

As a result of the Exclusion Act, and the proliferation of false identity papers, Chinese immigrants were interviewed and detained upon their departure and entry into the United States. From 1910 to 1940, Angel Island in San Francisco Bay was used as a detention and interrogation center for Chinese immigrants. It was here that incoming and departing Chinese were interviewed, their responses recorded, and then compared when they returned to the U.S. It is also here that that interviews between alleged fathers and "sons" as well as wives, were compared to see that they were actually related (some sample questions).

In *Unbound Voices*, historian Judy Yung (1999) chronicles her mother's journey to the United States through examining the files of the National Archive—Pacific Sierra Region, Record Group 85. These files contain the record of Chinese who arrived in the U.S. (1882-1950), as well as Chinese Departure Files (1913-1950), and Chinese Partnership Files (these relate to merchants and merchant firms—if you were a merchant listed in these files, you would have a legitimate claim to enter the U.S.). Yung's account of her great grandmother and grandfather as they entered and departed

the United States through the Angel Island immigration station. Similarly, I was able to trace my grandparents and great-uncle's immigration record as they were recorded through the Chinese Departure Files held at the National Archives (see also Lowell, 1994).

**Literature Review of Chinese American Families**

Sociologists and historians have studied the Chinese family in contrast to the dominant culture's ideal family. Morrison Wong (1988) describes the Chinese family in America as a "product of complex interaction between structural factors (social, legal, political, and economic) and cultural factors (Wong, 1988: 231). There is no typical family type and there is wide variations in the way that "family" was done. Li (1977) uses the concept of "fictive kin" when referring to Chinese Americans who used false papers to enter the United States during the period of exclusion.

The exclusionary immigration laws have set the framework for different historical time periods that were characterized by different Chinese American family types. For example, the "split family household" or also called "mutilated" family was a type that existed between 1850 and 1920. Traditional "nuclear" families or even extended families could not form due to immigration restrictions placed on Chinese laborers—there was a disproportionate gender ratio with more men than women. Even with a ban on Chinese immigration still in effect, the 1920s-1940s saw the rise of the small producer family— these were Chinese families that were able to accumulate enough capital to start a small business, either alone or with partners. These enterprises were laundries, restaurants, mom and pop stores, or other small shops.  The 3rd period, which Wong refers to as the normalization of Chinese families occurred between 1943 and 1965.

During this period, Chinese immigration slowly trickled in after the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, and Chinese men who served in the military were able to petition to bring in wives from China (Wong 1988: 232). Thus this period saw the growth of 2nd and 3rd generation Chinese Americans. It is the overlap of these three periods that span my family history.

**Grandfather: Dai Young Ng—Searching for Gold Mountain**

Immigration documents, as well as family records show that Dai Young Ng (aka Ng Chung Bok) arrived on the SS China on November 1, 1899. He was interrogated aboard the SS Coptic on Dec. 6, 1899, and admitted into the United States. The interview revealed that he was born on Dupont Street in San Francisco in 1880, and in 1881, he returned to China with his parents. His father's occupation in China was that of a farmer. He had no U.S. birth certificate, and in order to prove his U.S. citizenship, he had two Chinese men (one, his uncle, the brother of his mother) testify that they knew his family and of his birth in SF Chinatown, thus verifying his claim to U.S. citizenship.

Thus, Dai Young Ng lives in the United States from 1899 to 1911. I examined the 1900 and 1910 census and find possibly two individuals who could have been him, living in San Francisco in a boarding house with other Chinese men. During this time, he had to have either experienced the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. This event marks the beginning of the creation of fictive kin and paper son networks that were used for the next forty years as a means for Chinese to gain entry into the United States.

In 1911, he returned to China, and in his exit interview he states that he has two sons that are in China, ages 13 and 15 years. Later that same year, he returns to the U.S., through Honolulu with my grandmother Lee Shee (Lee Lai). They are interviewed

and state they have two sons that they have left in China. The examiners ask my grandfather why he wants to disembark in Hawaii, and not continue to San Francisco. He wants to build a business in Hawaii—claiming that Honolulu is also an American port and he could legally disembark there. The immigration officials give him a hard time, and say "For all we know, you may have another wife in San Francisco." They imply that he is bringing in a woman that is not related to him. Ng Dai Young replies, "You can send my testimony to San Francisco and investigate, I have no other wife. " They continue to press him for a legal marriage certificate, and he says, "I do not have it, the ants ate it up." The Hawaiian immigration officials interview Lee Shee and ask for her marriage certificate, and she says the same thing. Finally, the officials relent and let he and his wife disembark in Honolulu. Dai Young Ng then spends about a year in Honolulu working at or as a partner in Chan Hop store on King Street in Honolulu.

In 1912, the couple leaves Hawaii with a baby, Wai Leen. On the mainland, it is not clear where they live, but likely in San Francisco. Between 1913 and 1923, six more children are born. Even during this time, Dai Young leaves his wife and from 1913-1914 and works as the 2nd cook on a ship. While, most of the births took place in San Francisco, at some point, the family moved to Locke—a small Chinese community located near Sacramento. It is there where my father was born in 1923.

Locke was settled by Chinese during the late 19th century. Many had helped to build the dikes and levees that created a large triangle swath of fertile land that was cultivated by Chinese farmers and known as the Sacramento Delta. This area was one of the few places in rural California where Chinese families were established (Chan, 1988). There may have been a connection with kinsmen from the Chung Shan province.

Many of the people there came from the same part of Chung Shan (Zhongshan) as my grandfather and grandmother. By the 1920s, when my father was born, there was a thriving Chinese American community with families, and 2nd generation children who had settled in this town (Chan 1986).

Though they were not a farm family, but I believe my grandfather engaged in various small business enterprises. Immigration documents, birth and death certificates of his children indicate that he was a tailor and he had worked in merchandise or dry goods stores. But I speculate that most of the family's life was on the brink of poverty. In the mid -1920s, tuberculosis killed his two sisters and, I suspect, my grandmother. I was told that grandmother's ashes were sent back to China, and the two girls buried in Sacramento; the family was no longer, and the surviving children split up and sent to live in different orphanages.

There is another facet to this story. The immigration files created by the Exclusion record family members who enter and depart the U.S. on the head of household's family file. In addition to my grandmother and their baby born in Honolulu, other names are connected with my family: Ng Yow Tim (b. 1897), Ng Yow Duck (b. 1895), Ng Bing Mun (b. 1921), and Ng Shew Jung (b. 1931). Who are they and what exactly is their relationship to my grandfather?

In 1916, Ng Yow Tim enters the United States and the son of my grandfather and Ng Yow Duck (aka Kee Chong Chan) enters the U.S. in April 1920.  In 1942, Ng Bing Mun departs—his is a son born in California, aka William Ng, born in 1921. Ng Shew Jung (aka Raymond Shew Chan) enters the U.S. in 1949 as the *grandson* of my grandfather.

Using the Freedom of Information Act, I attempted to access three files. Ng Yow Duck's file was one sheet of paper—aka: Kee Chong Chan and notes that the contents of his file removed, renumbered, and transferred to Los Angeles. Now, an "A"-file—this means that the individual had filed to become a naturalized U.S. citizen after World War II. In 1955, the Department of Justice and State Department established a program to discover Chinese residents who had entered the U.S. as illegal immigrants—as paper sons. Those who confessed their illegal status were granted immunity from prosecution within a specific period of time.  While those who had become naturalized U.S. citizens, would have their citizenship stripped, although they were given a chance to reapply for citizenship. Ng Yow Tim's file could not be located. I also applied to see the files of Ng Shew Jung, who enters the U.S. as grandson with a birthdate of 1931. Is he another "paper son"? Or is he related to Ng Yow Duck or Ng Yow Tim?

I wrote to Los Angeles (where the files were transferred) and requested to see the files under the Freedom of Information Act. After protracted form letters from the INS and Justice Department, I was denied, unless I could prove that those persons were deceased. By that time, I knew that Ng Yow Duck was now known as Kee Chong Chan, and Ng Shew Jung was Raymond Shew Chan.

When I asked my father and aunt about our family name, I was told that it was not a "paper name. I do know that his immigration to America was under the pretense of having been born in San Francisco's Chinatown. I do not believe he was born in the United States.  I will never know the reasons for his journey to America, he must have had some education because he could read and write in Chinese. Though he made the choice to journey to America in the hopes of searching for his Gold Mountain, his

dreams were never fulfilled, they were cut short by death, poverty and struggling to survive.

**Chan Young Ng: The Chinese in Hawaii: Pictures from Paradise**

The Chinese have a long history in Hawaii. The first Chinese men arrived in the 1850s to work harvesting sandlewood, many stayed and intermarried with native Hawaiian women. Hawaii was a natural stopover point for ships traveling from Asia to North America, and it was likely many Chinese who arrived in Hawaii just decided to stay. This may have been the case of my grandfather's brother, Chan Young Ng. I did not know about him until the mid-1980s when I saw a picture that my father had of a Chinese family with seven children, an old man and old woman next to several children. Who were they?  They were my father's uncle and family who lived in Hawaii.  He told me the story of visiting his uncle when he was working on a ship that stopped in Hawaii. "My father gave me his address and told me to go and see him.  When I saw him from afar, I thought that he looked exactly like my father" he told me.  "But that was a long time ago—in the 1950s, I think. I don't know where they are now."

In 1994, I went to Hawaii with my husband and son.  While we were there to visit my sister-in-law and her family, I was also on a mission to find my father's relatives. I wanted to find them. I had the family photograph and a letter with a return address on Third Avenue in Honolulu.  As I drove my rental car to find the house on Third Avenue, I thought about what I would say to the person who lived there. The houses in this older Chinese working class neighborhood were built in the 1930s and 1940s.  Because of the value of property in Hawaii, families tend to hold onto their houses in the older neighborhoods. I thought that I might be able to find one of my father's cousins living

there, or at least someone who might know how to find them. I found Third Avenue and drove up and down the street looking at the house numbers.  But the street dead ended at the highway overpass.  Third Avenue continued on the other side of the freeway, and I drove there to look for the house. Still, there were some missing numbers, including the address that my father gave me. What could have happened?  riving back to the lower part of Third Avenue, I parked the car, got out, and walked around. I decided to knock on some doors.  At one house, an older man appeared.  I explained to him my story and showed him the photograph. His name was Chester Oyashiro.

"Ahh…" he said. He scratched his head, rubbed his hand across his fat belly over his thin, graying t-shirt. "I remember them. They used to live here, but no more.  he freeway went in, took the house away, all tore down," he told me.  But you know, why you cannot find them?  hey still around, I see her, and her, she got kids around," he pointed to the pictures. "Why you not look in the phone book?" he asked.

I told him, "Well, I figured they might be married, especially if they've got kids, their names would be different. I don't even know their names."

"Well, you don't have to be married to have kids.  I know they still around," he said. I thought about what he said but felt that it didn't mean much to me. Disappointed, I left.

I then went to the Hawaiian Chinese History Center and spoke with one of the volunteers. Violet looked at the photograph and immediately recognized someone in the photo but she was not sure if she was still alive. She knew someone who lived next door to another person in the photo and would know how to get a hold of them. She

called them, but there was no answer, and left a message. I told her where I was staying and how long and hoped that someone might get in touch with me.

Later that afternoon I received a phone call. "I'm Anna, Chan Young Ng's stepdaughter."

I was confused.  She explained further.  "Chan Young Ng was my stepfather because after my mother died, he adopted us, I mean there were three of us. My mother had five children with him.  She was like a common-law wife to him. When she died, he took all eight of us in as his own children. I'm the oldest."

We met later that week at a restaurant in Honolulu's historic Chinatown. I brought the pictures and letter I had from their father. I learned that my Dad's uncle had been married in China, had a son (Chan Wah) who came over with him to Hawaii, that son was one of the Chinese schoolteachers in Hawaii. In addition, Chan Wah's daughter, Eleanor Seu Han was also included in this extended family—she was also in the family picture. Uncle Chan Young worked in number of different kinds of jobs, farming and growing taro, doing some carpentry, running small businesses, and moving his ever growing family from place to place, trying to make a living to support him. He was a gambler, but he was generous and often paid his friends' gambling debts. Uncle Chan's common-law wife, Violet Ching was whom he had five children with. When Violet died, he took in his five children, plus three of her other children. The children of Violet Ching and Chan Young Ng are my father's first cousins.

Cousin Florence told me that she believed Chan Young was married to a Japanese woman whom they called Ah Moo (Chinese for auntie)—her Japanese name was Fuki Kogi, but they had no children. Recently, Florence retracted the marriage part

and told me they could not find a marriage license for her father and Ah Moo. "So," she said, I guess he had two common law wives!  But, she did find a marriage certificate for her older half-brother, Chan Wah Ng and Chow Shee.

This led me to the question, was Chan Wah, another paper son? Was he really uncle's son, or was he his brother or other distant relative?  We may never know the answer to this. I am beginning to have a stronger suspicion that Chan Wah may not have been Gaw-Gaw (older brother), as Florence was told to call him, but may have even been a younger brother of Chan Young or cousin.

When I asked cousin Florence more about the relationship of her father with Fuki Kogi, she did not know how to describe it—Did she live with you as a family? "Well, yes, we all lived together under one roof, my mother, Ah Moo, and her daughter Margaret. See, she was married before, but I guess she left him." Florence laughed and said, "Gee, I guess that was kind of odd, that we all lived together. Ah Moo became like a mother to us after our mother died." The story has somewhat of a "fit" with the narratives described by Ron Takaki in *Strangers From A Different Shore*, of Japanese picture brides who came to Hawaii in the late 1800s. In arranged marriages, Japanese women traveled from the security of their homes in Japan to an unknown land and unknown husband who most likely, worked on a Hawaiian sugar cane plantation. Discovering life was not so good—women left their arranged marriages (Takaki 1989). Fuki Kogi had one daughter from a previous marriage, and her story could have been similar to those described by Takaki—she arrived as a picture bride in an arranged marriage, but for whatever reason, left her husband to make a life with a new man, and in contrast to the prevailing social norms, a man of a different ethnic group.

Chan Young Ng's files are also at the National Archives. His first interview with immigration officials was in 1909. In it, he has sworn affidavits stating his birth in 1876 in Palama, Honolulu, Hawaii. While my grandfather has always used 1880 as his birthdate, in a picture from Uncle Chan Young Ng to my grandfather, the Chinese inscription reads: To Older Brother. Their birth years do not correspond with their actual birth order.

In 1915, Chan Young Ng is interviewed upon his departure to San Francisco. He states that he is a manager and partner in Chan Hop Company (the same store that my grandfather states in his 1911 interview). His wife is Chow Shee, and she was born in China in the same village that my grandmother was from; they have been married 13 years, and he has a daughter that is four years old. This is corroborated in the 1920 census report, which stated three persons in his household: Chang Young Ng, Chow Shee, and Meu Ying (age 19, but could be a 11).

By the 1930 census, Chan Young Ng's family had changed dramatically. His wife and daughter are no longer listed (maybe back in China?) and son, Chan Wah Ng, his wife, and five children (ages 4-12) are enumerated.

My father's cousins who are the children of Violet Ching (3rd or 4th wife) are born between 1926 and 1941. Their mother's first husband, Siu Mock does not die until 1927, which means their mother was already seeing Chan Young Ng, who is by that time, 40 years old. As the cousins have now told me the stories and family relationships, they laughed and told me they did not want me to be overwhelmed with family secrets or gossip. There were no skeletons in their closet and they shared with me everything about their family. Chan Young Ng's oldest daughter Nancy, never married, but she did

have children that still lived in the Honolulu area. Only later did I realize that this was

what Chester Oyashiro had told me. There were no secretes about this. There was only

closeness and kinship of *ohana*, the Hawaiian word for family.

**Hawaii and California: Comparing the Two Brothers' Testimonies.**

I was fortunate and lucky to find the immigration record at the National Archives

of Chan Young Ng and Dai Young Ng. Each of the files contained interviews and sworn

testimonies as to their claims to citizenship and ancestry in the United States. But were

these true or were they fabricated?

I looked at the interview transcripts and compared my grandfather and his

brother's responses. Interestingly, both claimed to have been born here, that is,

Territory of Hawaii, and San Francisco, but in different birth order than their actual birth

order.  Both state the same father (Ng Yum Kee), but they give different mothers: Lee

Shee and Wong Shee. Each deny having any siblings—although Uncle Chan said he

had a sister born in Hawaii, but went back to China and he didn't know where she was.

My grandfather said there were no siblings. Both stated they came from the same

village: Yiu Tiu (or Yu Tu) in Chung Shan District.  If their father was wealthy, he might

possibly have had two wives, but I think not, since both brothers claim their father was a

vegetable farmer. One of the questions that was asked in the interrogations is whether

their mother or wife had natural feet--that is, not bound feet. If they had bound feet, it

would have been a sign of their higher class status. It is unlikely that they are the sons

of two different mothers.

I think the reason why they did not declare they had any siblings is because they

did not want either of their records to be checked against one another. They used

different people to serve as witnesses to confirm their births, but if they had said they knew of one another--that they had a brother and the brother lived in Hawaii or San Francisco, the files and answers in their interrogations could be cross checked and compared.

They did communicate with one another, albeit sporadically, because documentary evidence shows my grandfather spent at least one year in Hawaii and one of his children, a girl, was Ng Wai Leen was born in Honolulu in 1912, six months after they landed. He stays in Honolulu because I suspect because his wife was pregnant—most likely with their first child, and did not want to travel any further until the child was born.

Questions still remain as to why one brother stays in Hawaii and the other continues to California? Why leave the Hawaiian islands where the Chinese community was small, close knit, and where there were clansmen, including his brother, who he could work for? I can only speculate that my grandfather came to the mainland because he had been here earlier. He had spent at least ten years living in the U.S. (between 1899-1911) during which time he learned what he could or could not be able to do. He perceived that the opportunities on the mainland were far greater than those he could achieve in Hawaii. The allure of Gold Mountain still beckoned him to return to San Francisco.

Furthermore, there were financial incentives that he set into place when he left San Francisco in 1911. He is interviewed and stated that he had two sons in China. It was a strategic move on his part. He knew that before he left that the mainland, he could create "slots" and sell those slots to incoming Chinese who needed papers. He

would gain much more if he those slots could be sold to individuals who wanted to go to California, not just Hawaii. So thus was his economic motivation to return to San Francisco (see also Lowell 1994 on immigration documents from the National Archives).

The 1994 meeting of Chan Young Ng's descendents enlarged my father's side of the family immensely. Though my father's cousins also lost their mother at a young age, Chan Young Ng's family grew larger. In 1942, he took in all eight children of his common-law wife. Unlike my grandfather, whose family was scattered after the death of their mother, Chan Young Ng's family grew—it was large, extended, multigenerational and a multi-ethnic family. There were intermarriages among the 2nd and 3rd generation, so that the descendents have diverse surnames such as Pang, Luke, Moniz, Mihara, Hall, and Benson. I counted 44 descendents of Chan Young Ng from both his Hawaiian-born children and his other progeny from various wives.

Chan Young Ng was very enterprising. The children describe their life as being well taken care of—even after their mother died. But what did he do to give his children a comfortable close-knit family? He owned a clothing shop, he was a painter and a carpenter, and somehow he accumulated enough money to buy property. Maybe it was through gambling—he was known to be a gambler, and also known to be generous with his friends and their gambling debt. Did he ever take care of his wife in China? Cousin Florence says, "My gut feeling, is that he sent money to his China wife. He never said anything about it, but I think he did."

In contrast, Dai Young Ng's family was torn apart, separated and almost left homeless. Of seven children, two survived to have children, only one child, my brother, carries the family name. I count 15 offspring in his family, and one intermarriage to a

non-Chinese. What Dai Young Ng did to make a living is unclear. In the 1910 census he was a cook in San Francisco; on two of the children's birth certificates his occupation is listed as a tailor; and we also know that he cooked on a ship for one year. His last known occupation listed on his death certificate: Gardener, Golden Gate Park. One might say that he was enterprising, to a degree: he was able to make a living for a short while—by sponsoring paper sons. The selling of a "slot" or "paper name" could bring in about one hundred dollars for every year of age stated. Ng Yow Tim, who immigrated as a 20 year old, would have paid $2,000 ($100 for each year of age) for his immigration "slot." Two paper sons—entering the U.S. in 1916 and 1920, gave some small cushion of cash for growing family to live on. There are still many unanswered questions about these two older "sons" Ng Yow Tim and Ng Yow Duck, as well as Ng Shew Jung (aka Raymond Shew Chan) Interestingly, both Ng Yow Tim and Yow Duck are listed in my grandfather's obituaries as his sons. Their last known residence in 1962: Lakeport, California. How are these individuals related to my family? Where are they now?

While this may seem too obvious, the Chinese who settled in the mainland United States simply had a much harder time than those who remained in Hawaii. The multi-racial and multi-ethnic composition of Hawaii's population made it much easier for Chinese to adapt and find a community to belong to. While still an ethnic minority in Hawaii, there were other ethnic minority groups, Filipino, Japanese, Portuguese, and Native Hawaiian that made for a more generally accepting society (although there are racial-ethnic hierarchies even in Hawaii). Thus, Chan Young Ng perhaps had greater opportunities to succeed or establish himself within Hawaiian society.

For Chinese on the mainland, the situation could be far more difficult. While many lived in urban Chinatowns and settled in Chinese communities (such as Locke, where my father was born), there was greater anti-Chinese prejudices and general social and economic discrimination. Life was much more harder for mainland Chinese families, not just my father's family, but thousands of other Chinese American families who lost a parent or parents, or were abandoned. There were limited opportunities in Chinese during the first half of the 20th century and my father's family experience clearly reflects that.

As Peter S. Li (1977) noted, ethnic families have often been interpreted within the context of the dominant culture's framework of what "family" means. Ethnic and racial minority families are often viewed as deviations from the norm. Instead, they need to be viewed as constructed and manifested within the restrictions, boundaries and constraints of the society they are operating within. Thus, the use of fictive kin—such as paper sons, served as a response to discriminatory laws that prohibited or limited the ways traditional Chinese families could be formed in America.

Thus, as Peter S. Li (1977) suggests: kinship patterns that develop for ethnic minority families—such as the Chinese are in specific response to the structural constraints of the dominant society. He suggests that kinship ties are manipulated as resource for ethnic minority families—that kinship becomes more fluid, rather than rigid, under the constraints that Chinese Americans had to operate under. We can see this with my father's and uncle's families in both Hawaii and mainland U.S. Uncle Chan's family was extremely fluid, with individuals becoming a part of as well as leaving the family—for whatever reason, making a new, better life in Hawaii (his son, Chan Wah),

dissatisfaction with life in Hawaii or early death of the mother. For my grandfather it meant using the "fictive kin" network, or paper sons, as a means of income.

Examining this family history and past is a way to give a sense of wholeness and identity to an individual. From the historical evidence I have found, the family silences and secrets are being unmasked. I may never fully find the answers to all of my questions, but I have slowly begun the process of uncovering the hidden pasts, silences, and secrets that Chinese American families have had to endure.

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# Characteristics of effective college teaching:

# A study of teaching evaluation form items

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## Abstract

The purpose of this study is to develop a list of characteristics of effective college teaching and find out if the effective teaching characteristics were represented by teaching evaluation form items in public universities in Taiwan. Through gathering award-winning teachers' experience, characteristics of effective college teaching were identified. The most prevalent criteria were analysis from the teaching evaluation questionnaires of public universities. Then a comparison between characteristics of effective college teaching and most prevalent teaching evaluation form items were proceed. The study found that the list of characteristics of effective college teaching is not only valuable for college teachers to improve their teaching, but it is equally important for college to design teaching evaluation criteria and to promote teaching effectiveness. Finally, the study proposed suggestions for improving the effectiveness of college teaching.

**Key Words: college teaching; teaching effectiveness; teaching evaluation**

# To Spray or Not to Spray:
# The Use of Agrochemicals in Ecuadorian Potato Farming

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Communities in the highland regions of Ecuador have been cultivating potatoes for millennia. The volcanic ash soils of Andean regions are rich in organic matter, conducive to ample crop productivity. Consistent temperatures and regular precipitation make the region of Carchi, Ecuador especially attractive for potato growers.[1] Potatoes have become a long standing, traditional Andean crop, brimming with opportunities for both employment and earnings.[2] Furthermore, potatoes are a dietary staple for many rural Ecuadorian families. Today, over 90,000 farmers in Ecuador cultivate over 60,000 hectares of potatoes; almost 40 percent of these are grown in the Carchi region.[3] For many families in poverty, potatoes also offer a substantial and consistent food source.

However, as potato production has expanded, the nature of potato farming has changed. Today, higher crop yields are directly correlated with more input intensive processes. Thus, pesticide use on potato crops is causing severe health problems and is contributing to negative environmental effects, especially in regions such as Carchi.[4] Four out of every one hundred people in Carchi have suffered from pesticide poisonings that are not reported to medical authorities.[5] Health and environmental impacts to the region and the communities have become tradeoffs that farmers are willing to make in order to increase potato outputs. This paper will analyze the effects of pesticides in potato farming in Carchi, a region in Andean Ecuador. This paper seeks to explain the detrimental health and environmental effects of pesticide use and illustrate who is being

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[1] Kelly Theisen, Graham Thiele & Greg Forbes. (2006). *International Potato Center: World Potato Atlas: Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from http://research.cip.cgiar.org.
[2] Donald C. Cole, "Deadly Double Standard," *Alternatives Journal* 29:4 (Fall 2003).
[3] Kelly Theisen, Graham Thiele & Greg Forbes. (2006). *International Potato Center: World Potato Atlas: Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from http://research.cip.cgiar.org.
[4] Kelly Theisen, Graham Thiele & Greg Forbes. (2006). *International Potato Center: World Potato Atlas: Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from http://research.cip.cgiar.org.
[5] Dale, Stephen. *Preventing Pesticide Poisonings in Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.

affected.  Also, it will explore some current programs in Ecuador working to decrease

pesticide use and improve the welfare of potato farming communities.

Across the developing world, potatoes are the fourth largest crop yield, after rice,

wheat, and maize.[6]  Rich in vitamin C, potassium, vitamin B6 and fiber,[7] potatoes are an

important dietary staple, especially for many rural areas throughout Ecuador.  In some

communities in Carchi, annual per capita consumption of potatoes is as high as 250

kilograms.[8]  Consistent weather conditions, aided by rich Andean soils, allow for

plantings and harvestings virtually year round.  However, despite the friendly

environment, potato crops are still a very risky, high cost venture.  Crops are susceptible

to multitudes of fungus and pests, the most harmful of which, the Andean weevil, can

destroy up to 80 percent of a crop field if allowed.  Labor demands for successful potato

yields are intensive; good crop production requires high levels of purchased inputs.[9]

While high in nutrients and readily available for markets, potato crops are a risky

investment for most farmers.  High yield potentials are off set by large risk factors; pests

and fungicides can easily decimate the majority of a farmer's crops.  The Andean weevil

attacks potato tubers, essentially killing the entire potato plant.  The weevil presents the

largest problems because they are highly inconspicuous and lay eggs at the base of the

plant.[10]  Once the larvas are under the soil, pesticides are virtually ineffective and crops

are highly susceptible to the weevil's parasitic effects.  Furthermore, late blight is a huge

[6] Crissman, Charles C., John M. Antle and Susan M. Capalbo, eds. *Economic, Environmental, and Health Tradeoffs in Agriculture: Pesticides and the Sustainability of Andean Potato Production*.  Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998.

[7] *Potatoes.* Retrieved February 16, 2008 from www.whfoods.com.

[8] Kelly Theisen, Graham Thiele & Greg Forbes. (2006). *International Potato Center: World Potato Atlas: Ecuador.*  Retrieved February 13, 2008 from http://research.cip.cgiar.org.

[9] Charles C. Crissman, Donald C. Cole & Fernando Carpio, "Pesticide Use and Farm Worker Health in Ecuadorian Potato Production," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 76 (August 1994).

[10] Kelly Theisen, Graham Thiele & Greg Forbes. (2006). *International Potato Center: World Potato Atlas: Ecuador.*  Retrieved February 13, 2008 from http://research.cip.cgiar.org.

constraint to farmers as the fungus attacks the potato plant, thus ruining any potential

yields from those plants. Black scurf is a potential fungus that attacks the potato plant

and ruins the cosmetic appearance of the potato. Therefore, farmers with crops destined

for markets must take special precautions to avoid black scurf.

Given the clear hazards that accompany potato production, many farmers have

learned to rely on fungicides and pesticides to ensure successful crop yields. In the late

1940s, agrochemical companies entered the Ecuadorian markets. Initially, pesticides

allowed farmers the capacity to make the surge from subsistence farming to more

intensive commercial production.[11] Pesticides were marketed by agrochemical

companies as a way to increase yields and improve economic vitality. For the last six

decades, these companies have been pushing products throughout the Carchi countryside;

"synthetic fertilizers and pesticides have become an essential part of the social and

environmental fabric of the region."[12] As crop yields increased and farmers were able to

market potatoes, rather than merely subsist, pesticides became an integral part of

successful potato farming communities. Many Carchi farmers view pesticides as a

necessary evil; there is no equivalent substitute available, so any potential side effects,

both in health and the environment, are seen as mere trade offs in order to get the

maximum yields.

Perhaps one of the most substantial problems with pesticide use in Ecuador today

is that many of the cheapest pesticides are the most toxic. Agrochemical companies push

early generation, highly toxic pesticides in Ecuador because the patents no longer extend

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[11] Dale, Stephen. *Preventing Pesticide Poisonings in Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.
[12] Crissman, Charles, et. al, "Potato Production and Pesticide Use in Ecuador: Linking Impact Assessment and Rural Development Intervention for Greater Eco-system Health." Presented at the International Conference on Impact Assessment, San Jose, Costa Rica, February 2002, 4.

over such products. Therefore, the highly poisonous chemicals are made freely and cheaply by companies who "delight" in the lack of pesticide restrictions in Ecuador's markets.[13] Unfortunately, most pesticides are sold through vendors, who may lack accurate knowledge for potential risks and hazards.[14] In some cases, a vendor may be aware of risks to health and environment, but choose not to disclose such information. A vendor in Carchi actually changed expiration dates on certain pesticides in order to make a sale on the products.[15] Under these circumstances, Carchi communities are bearing an even higher risk than most realize. Yet, as potato production increases, farmers are more likely to adopt modern inputs, which typically correlate to increased use of pesticides. Carchi seems to be caught in a vicious cycle: pesticide use increases potato production, which in turn entices greater pesticide use to further increase productivity.

Although pesticides account for as much as 20 percent of production costs,[16] most farmers now see chemical use as a necessity. What most farmers to not understand, however, is the increasingly detrimental health and environmental effects that pesticide use causes. Lack of information, limited understanding and virtually no proper equipment all contribute to the massive surge in toxic poisonings evident in Carchi today. Potato pests and fungus are persistent, and successful potato yields require several applications of chemicals. On average, parcels in Carchi receive seven applications of pesticides, with two to three products mixed together as a "cocktail."[17] Unknowingly,

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[13] *Escape from a Toxic "Catch-22."* Retrieved February 13, 2008, from www.idrc.ca.
[14] Crissman, Charles C., John M. Antle and Susan M. Capalbo, eds. *Economic, Environmental, and Health Tradeoffs in Agriculture: Pesticides and the Sustainability of Andean Potato Production.* Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998.
[15] Donald C. Cole, "Deadly Double Standard," *Alternatives Journal* 29:4 (Fall 2003): 28.
[16] Charles C. Crissman, Donald C. Cole & Fernando Carpio, "Pesticide Use and Farm Worker Health in Ecuadorian Potato Production," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 76 (August 1994).
[17] Charles C. Crissman, Donald C. Cole & Fernando Carpio, "Pesticide Use and Farm Worker Health in Ecuadorian Potato Production," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 76 (August 1994).

farmers place themselves, their families, communities and environments in terrible

danger. "Carchi has the highest provincial rates of reported pesticide poisonings, with

twenty two cases per 100,000 [people]."[18] Highly toxic chemicals are increasingly

taking a toll on Carchi families and communities. Only within the last two decades has

the evidence from Carchi truly exposed the health effects and risks that result from

repetitive exposure to toxic chemicals.

At first glance, it initially seems as if men working in potato fields with constant

direct contact to pesticides would exhibit the most severe effects. While this is

predominately true, many women and children are also suffering from pesticide

contamination. The list of documented health effects seems endless: neurological,

genetic, and reproductive disorders, cancers, dermatitis and impaired immune function.[19]

Increasingly, researchers have correlated Carchi's high suicide rate to mood altering

effects from pesticide exposure.[20] Furthermore, despite the increased potato yields from

using pesticides, many farmers suffer from decreased mental capacities, due to toxic

fumes, which actually inhibit good decision making skills. Even though pesticides may

be combating pests and fungus, some farmers lose the ability to make sound decisions

about their families and farms; "mental capacity is one determinant of how effectively

farmers can work the land." Recent research from Canada's International Development

Research Center shows that when pesticide use decreases, farmers display increased brain

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[18] Donald C. Cole, et. al, "Assessment of Peripheral Nerve Function in an Ecuadorian Rural Populations Exposed to Pesticides," *Journal of Toxicology and Environmental Health* 55 (Part A 1998).

[19] Anna Karin Hurtig & Miguel San Sebastian, "Pesticide Use among Farmers in the Amazon Basin of Ecuador," Archives *of Environmental Health* 58 (April 2003).

[20] Dale, Stephen. *Preventing Pesticide Poisonings in Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.

functioning, which actually improves their productivity on the land.[21]  Not to mention

that the associated risks of cancer, skin diseases, and reproductive disorders accordingly

decreased as well.

For the most part, expensive protective gear is not a feasible purchase for farmers

in Carchi, thus making direct contact with pesticides virtually inevitable during daily

field operations.  Furthermore, farmers do not generally use safe storage, handling, and

application procedures or equipment.[22]  Even though exposure can occur while mixing

the chemicals, the most hazardous activity is using the backpack sprayer.  Most Carchi

farmers must spray their small plots manually.  Once pesticide "cocktails" are mixed- at

times, by hand- the liquid chemicals are placed into a backpack sprayer, which the farmer

or hired laborer then carries around the field, spraying the potato plants.  Backpack

sprayers "often leak" which causes very high, intense exposure for the farmers.[23]  A

person's back, legs and arms can literally soak in pesticide that leaks from the spray

equipment.

As sprayers leak, a farmer's clothes become contaminated with pesticides, as do

his shoes while walking around a field.  This clothing is typically brought into the home

and may be stored before being washed.  Often, the same clothing is worn again before

being laundered.[24]  Not only does this double the exposure risk to the farmer himself, but

these actions also directly introduce pesticides into a farmer's home.  Residual pesticide

molecules contaminate surfaces within a house, where women and children are likely to

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[21] Dale, Stephen. *Preventing Pesticide Poisonings in Ecuador.*  Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.

[22] John M. Antle & Susan M. Capalbo, "Pesticides, Productivity, and Farmer Health: Implications for Regulatory Policy and Agricultural Research," American *Journal of Agricultural Economics* 76 (August 1994): 602.

[23] MacLeod, Kirsteen. (2001).  *Investigating the Impact of Pesticides on Potato Farmers in Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.

[24] Donald C. Cole, "Deadly Double Standard," *Alternatives Journal* 29:4 (Fall 2003): 27.

come into direct contact with the chemicals. When contaminated clothing is stored within the house, "exposure to pesticide vapors can be chronic."[25] Farmers and their families are typically unaware of this invisible transfer of pesticide residue, so proper precautions are often neglected, thus placing children directly in the presence of toxins.

While protective equipment and proper clothing seem to be basic solutions to exposure problems, even routine daily activities can expose a farmer to agrochemicals. During meal and snack breaks from the fields, hand washing is not a normal practice within Carchi communities; consequently, many farmers directly ingest toxins that have been residually left on their hands and faces.[26] Furthermore, in some cases, farmers have been known to eat as they spray or work in a potato field.[27] To most farmers, such rudimentary activities do not seem correlated to hazardous agrochemicals. A 2003 report from highland Ecuador shows that only 23.2 percent of the interviewed population identified food and/or water as a possible way for pesticides to enter the body.[28] This complete lack of knowledge and understanding means that farmers are usually unaware of preventative measures that *could* be taken. It is often not a conscious action to eat without washing one's hands and farmers certainly do no intentionally bring home pesticides, yet what farmers do not understand about pesticides is essentially poisoning the Carchi community.

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[25] Crissman, Charles C., John M. Antle and Susan M. Capalbo, eds. *Economic, Environmental, and Health Tradeoffs in Agriculture: Pesticides and the Sustainability of Andean Potato Production*. Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998.

[26] Crissman, Charles, et. al, "Potato Production and Pesticide Use in Ecuador: Linking Impact Assessment and Rural Development Intervention for Greater Eco-system Health." Presented at the International Conference on Impact Assessment, San Jose, Costa Rica, February 2002.

[27] Anna Karin Hurtig & Miguel San Sebastian, "Pesticide Use among Farmers in the Amazon Basin of Ecuador," *Archives of Environmental Health* 58 (April 2003): 227.

[28] Anna Karin Hurtig & Miguel San Sebastian, "Pesticide Use among Farmers in the Amazon Basin of Ecuador," *Archives of Environmental Health* 58 (April 2003): 225.

Although potato farming is heavily dominated by male farmers and sprayers, women and children often develop symptoms of pesticide exposure similar to those of men. Neurological problems, growth abnormalities, and skin problems are present in Carchi's women and children. A stunning 96 percent of exposed applicators (sprayers) are male, yet 86 percent of exposed non-applicators (those not directly spraying the fields), are female.[29] There are many ways for women and children to become exposed to pesticide toxins, many of which involve simple household chores.

As noted earlier, when a farmer brings his contaminated clothing home from the field, it is often stored inside the house. Pesticide molecules cover household surfaces, and vapors cause prolonged exposure, especially harmful to young children. However, when those contaminated clothes are eventually washed, it is generally with the family's combined laundry. A farmer's wife or daughter, responsible for laundry, touches and washes the clothing. Laundry water quickly becomes contaminated, which means that her hands are directly exposed to pesticides in the water, as are any areas upon which water splashes. Pesticides also seep onto the other clothing being washed. In 75.6 percent of studied cases, "the clothes used for pesticide application were washed together with the family laundry."[30] Essentially, a family's entire stock of clothing could eventually be contaminated with residual pesticides.

Furthermore, while women are not often sprayers in potato fields, they are often found working in the fields during harvest times. Considered non-applicator exposure, women directly encounter pesticides that are sprayed during the growing season. Several

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[29] Donald C. Cole, et. al, "Assessment of Peripheral Nerve Function in an Ecuadorian Rural Populations Exposed to Pesticides," *Journal of Toxicology and Environmental Health* 55 (Part A 1998): 84.
[30] Anna Karin Hurtig & Miguel San Sebastian, "Pesticide Use among Farmers in the Amazon Basin of Ecuador," *Archives of Environmental Health* 58 (April 2003): 226.

women in Carchi were even found to be carrying vegetables home from the field in pesticide mixing containers.[31]  Additionally, many vegetable crops in Carchi receive liberal insecticide applications close to harvest, thus leaving high levels of residue on the vegetables when they are consumed.[32]  Women are not only touching pesticides directly as they harvest potatoes and other vegetables, but the food sources being consumed by the family are contaminated.  Again, this places men, women, and children in a position to be harmfully exposed to chemicals.

Despite the litany of physical and metal problems that can be caused by exposure to pesticides, many potato growing families must also bear the economic and labor risks that accompany being sick.  When a farmer becomes too ill to productively work in the field, he must bear the opportunity costs of recuperating, and the direct costs of medical bills and treatments.[33]  For most workers, being too ill to work means a minimal loss of one day's worth of wages.  Coupled with increased medical spending, pesticide exposure can create true hardships for farmers and their families.  Essentially, for a potato farmer in Carchi, the potential loss of productivity and the prospective increase of treatment costs must be added to the cost of the pesticides.[34]  Under this theory, pesticides no longer constitute a mere 20 percent of input costs; pesticide costs drastically increase, depending on how severely ill a person falls.

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[31] Anna Karin Hurtig & Miguel San Sebastian, "Pesticide Use among Farmers in the Amazon Basin of Ecuador," *Archives of Environmental Health* 58 (April 2003).

[32] Donald C. Cole, et. al, "Assessment of Peripheral Nerve Function in an Ecuadorian Rural Populations Exposed to Pesticides," *Journal of Toxicology and Environmental Health* 55 (Part A 1998): 85.

[33] John M. Antle & Susan M. Capalbo, "Pesticides, Productivity, and Farmer Health: Implications for Regulatory Policy and Agricultural Research," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 76 (August 1994): 599.

[34] Crissman, Charles, et. al, "Potato Production and Pesticide Use in Ecuador: Linking Impact Assessment and Rural Development Intervention for Greater Eco-system Health." Presented at the International Conference on Impact Assessment, San Jose, Costa Rica, February 2002.

Research conducted in the early 1990's showed that twenty two male youth and adults lost 98 working days within one year. This means that each person lost an average of 4.5 working days. Given that these workers may only early 1.50 dollars a day, and medical costs can be as high as eighteen dollars, most farmers literally cannot afford to be sick.[35] Unfortunately, for many farmers, these potential risks are simply tradeoffs made in order to have better crop yields. A farmer is willing to take the chance of falling ill if he can guarantee an improved potato yield.

Some farmers in Carchi use hired labor to spray pesticides. This limits the farmer's direct exposure to pesticides, while placing the risk of agrochemical effects on someone else. While this situation is not overtly common, circumstances such as this place exceedingly high risk on the day laborer. Given that hired laborers are paid only for daily work accomplished, any time away from the field results in no pay. Therefore, health costs of pesticide exposure are born by the hired workers in diminished work capacity or reduced work time.[36] Economically, many hired laborers simply cannot afford to miss days of work on top of increased medical expenses. Most hired workers using pesticides are not attune to the risks of direct exposure. These workers are therefore more likely to become sick and be unable to work for a period of time. Under these circumstances, the risk is placed on the day laborer and the farmer assumes more minimal hazards.

Health effects of pesticide exposure are further compounded by gender stereotypes that infiltrate some Carchi communities. For many male farmers, admitting

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[35] Charles C. Crissman, Donald C. Cole & Fernando Carpio, "Pesticide Use and Farm Worker Health in Ecuadorian Potato Production," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 76 (August 1994).

[36] John M. Antle & Susan M. Capalbo, "Pesticides, Productivity, and Farmer Health: Implications for Regulatory Policy and Agricultural Research," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 76 (August 1994): 600.

illness due to pesticide poisoning is a sign of weakness. "There is a concept that a real man has to be strong and pesticides cannot affect a strong man."[37]  Men are more likely to ignore signs of poisoning, thus letting symptoms develop into potentially fatal circumstances.  Men represent the highest exposure rates among most communities, yet are least likely to seek medical attention.  The gender stereotypes promoting "toughness" and "infallibility" sometimes exacerbate mild, treatable symptoms into more serious, complex illnesses.

Pesticide use undoubtedly has detrimental health effects on rural populations in highland Carchi.  Health risks must be weighed by farmers to determine how much pesticide use is worthwhile and what the increased productivity will cost.  While it is sort of possible to weigh health risks on an individual family basis, environmental impacts affect a community at large.  One farmer's pesticide use has the potential to contaminate groundwater, other fields and soils throughout a community.  "There are dynamic processes that transport the pesticide from point to point in the air, soil and water.  These include wind drift or dispersal of airborne pesticides in either vapor or droplets, leaching of pesticides by water moving through soil, erosion of pesticide laden sediments, surface runoff and groundwater transport."[38]  Nature basically has its own dispersal system that often causes negative environmental impacts on a community that is heavily involved in pesticide and agrochemical use.

Given the intensity of health effects found in regions like Carchi, Ecuador, one would expect to find similarly high levels of environmental degradation.  However, such

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[37] Dale, Stephen.  *Preventing Pesticide Poisonings in Ecuador.*  Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.

[38] Crissman, Charles C., John M. Antle and Susan M. Capalbo, eds.  *Economic, Environmental, and Health Tradeoffs in Agriculture: Pesticides and the Sustainability of Andean Potato Production.*  Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998, 42.

is not the case in most Andean communities. Soils within these communities are volcanic and therefore contain high levels of organic content. Combined with patterns of light rainfall which move chemicals slowly through the soil, evidence has yet to show overwhelming pesticide effects on the environment.[39] In addition, the heavy soils are capable of absorbing large amounts of pesticides and insecticides so that groundwater is less threatened.[40] At surface level, it appears that most pesticide effects are taking a dramatic toll on humans rather than the environment. Nevertheless, "environmental concern over pesticide use is based on the total amount of toxins that enter the watershed or other unit. Thus, the total amount of land on which pesticides are used and the rate of use on a unit of land are key factors in environmental contamination."[41] Current levels of pesticides in the environment show contamination is taking place and therefore cannot be ignored.

Ongoing research reveals that environmental pollution is present, however, just not at exorbitant levels. Despite the rich Andean soils, the absorption of pesticides is possible, especially in fields that repeatedly receive sprayings. Low potentials for leaching, ultimately resulting in observed contamination, have been measured in certain Carchi communities.[42] Even though low levels of leaching and absorption bode well for the overall environmental impacts, moderate levels of erosion imply that contaminated soil may be washed away to other highland areas. Therefore, while the minimal levels of

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[39] *Pesticides threaten Ecuadorian farmers, but soil and water are Untouched."* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.cipotato.org/potato/ipm/ecuador_pesticides.asp.

[40] *New Research in Ecuador Simplifies Policy Decisions on Health and Environment.* (May 2002). Retrieved February 13, 2008 from http://web.worldbank.org.

[41] Crissman, Charles C., John M. Antle and Susan M. Capalbo, eds. *Economic, Environmental, and Health Tradeoffs in Agriculture: Pesticides and the Sustainability of Andean Potato Production.* Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998, 23.

[42] Kelly Theisen, Graham Thiele & Greg Forbes. (2006). *International Potato Center: World Potato Atlas: Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from http://research.cip.cgiar.org.

soil contamination should be celebrated and maintained, the impact on surrounding

communities must also be considered when measuring overall environmental impacts.

Much of the worry about pesticides and the environment stems from water

contamination. Water is a vital life resource, for people, livestock, and for crops, and it is

also a necessary ingredient for mixing chemical cocktails. Unfortunately, many residents

of Carchi do not take appropriate precautions to ensure that water sources are kept free of

pesticide residue. Data from 2003 reports that 42.3 percent of farmers washed the

[pesticide application] equipment in the river and 9.9 percent washed it in the same place

where they obtained drinking water.[43] Washing pesticide containers in open water

sources not only contaminates the water within the community, but any place

downstream from where the containers are washed will have toxic residues.

Similar problems are present when laundry is washed in highland communities

like Carchi. When clothes containing chemical residues are cleaned, the laundry water

becomes contaminated with chemicals. Upon disposal of this water, the potential exists

for water sources or soil to become contaminated with the pesticide laden water. Even

farmers who acknowledge the harmful effects of pesticides do not correlate dirty laundry

water as a possible source of environmental contamination.

Airborne effects of pesticides have the potential to reach surrounding

communities and farm plots. The majority of potato farmers in Carchi use the backpack

technique where pesticide cocktails are mixed, loaded into a backpack sprayer, and

manually distributed across the field. This method of spraying is conducive to airborne

effects, which can send pesticide molecules though the air for miles. "When sprayed at

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[43] Anna Karin Hurtig & Miguel San Sebastian, "Pesticide Use among Farmers in the Amazon Basin of Ecuador," *Archives of Environmental Health* 58 (April 2003): 224.

the soil surface, there is substantial opportunity during spraying for escape of the

pesticide to surrounding crops, and perhaps even to other fields through wind drift."[44]

Consequently, it is also feasible for wind drift to carry agrochemical molecules to water

sources, further increasing the incidence of contaminated water.

Despite low measurable levels of pesticide use in the Andean highlands today,

increased potato farming brings heightened risks to the environment. In communities

such as Carchi, a large number of farmers plant relatively small plots (less than five

hectares, on average). However, as potato farming increases, even within these small

plots, pesticide use is likely to rise accordingly. Given that virtually all farmers utilize

modern inputs, "the growth in potato production will be accompanied by a heightened

use of pesticides."[45] Even though the environmental effects today appear to be minimal,

preventative and precautionary actions must take place throughout highland communities

to ensure environmental degradation is not astronomical in the future. Increased

pesticide use, especially of cheap toxic formulas, will quickly have a detrimental impact

on the Andean environment if farmers do not learn pest management alternatives now.

Interestingly, potato farming also has environmental effects not directly correlated

to pesticide use. In certain steep hill areas of Carchi, with deep volcanic soils, some

farmers use tractors to cultivate the lands. Combined with rainfall, wind, and deep

slopes, this leads to considerable topsoil loss on the "uphill side of many fields."

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[44] Crissman, Charles C., John M. Antle and Susan M. Capalbo, eds. *Economic, Environmental, and Health Tradeoffs in Agriculture: Pesticides and the Sustainability of Andean Potato Production.* Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998, 43.
[45] Crissman, Charles C., John M. Antle and Susan M. Capalbo, eds. *Economic, Environmental, and Health Tradeoffs in Agriculture: Pesticides and the Sustainability of Andean Potato Production.* Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998, 86.

Ultimately, this high topsoil loss can lead to higher levels of erosion.[46]  Although

pesticides are not a direct contributor to this specific method of erosion, it is still an

important side effect of potato farming that must be considered when determining

sustainable programs and alternatives to potato crops.  Furthermore, if eroded soils are

contaminated with pesticides, it is likely that even more areas will show residual pesticide

molecules as the soils resettle in other areas.

Over the past seventy years, one of the biggest hurdles impeding safe use of

pesticides was that farmers lacked knowledge about safety for agrochemicals.  Many

farmers were only generally aware of "potential" side effects; many more were oblivious

to the severity and complexity of symptoms and effects.  "Farm members often cannot

decipher the complex warnings and instructions provided on most pesticide labels.

Although 87 percent of the population is functionally literate, over 90 percent could not

explain the meaning of the colored bands on pesticide containers indicating pesticide

toxicity."[47]  Therefore, even feeble attempts by agrochemical companies to designate

toxicity were not understood by the mixers and sprayers of the chemicals.

Consequently, farmers did not realize how much exposure their families were

receiving.  The idea of bringing home pesticide residues on shoes, clothing and

equipment was not a consequence that most farmers had considered.  A recent study in

Carchi used a tracer to find levels of pesticides within the home, and many farmers were

stunned by the residual findings; pesticides were found on children's hands and faces and

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[46] Kelly Theisen, Graham Thiele & Greg Forbes. (2006). *International Potato Center: World Potato Atlas: Ecuador.*  Retrieved February 13, 2008 from http://research.cip.cgiar.org.
[47] Crissman, Charles, et. al, "Potato Production and Pesticide Use in Ecuador: Linking Impact Assessment and Rural Development Intervention for Greater Eco-system Health." Presented at the International Conference on Impact Assessment, San Jose, Costa Rica, February 2002, 11.

also on other household objects.[48]  For many farmers, the use of the tracer was the first time they clearly saw how pesticide contamination and residual molecules affected their families.  Farmers were not intentionally putting their families in danger, yet without adequate information and understanding, the harsh outcomes of pesticide use were unbeknown to most potato growers.

Part of the overall contamination problems affecting many Andean communities, especially Carchi, is the lack of protective gear used by farmers.  Without protective gear, not only is skin directly and repeatedly exposed to chemicals, but clothing often comes into direct contact with pesticides.  A farmer is likely to contaminate his work clothes, which are then washed with family laundry.  However, high quality protective equipment can cost a farmer over a week's income, and is therefore unaffordable to many potato farmers.[49]  Again, the lack of understanding that toxic molecules can be transferred via water and inadequate protective clothing means that farmers and their families take undue risks, many of which are taken without true comprehension of the consequences.

Even though potato farming has been prevalent in highland Ecuador for millennia, and pesticides have been used for nearly seventy years, only recently have the health effects and environmental problems become substantial issues of concern to the developed world.  The last twenty five years have witnessed an influx of health and environmental assistance aided by research and policies to assist the Ecuadorian people and curtail the burden being placed on human lives.  Many programs now exist, in Carchi and other highland communities, to educate and assist farmers in sustainable cropping,

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[48] Crissman, Charles, et. al, "Potato Production and Pesticide Use in Ecuador: Linking Impact Assessment and Rural Development Intervention for Greater Eco-system Health." Presented at the International Conference on Impact Assessment, San Jose, Costa Rica, February 2002, 9.
[49] Donald C. Cole, "Deadly Double Standard," *Alternatives Journal* 29:4 (Fall 2003): 28.

without such heavy dependence on chemicals. Information dissemination programs are being instituted, and many communities have local medical staff trained to specifically identify signs of toxic poisoning.

One of the most prevalent projects currently underway in Carchi, called EcoSalud, works to educate local farmers and strengthen their capacity to handle pesticides safely. Ultimately, EcoSalud works to improve the health of the local community.[50] Researchers and experts work with farm families in Carchi, taking time to explain the transmission of pesticide molecules and how individuals can be poisoned, even without direct exposure to chemicals. EcoSalud employs fluorescent tracers to illustrate how pesticides can quickly infiltrate an entire household.[51] Once farmers are educated as to how harmful careless pesticide use can be, attitudes and methods of mixing and spraying often change so that family homes are no longer contaminated sites where children are being poisoned.

In order to facilitate safe methods of pesticide use, EcoSalud assists farmers in acquiring good protective gear to use in the fields. EcoSalud initiated a no-interest, two month credit towards the purchase price of safety equipment.[52] While farmers were still responsible for the majority of the financial undertaking, the small credit made the sizeable purchases much more feasible for most farmers. High quality masks, gloves, overalls and pants were bought, and farmers quickly began protecting themselves and their families with the new gear.[53] Investing in the equipment also made sound economic

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[50] MacLeod, Kirsteen. (2001). *Investigating the Impact of Pesticides on Potato Farmers in Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.
[51] MacLeod, Kirsteen. (2001). *Investigating the Impact of Pesticides on Potato Farmers in Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.
[52] Donald C. Cole, "Deadly Double Standard," *Alternatives Journal* 29:4 (Fall 2003): 28.
[53] Donald C. Cole, "Deadly Double Standard," *Alternatives Journal* 29:4 (Fall 2003): 28.

sense; if sick days could be prevented, a farmer was less likely to lose the wages and productivity associated with that day's work.

Despite the fact that more farmers are informed about pesticides and more are using protective equipment, the root problem still exists: pesticide usage. Many programs hope to educate farmers about alternatives to pesticides that can provide equal, if not better, levels of productivity. Ultimately, it is hoped that intensive pesticide use actually decreases, thus placing less strain on community members and the environment. Integrated Pest Management aims to provide new direction and new methods of productivity to Andean farmers. Rather than eliminating pesticides all together, most integrated pest management projects combine minimal agrochemicals with other techniques, such as pest traps.[54] Farmers learn how to efficiently use pest traps, and some integrated pest management programs introduce strains of blight-resistant potatoes that require minimal spraying.[55] As farmers learn to employ the integrated strategies, most actually save money on pesticides, and can afford to purchase the pest traps and new strains of seeds.

As expected, many farmers were skeptical of integrated pest management programs; discontinued use of pesticides presented too large a risk, given the dependence on high potato yields both for a family and for the market. Most farmers in Carchi needed to "see to believe"[56] that productivity could remain high, despite fewer sprayings. Researchers accommodated the farmers by setting up farmer field schools to teach integrated pest management. At the schools, farmers could experiment with weevil traps,

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[54] *Escape from a Toxic "Catch-22."* Retrieved February 13, 2008, from www.idrc.ca.
[55] Dale, Stephen. *Preventing Pesticide Poisonings in Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.
[56] *Escape from a Toxic "Catch-22."* Retrieved February 13, 2008, from www.idrc.ca.

different potato strains, and lower toxicity pesticides without risking their own potato yields.[57]  Under this system, farmers gained confidence in integrated pest management tools; most farmers were surprised that decreased pesticide use could reduce extreme exposure to toxic chemicals *and* actually improve potato crops.

Heartened by the results from the farmer field schools, many potato farmers employed the integrated pest management techniques on their own fields.  Data collected after intensive pest management programs show that many farmers swiftly and competently changed their methods of pest control.  The overall amount of pesticides applied dropped dramatically; the amounts of insecticide used for Andean weevil control declined by 75 percent.  Furthermore, the total number of pesticide applications was reduced from twelve (in conventional plots) to seven, in plots that used integrated pest management.[58]  Although many Carchi farmers needed a little persuading and cajoling, ultimate results show that many heeded the integrated pest management strategies to reduce the risk on their families, but also improve their potato productivity.

The benefits for many farmers, however, did not end at healthier families and better crop yields.  Equal or improved levels of productivity with lower input costs meant that many farmers experienced improved profits.  "The integrated pest management fields yielded as many or more potatoes than conventional plots, but production costs decreased from US $104 per ton for conventional plots to $80 for integrated pest management plots."[59]  The additional profits enticed farmers to continue with the less pesticide heavy

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[57] *Escape from a Toxic "Catch-22."*  Retrieved February 13, 2008, from www.idrc.ca.
[58] Dale, Stephen.  *Preventing Pesticide Poisonings in Ecuador.*  Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.
[59] Dale, Stephen.  *Preventing Pesticide Poisonings in Ecuador.*  Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.

methods of potato farming and simultaneously helped to alleviate the pesticide related illnesses that had previously characterized the community.

Recent research praises the methods of integrated pest management for improving potato farming in Carchi communities. However, the results now seem two fold: farmers enhanced their level of farming skills and techniques, but as fewer agrochemicals were applied to crops, farmers suffered fewer neurological effects, which led to better, well informed farming decisions.[60] Competency seems to improve when farmers are not ingesting chemicals throughout the day; headaches and dizziness symptoms lessen, and farmers have acknowledged "clearer thinking."[61] Thus, the initial goal of integrated pest management programs to decrease the heavy use of pesticides has given additional benefits to both the community dwellers and the environment of Carchi. Smart decision making and integrated methods for controlling pests seems to be the best way for farmers to maximize their yields from the potato field.

Nonetheless, as farming methods change throughout Andean Ecuador, there are still those who believe that strong pesticide spraying is the best way to combat the pests and fungus that can damage entire crops. The numbers of integrated pest management programs and farmer field schools are not adequate enough to reach every remote community along the hillsides. The hope is that participants in early management programs will share their knowledge and success stories so that neighboring communities change their methods as well. However, intensely toxic agrochemicals are still for sale throughout the region, and the skeptics remain. Sellers emphasize the need to keep

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[60] MacLeod, Kirsteen. (2001). *Investigating the Impact of Pesticides on Potato Farmers in Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.

[61] MacLeod, Kirsteen. (2001). *Investigating the Impact of Pesticides on Potato Farmers in Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.

"things as they have always been done."[62]  After all, pesticides have excellent records for keeping the weevils and fungus away, so there is great risk in altering a working system. As productivity levels on integrated pest managed farms continue to be better than those using pesticides, many program leaders and community members in Ecuador hope that the reticent groups will make the shift away from toxic spraying.

When pesticide imports began in Ecuador, over sixty years ago, the government subsidized chemical products, making them readily available to farmers across the country.  Tariff rates were much lower than those applied to other imported goods.[63] Government policy allowed liberal sale and use of highly toxic pesticides, many of which were no longer allowed to be sold in the developed world.  Now, decades later, the Ecuadorian government has changed its stance on pesticide imports.  Rather than condone the chemicals having horrible health and environmental effects, the government of Ecuador has virtually ended pesticide subsidies.  In the early 1990s, market oriented policy reforms on behalf of the Ecuadorian leaders resulted in steep declines in agrochemical import subsidies.  The government acknowledged the crops and productivity levels that depend on pesticides, and therefore, some small subsidies remained in effect.[64]  Yet, between decreased demand on behalf of the farmers, and the government's decreasing willingness to support agrochemicals, the pesticide market in Ecuador is actually smaller today than just twenty years ago.

Demands from community stakeholders have also curtailed the enthusiasm for pesticide and fungicide products in Ecuador.  In 1999, representatives from government,

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[62] *Escape from a Toxic "Catch-22."*  Retrieved February 13, 2008, from www.idrc.ca.
[63] Kelly Theisen, Graham Thiele & Greg Forbes. (2006). *International Potato Center: World Potato Atlas: Ecuador.*  Retrieved February 13, 2008 from http://research.cip.cgiar.org.
[64] Kelly Theisen, Graham Thiele & Greg Forbes. (2006). *International Potato Center: World Potato Atlas: Ecuador.*  Retrieved February 13, 2008 from http://research.cip.cgiar.org.

industry, development organizations, and communities met to discuss health and pesticides. The major outcome of the conference was a unified demand to prohibit the use of "highly" toxic products and to include integrated pest management techniques in agriculture classes at the university level. Furthermore, the delegation hoped to promote wider dissemination of information on the effects of pesticides.[65] This meeting proved to be a true capstone along the pathway to develop the health of Ecuador's highland communities and clean up the environment before irreparable damages became evident.

One decade ago, various constituents across Ecuador recognized that pesticides could have tremendous ill effects on the people and the countryside. Yet, it is difficult to advocate the complete dissolution of pesticides. In a country where as much as 60 percent of annual crop production can be lost to pests and diseases in harvest and post-harvest,[66] is it right to demand that farmers end the use of productivity enhancing chemicals when their livelihoods depend on it? For avid environmentalists and humanitarian activists, the answer is yes. The wealth of knowledge and technology available to farmers today begs that pesticide use be curtailed. Environmental and human friendly alternatives have proven to be equally- if not more- effective than spraying toxic chemicals across a field.

Pubic health policies that incorporate health education programs and alternatives to pesticide use must become a priority for the Ecuadorian government.[67] Health education should be available throughout highland communities so that farmers fully

[65] Dale, Stephen. *Preventing Pesticide Poisonings in Ecuador.* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.idrc.ca.

[66] Crissman, Charles C., John M. Antle and Susan M. Capalbo, eds. *Economic, Environmental, and Health Tradeoffs in Agriculture: Pesticides and the Sustainability of Andean Potato Production.* Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998, 121.

[67] *Pesticides threaten Ecuadorian farmers, but soil and water are Untouched."* Retrieved February 13, 2008 from www.cipotato.org/potato/ipm/ecuador_pesticides.asp.

understand the risks they must assume when choosing to use harsh agrochemicals multiple times throughout a growing season. Lack of education and understanding should no longer be the scapegoat for Carchi farmers; local and national governments should prioritize the dissemination of information so that farmers take responsibility for potentially hazardous actions. Health policies and education will show how innocent children and community members become poisoned from inhaling or ingesting toxic particles. A sweeping health movement that leaves no community untouched will bring farmers into the arena of making community oriented decisions.

Combined with health education programs, efforts to minimize the overall use of agrochemicals should be taught through training campaigns among farmers. Farmers must limit frequency of pesticide use in general, but especially around the house and public water sources.[68] Farmers should be advised as to how best dispose of chemicals if they choose to use such pest management measures. Additionally, the unbending requirement to use protective gear must reach all ears. Poison related illnesses are too costly for a farmer and his family for protective gear to be neglected. Perhaps the Ecuadorian government needs to institute regulations demanding that sprayers use protective gear. Legislation regarding correct storage and clean up measures would also behoove highland areas. If farmers are accountable, not only to their families, but also to the government, perhaps many more will be proactive in finding methods that avoid leaching toxic chemicals into the community and environment.

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[68] Anna Karin Hurtig & Miguel San Sebastian, "Pesticide Use among Farmers in the Amazon Basin of Ecuador," *Archives of Environmental Health* 58 (April 2003): 226.

In 2001, the Ecosystem Health Program worked to build a "holistic, gender sensitive, participatory approach"[69] to attack the problems of pesticides in Ecuador. Given men's and women's diverse priorities and roles within the household, it seems abundantly clear that both sexes must be involved with decreasing pesticide use. As predominately men work in the fields and as sprayers, their responsibility lies in the safe mixing, usage, and ultimate cleaning of application related devices. On the other hand, women's responsibilities come under the guise of housework: contaminated clothing should not be washed with general familial laundry, vegetables must be carefully washed before consumption, and regular cleaning of surfaces in the house will help keep pesticide molecules away from young bodies. By incorporating the gender roles that already exist within places like Carchi, an integrated pest management program is likely to be sustainable.

As development programs work throughout Ecuador, sustainable environmental and human capacity projects should be incorporated in the Andean regions. Farmers must understand their alternatives to pesticide use, and must take the responsibility to remove themselves, their families and their environment from the hazards of toxic pest management effects. More integrated pest management programs and farmer's field scenarios must grace the hills of Carchi. While much progress has been made in the last two decades, many rural communities still lack the resources and knowledge to eliminate pesticides from bountiful potato yields.

Agrochemicals have essentially become poisonous lifeblood for many potato farmers in Andean Ecuador. Crops are doomed to fail without it, and poverty stricken

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[69] Crissman, Charles, et. al, "Potato Production and Pesticide Use in Ecuador: Linking Impact Assessment and Rural Development Intervention for Greater Eco-system Health." Presented at the International Conference on Impact Assessment, San Jose, Costa Rica, February 2002.

farmers cannot afford to risk an entire potato crop to weevils or fungus. For many, the difficult decision comes down to the ability to feed one's family, or placing one's family in toxic danger. Unfortunately, many farmers still cannot escape from the ties that bind them to pesticides; the economic repercussions are too much to bear, and could ultimately bring hardships perceived to be worse than poisoning. The Ecuadorian government, alongside development agencies working in the Andean regions, must recognize pesticide exposure as a problem to be solved immediately. The environment has absorbed chemicals for too long now; continued use is begging for unrecoverable ecological disaster. The looming environmental effects and the current illnesses associated with pesticides and fungicides ought to be enough to provoke action. The responsibility lies between governments, development programs, agrochemical sellers, and the farmers of the Andean region to take control of pest management initiatives. Harsh agrochemicals must become a relic of the past, replaced by sustainable, ecological, economical alternatives for the future.

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# A Metric for Money:

The Natural Next Step in the Evolution of Democracy

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HAWAII INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SCIENCES
June 4 – 7, 2009

Abstract

Money needs a metric. That metric is already operating unrecognized as the center of gravity of currency exchange rates. By recognizing it, we can overcome the anomalies of political democracy and move the natural next step in the evolution of democracy to economic democracy.

An actual quantity defines every unit of the metric system. The meter is an actual length. The liter is an actual volume. The gram is an actual weight. We need to follow the example of the metric system with money. Every national money today uses a word that identifies the country whose money it is, but not one defines the actual quantity to which the numbers refer.

Time organizes all economic activities. To end inflation and deflation and to bring greater accuracy to prices, wages, and currency exchange rates, all monies need to be denominated in hours of productive work. Evidence for the correctness of the hour denominator is that equal work time has been the center of gravity of currency exchange rates for as long as the International Monetary Fund has published the data as shown in the following graph for 2008.
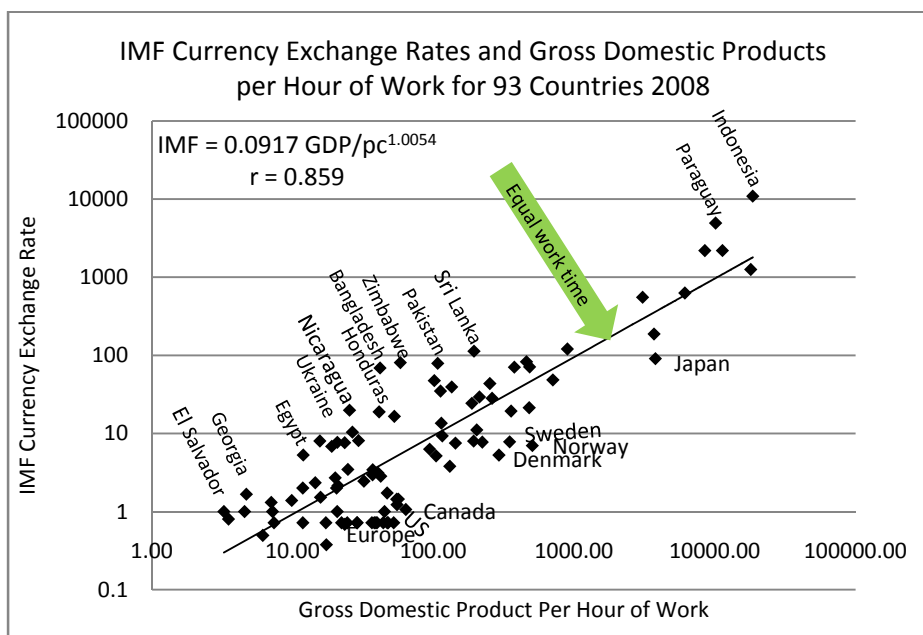


The centerline represents equal work time. If all currencies exchanged for equal amounts of productive work time, they would all be on the centerline. Countries whose

exchange rates are above the line are paying more than equal work time for the currencies of countries whose exchange rates are below the centerline. If all countries aligned their currencies to their Gross Domestic Product per hour of work, they would be at equal work time parity.

To calculate the work time value of a currency, divide Gross Domestic Product by the hours of work that produced it.

$$\frac{\text{Gross Domestic Product}}{\text{Hours of Work}} = \text{GDP per hour of work value of the currency.}$$

To express the value of a currency exchange rate in minutes of work, divide it by GDP per hour and multiply by 60.

$$\frac{\text{Currency Exchange Rate}}{\text{GDP per hour of work}} * 60 = \text{Exchange rate value in minutes of work.}$$

The country first to adopt an hour of work as its currency denominator would lead the world in adopting a metric for money the way that France led the world in adopting metrics for all other weights and measures. The Hour would modernize money and take the natural next step in the evolution of democracy from political to economic democracy.

## Anomalies of Political Democracy

What we call "democracy" is political democracy. The word "political" is from the Greek *polus*, meaning many. In political democracy, the votes of many people are collected and counted to produce a single outcome. The person or policy that receives the most votes wins.

Within political democracy we distinguish two forms; representative democracy, where many people vote for one representative to vote on legislation for them, and "direct democracy" such as a town meeting, citizen initiative or referendum where many people vote directly on legislation rather than a representative voting for them. Both of these meanings of democracy are "political," that is, *collective* democracy. Many votes produce one outcome.

We support political democracy because we believe that policies that draw a majority of votes are more likely to be correct than policies that draw less than a majority. However, we recognize many anomalies of political democracy, conditions that do not support the ideal, that detract from the expected best policy function of political democracy. These anomalies seem to have no solution except to change the people or policies in the next election. Here are fifteen anomalies of political democracy.

One: minority rule. Representatives are a minority. We may comfort ourselves that they were elected, but representatives are a tiny fraction of their constituencies. Representative democracy in practice is minority rule.

Two: tyranny of the majority. James Madison in Federalist paper number 10 warned that democracy would lead to tyranny of the majority. The writers of the United States Constitution justified checks and balances, not to ensure that only good laws were passed but to make it very difficult for majorities to prevail.

Three: tiny differences in votes have disproportionate consequences. General elections, as well as votes by representatives, are often decided by small differences in percentage of votes received. A few votes one way or the other would have changed the result. Why should 49 percent of a population or a legislative body be bound by 51

percent?  How correct is a policy that passes by such a small margin and that could be reversed later by a similar small margin?

Four: elections are rare.  If voting is the criterion of democracy, in a political democracy, citizens vote every two, four, or six years for no more than a minute or two in the voting booth.  How democratic is that?

Five: plutocracy.  Elections are expensive.  People with extra money influence who runs for office and who wins more than people without extra money.  Political democracy in practice is rule by the rich.

Six: oligarchy.  As Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) wrote in *The Ruling Class* (1896), it is easier for small groups to organize than it is for large groups, so all governments are ruled by minorities.  As  Robert Michels (1876-1936) found and published under the title, *Political Parties* (1911), incumbents have more experience than challengers, so the same people tend to be reelected repeatedly.  Socialist parties proclaim themselves democratic but Michels argued that they inevitably come to be governed by a small group.  Michels was so convinced that this was an inevitable consequence of political democracy that he called it the iron law of oligarchy.

Seven: inefficiency.  Promoting policies and candidates for office takes huge amounts of effort.  In legislative sessions, parliamentary rules require that everyone have ample opportunity to be heard.  Parliamentary procedure takes time, the larger the parliament, the more time required to process opinions and legislation.  Opponents in the minority may use the rules to delay a vote, as individual senators can do in the United States with a filibuster.

Eight: information overload.  Voters and representatives are overwhelmed with material to read and people to interview.  Members of the United States Congress, for example, receive rooms full of material pertaining to proposed bills.  They often, if not always, vote without reading bills on which they vote.

Nine: public ignorance.  Political democracy requires that voters be fully informed about candidates for office, their voting records, and legislation, past, present, and proposed.  Being fully informed is impossible.  Representatives are chosen precisely because the general public does not have the time and access to information needed to make intelligent legislative decisions.

Ten: partisanship.  Representatives are expected to support policies favorable to the people who elect them.  The rhetoric may say that representatives should vote for the common good, but reelection requires that they vote for policies that favor their part of the electorate.  Political democracy is inherently partisan.

Eleven: gerrymandering.  Voting district boundaries are drawn to make districts politically homogeneous, ensuring the reelection of persons of a particular political party.  As Barack Obama notes in his book, *The Audacity of Hope* (2008), gerrymandering means that representatives choose their voters rather than the other way around.  Gerrymandering makes it difficult to replace incumbents.

Twelve: winner-take-all.  Elections produce winners and losers.  Winners take advantage of their wins by doing as much as possible to their own advantage before the next election when they could become losers.  Political democracy is zero-sum; there are always winners and losers.

Thirteen: mediocrity.  To gain votes, policies gravitate toward middle positions – mediocrity.  Enacting a wisely correct policy is difficult when it differs from prevailing opinions.

Fourteen: endless growth. Political democracy grows and grows. Laws multiply; problems mushroom; taxes increase. Should we not expect good government to lead to less government? If a government makes wise decisions, additional decisions in the future should become less necessary. Yet, today, every action of political democracy seems to require more legislation, not less.

Fifteen: size. The larger the collective, the greater the impact of the previous anomalies. We know how difficult it can be for two people to agree. Agreement becomes more difficult with three people, with four people, and so on. How can policies agreeable to millions of people be found?

We live with these anomalies because, as Winston Churchill famously said, democracy is the worse form of government except for all the others. The best we can hope for, it seems, is to find better people to be our representatives. We are surprised when better people are unable to produce better results. We then become cynical about human nature itself, failing to see that the anomalies are inherent in the collective nature of political democracy.

Is political democracy with all its anomalies the best form of democracy that we can hope for, or is there a natural next step in the evolution of democracy?

We often call democracy *self*-government. However, by "self" we mean a nation, not a person. We say that nations governed by political democracy are self-governed. Is there a form of democracy beyond political democracy, one that is literally self-government in the personal sense of self? The question is particularly important today because global problems seem to require global government.

## The Seed of Economic Democracy

Economist Paul Samuelson (1915-  ) implied personal self-government by describing the market system as one where people vote with their money. I was so horrified by his example that for many years I failed to see there the seed of economic democracy.

> Goods go where there are the most votes or dollars. John D. Rockefeller's dog may receive the milk that a poor child needs to avoid rickets. Why? Because supply and demand are working badly? Quite badly from ethical viewpoints, but not from the standpoint of what the market mechanism is alone geared to accomplish. Functionally, auction markets are doing what they are designed to do — putting goods in the hands of those who can pay the most, who have the most money votes (Samuelson, 1976, pp. 46-47).

Imagine, dogs get milk while children get rickets and the market is doing the only thing it is designed to do! Samuelson used this example in all editions of his textbook that I have examined. No economy could function if ethics were beyond its domain. What economist would say that bank robbery is simply supply and demand and not an ethical question whose answer vitally affects the mechanics of economics? Yet here we have an economist claiming that indulging dogs while children are crippled is the market doing what it is designed to do!

Samuelson never claims that money voting is democratic. With vast inequalities in income, economic voting is plutocratic. Some have called it the golden rule; those with the gold, rule. If every employment and every purchase were a democratic vote, democracy would be daily and direct, efficient and effective. Then we could expect the need for political democracy to diminish. It would never vanish entirely because there

would always be decisions that would need to be made collectively.  But, if people were able to make most decisions wisely autonomously, political democracy would have less to do.

Political democracy is founded on the equality principle, one person, one vote.  To make economics democratic, we need a principle comparable to one person, one vote.  Is there such a principle?  The metric system exemplifies that kind of principle.

## Metric Government

The metric system governs.  It governs the measurement of length, weight, and volume.  People worldwide are obliged to use instruments calibrated precisely to official standards of weight and other measures.  The metric system is a sovereign government; it stands over people, compelling them to measure length with sticks calibrated in meters, volume with containers calibrated in liters, and weight with scales calibrated in grams.  Political governments made the metric system sovereign by legislating its sovereignty beginning with France in 1795.  Once enacted, the metric system made people autonomous and, therefore, sovereign.  People can use it as they see fit, authentic personal self-government.

The humble stick we call a "ruler" exemplifies interpersonal self-government.  We draw lines with rulers, but we do not call them "liners."  We call them rulers because when length is an issue, we do not take the case to a king or courtroom judge; we apply the ruler.  We measure.  The issue is resolved wisely, that is, correctly, efficiently, and amicably.  Voting on length would be foolish.  The ruler is a better judge of length than a vote.  Every measurement decision is a vote, an election, a choice, a decision made on site, visible to the parties directly involved.  Measurement is democracy in the literal personal sense of self- government.

The principle that government defines and people apply is why the metric system is the model for transcending the anomalies of political democracy, not by abolishing political democracy as neo-liberals seem to want, but by using political democracy to establish a proper metric for money.

## Money is Communication

The idea that money is first and foremost a medium of communication was suggested by my teacher at Harvard in the early 1960s, Talcott Parsons (1902-1979).

> Money is probably the most striking case of an institutionalized medium which is not ordinarily thought of in the context of communication, but which in fact has all the properties of a medium and language of communication when it is seen in the proper light to bring this out (Parsons, 1960: 273).

Inspired by Parsons' effort to develop a general theory, I worked over the course of my career integrating "golden threads" from all the social sciences into a simple tapestry of relationships showing the effects of symbols, centrality, codes, tools, motives, and population on the scale of cooperation and national wealth as measured by life expectancy (Blain, 2004).  The resulting Information Chain Theory inspired the invention of Cooperation: The Wealth of Nations Game, which is both a board game and a computer game that students play to compare barter, socialism, capitalism, and a system based on their strengths avoiding their weaknesses we call autonomy.  The computer version can be downloaded free from my website: http://hourmoney.org.

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This theory inspired `Cooperation: The Wealth of Nations Game.`

## The Information Chain Theory of Cooperation
### In Schematic Form

Population + Motives + Tools + Codes + Centrality + Symbols => Information Chain Length => Life Time.

| Population | Motives Amitai Etzioni | Tools Gerhard Lenski | Codes Talcott Parsons | Centrality Alex Bavelas | Symbols Leslie White | Chain Length Georg Simmel | Life Time |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| **MATURE** Billions William Godwin | Good Will Pitirim Sorokin | Electronic Marshall McLuhan | Philosophy Lewis Beck Science Auguste Comte | Earth Federation Glen Martin | Hour Money Democracy Benjamin Franklin Adam Smith Karl Marx | Global | Wealthy, Healthy, And Long John Ruskin |
| **MODERN** | Values Talcott Parsons | Electrical | Parliamentary Democracy Henry Roberts | Plutocracy C. Wright Mills | Metric Numbers Lester Ward | National | Orderly Progress Auguste Comte |
| | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| **Millions** Thomas Malthus | Material Reward George Homans | Mechanical | Bureaucracy Max Weber | Urban Emile Durkheim Robert Park | Phonetic Writing I. J. Gelb Alfred Moorhouse | City | Entropy Jeremy Rifkin |
| **PRIMAL** Thousands | | Animal | Tradition William Sumner | Hierarchy | | Village | |
| Hundreds | Fear Thomas Hobbes | Manual | Categories Emile Durkheim Unique | Alone | Spoken Language Gordon Allport Leo Postman | Face to Face | Poor And Short |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

100% = Maximum human competence and autonomy

0 = No ability to utilize human potential.

Developed from 1961 to 2008 by Bob Blain, PhD Emeritus Professor of Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

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6

These relationships are explained by the "information chain paradigm." The scale of cooperation and national wealth depend on the person to person distance that human beings are able to communicate information accurately (without entropy) and efficiently (with the least necessary amount of information and work).

## The Information Chain Paradigm

Correct information/ work load

Entropy: lost information

**Information Communicated** (y-axis: 0, 20, 40, 60, 80, 100)

**Information Chain Length** (x-axis: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)
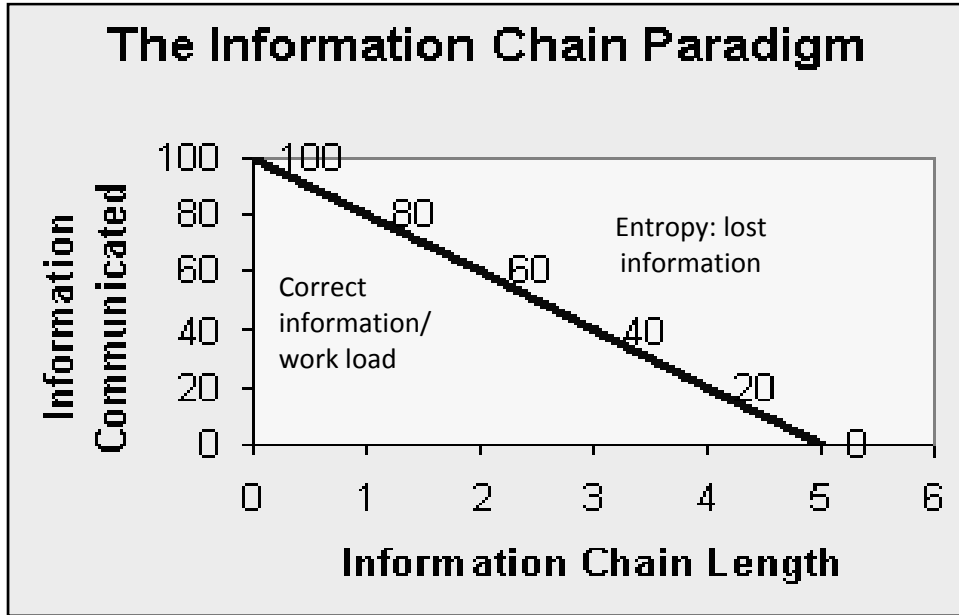
To enlarge the scale of cooperation, humans invented ways to reduce entropy and volume, including spoken language, writing, and the metric system. Because money has all the characteristics of a writing system – words and numbers – it was natural to ask where money fit the pattern. This led to realizing that money lacked a defining unit.

Spoken Language: large volume, rapid entropy

Writing: less volume, *slower entropy*

Money: inflation = entropy

Metrics: low volume, little entropy

**Information** (y-axis: 0, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100)

**Information Chain Length** (x-axis: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10)
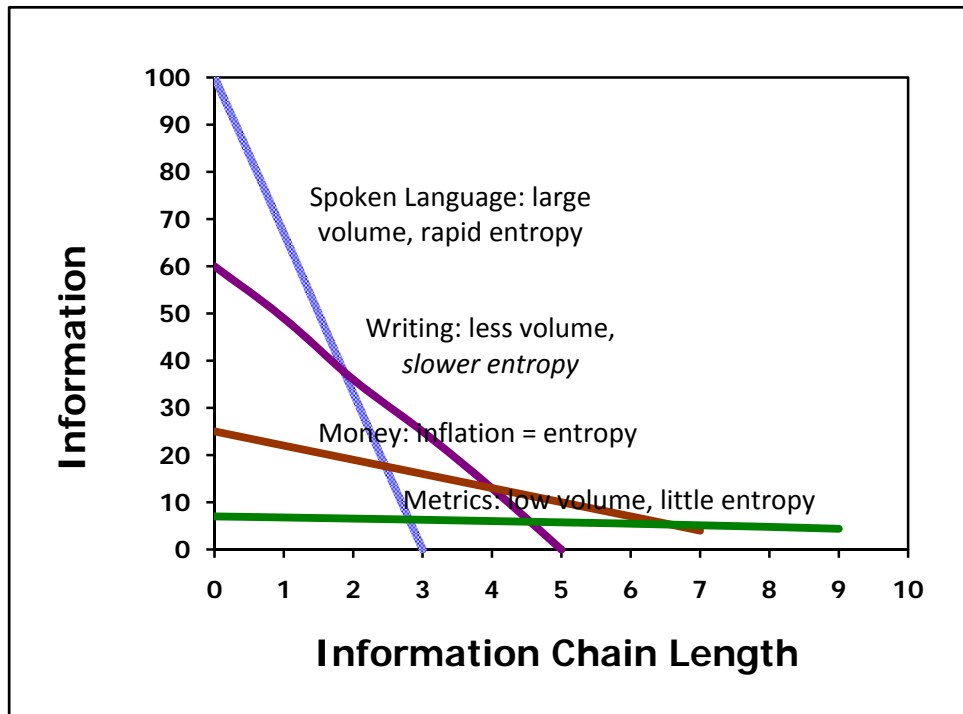
The names of currencies, for example, dollars, euros, yuan, pesos, yen, dinars, and reials, tell us the countries that use them, but nowhere are we told an observable quantity that defines their value. "Meter" is defined by the length of a stick.

Meter = a physical length

By what is "rupee" defined?

Money represents price symbolically; we need to define money symbols in terms of the *actual price* of goods and services. Today, we judge the value of money inductively; we use many specific prices to reach a general conclusion. With the metric system and all other measures like clocks and calendars, we do the reverse; we start with the defined unit and apply it deductively to things we need to measure. Judging the value of money inductively is why the market is an auction system of trial and error. What is invisible about the market is the standard of measurement!

The reality of no objective unit for money becomes clear when we cross a national border and must exchange one currency for another. A currency exchange at the airport or train station displays an estimate of the comparative value of currencies. Imagine crossing national borders having to consult displays to know the length of a meter or the weight of a gram with their values changing daily. A global economy would be impossible. The global economy functions well with metric units but poorly with money because money units are undefined and, therefore, ambiguous, uncertain, and variable. Economists seem satisfied to debate whether exchange rates should be "fixed" or "floating." According to one author, economists gave up looking for a money unit long ago because such a quest is "absurd" (Timberlake, 1965).

Currency exchange rates simply compare undefined currencies with other undefined currencies. The US dollar and the International Monetary Fund invented Standard Drawing Rights (SDRs) are themselves numbers without definition. Currency exchange rates are set like pilots judging their altitude by looking out their cockpit windows at other aircraft. If that were the situation, flying would never be safe. Altitude must be judged by instruments that precisely measure distance from the ground. No wonder currency exchange rates, inflation and deflation, stock prices, and global economic booms and busts fluctuate with crowd psychology: expectations, confidence, and invisible hands. Economics like political democracy has many anomalies only hinted here.

The required objective quantity for money already exists and has been operating unnoticed for more than 50 years, just like gravity before we knew of its existence. It is work time. The actual human price of all goods and services is labor. If money did not exist, we would still need to work to produce them. Every aspect of economies is organized using time - clocks and calendars. We work by the hour, the day, the month, and the year. We pay taxes, dividends, and interest at certain times. People intuitively link time and money. We waste time and money, spend time and money, invest time and money, and save time and money. It is time to bring the discipline of time to money.

## The Principle of Economic Democracy:

The principle of economic democracy equivalent to the political democracy principle of one person one vote is:

One hour of money for one hour of work.

By that principle, every job we did every day would be a democratic vote; every purchase we made would be a democratic vote. Every economic action would be a vote – direct democratic self-government in every action every day.

The Gross Domestic Product of the United States in 2008 was more than $50 per hour of work ($56 per hour). At $50 per hour, a person working 40 hours a week for 50 weeks would earn $100,000. Call that one Year. To earn $1 million would take 10 Years. To convert millions of dollars to Years simply add a zero.

$$\$100,000 = 1 \text{ Year}$$
$$\$1 \text{ million} = 10 \text{ Years}$$
$$\$10 \text{ million} = 100 \text{ Years}$$
$$\$100 \text{ million} = 1,000 \text{ Years}$$
$$\$1 \text{ billion} = 10,000 \text{ Years}$$

Imagine the effect on salary and bonus negotiations of having money expressed in Hours and Years. Today, the rich have no idea how rich they are. With money amounts clarified by their work time equivalent, we would see reasonable adjustments arrived at voluntarily in such negotiations.

Hour money would help identify and reduce the huge income disparities that get John D. Rockefeller's dog milk while a poor working man's child gets rickets. We would not have multimillionaires and billionaires because such amounts would be recognized as centuries and millennia of income, in short, beyond reason.

Philosopher John Ruskin (1819-1900) proposed an upper limit on wealth and income with the following benefits.

> The temptation to use very energy in the accumulation of wealth being thus removed, another and a higher ideal of the duties of advanced life would be necessarily created in the national mind; by withdrawal of those who had attained the prescribed limits of wealth from commercial competition, earlier worldly success and earlier marriage with all its beneficent moral results would become possible to the young; while the older men of active intellect, whose sagacity is now lost or warped in the furtherance of their own meanest interests, would be induced unselfishly to occupy themselves in the superintendence of public institutions, or furtherance of public advantage (Ruskin, 1879).

With undefined money, any limit would be arbitrary and probably difficult to institute. With Hour money, everyone would have the "yardstick" to set reasonable limits in authentic free market fashion. A free market without a money unit puts the cart before the horse with all the clumsiness and spills such an analogy implies. A free market with a proper money unit would function as economists would like it to function – autonomous individuals making decisions wisely, efficiently, and amicably.
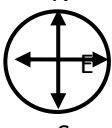
People could always negotiate deviations from strictly equal exchange. That is the beauty of money; it decentralizes decision-making. Deviations from one hour of money for one hour of work would be negotiated by employers and employees. It would be difficult for anyone to justify deviations of the magnitude we see today. Deviations would be more modest. With less than far too much going to the few, more would be available to go to the rest of the population now unemployed or overworked and underpaid, hungry, and homeless, not only in the United States but all over the world.

# Adoption

The metric system also gives us a model for how Hour Money and economic democracy could be instituted.  Nations adopted the metric system one by one.  Similarly, nations could adopt the Hour as their currency unit one by one.  The Provisional World Parliament (PWP) adopted an Hour of work as the world money unit in 2004 at its Eighth Session in Lucknow, India (http://www.radford.edu/~gmartin).  The PWP is charged with solving problems from a global perspective, which would explain why it is ahead of the rest of the world in how money should be denominated.  The PWP is also ahead of the world in providing that money be spent into circulation by government rather than borrowed.  Persons and businesses would pay a small accounting fee rather than an interest rate when borrowing money so debt would not explode by compounding interest as it does now.  The PWP also provides that the ratio of the highest to lowest income be no more than 4 to 1.

Adoption of the Euro also provides a model for the process of adopting the Hour for money.  The economic crisis of the 1970s told Europeans that they needed to better integrate their currencies.  In 1991 with the Maastricht Treaty, the 15 members of the European Union agreed to set up a single currency in two steps.  First, they launched the Euro on 1 January 1999 as an electronic currency used only by banks, foreign exchange dealers, big firms and stock markets.  This allowed them time to "get their bearings," to decide on reasonable exchange rates for their own currencies to the new Euro.  Then on 1 January 2002, they replaced the old national currencies with Euros.  Unfortunately, Europe missed the opportunity to denominate the Euro in Hours, so the Euro's value is undefined like all other national currencies.

Any nation, without a treaty, can begin immediately to calculate the work time equivalent of all their prices by dividing them by their Gross Domestic Product per hour of work.  By seeing prices in both their present currency and Hours, any nation can learn the work time equivalent of all factors in their economy without changing anything, therefore, without risk of disruption to their existing economy.  It would be like pilots of aircraft seeing their correct altitudes for the first time.  The ensuing conversations would prompt reasonable adjustments to improve the equitability of goods and money flows domestically and internationally.  It could mark a bright new dawn for economic relations, which the world sorely needs.

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11

Examples of Data Used to Calculate Currency Exchange Rate Values in Minutes of Work

| Country | Currency | Exchange Rate (ae) | Year | Employed (67e) millions | Year | GDP (99b) | Year | Hours per week | Total Hours millions | GDP/Hr | Exchange rate in minutes |
|---------|----------|-------------------|------|------------------------|------|-----------|------|----------------|---------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| France | Euros | 0.7185 | 2008 | 25.641 | 2007 | 1,947.70 | 2008 | 37.3 | 49,733 | 39 | 1.10 |
| United States | Dollars | 1 | 2008 | 145.363 | 2008 | 14280.7 | 2008 | 42.1 | 318,229 | 45 | 1.34 |
| Japan | Yen | 90.75 | 2008 | 63.851 | 2008 | 515,733 | 2007 | 41.8 | 138,787 | 3,716 | 1.47 |
| Germany | Euros | 0.7185 | 2008 | 40.208 | 2008 | 2,422.90 | 2007 | 40.4 | 84,469 | 29 | 1.50 |
| United Kingdom | Pounds | 0.6860 | 2008 | 29.219 | 2007 | 1,402.22 | 2007 | 39.4 | 59,864 | 23 | 1.76 |
| India | Rupees | 48.455 | 2008 | 27.206 | 2002 | 47,131.5 | 2007 | 47.2 | 66,774 | 706 | 4.12 |
| Mexico | Pesos | 13.5383 | 2008 | 43.057 | 2007 | 11,178 | 2007 | 45.2 | 101,201 | 110 | 7.35 |
| Russian Fed. | Rubles | 29.3804 | 2008 | 70.55 | 2007 | 33,114 | 2007 | *42.48* | 155,842 | 212 | 8.30 |
| Algeria | Dinars | 71.183 | 2008 | 9.27 | 2007 | 9,306.20 | 2007 | *40* | 19,282 | 483 | 8.85 |
| Brazil | Reais | 2.336 | 2008 | 83.53 | 2007 | 2,597.61 | 2007 | 41.7 | 181,126 | 14 | 9.77 |
| China | Yuan | 6.8346 | 2008 | 764 | 2006 | 30367 | 2008 | *40* | *1,589,120* | *19* | 21.46 |
| Moldova | Lei | 10.4002 | 2008 | 1.247 | 2007 | 53.354 | 2007 | 30.1 | 1,952 | 27 | 22.83 |
| Egypt | Pounds | 5.2969 | 2008 | 21.528 | 2007 | 731.2 | 2007 | 56 | 62,690 | 12 | 27.25 |
| Honduras | Lempira | 18.8951 | 2008 | 2.724 | 2006 | 232.817 | 2007 | *40* | *5,666* | *41* | 27.59 |
| Paraguay | Guaranies | 4945 | 2008 | 2.351 | 2003 | 60413.5 | 2007 | 48.8 | 5,966 | 10,126 | 29.30 |
| Sri Lanka | Rupees | 113.14 | 2008 | 7.104 | 2006 | 3578.386 | 2007 | 49.9 | 18,433 | 194 | 34.97 |
| Indonesia | Rupiah | 10,950 | 2008 | 95.177 | 2006 | 3957404 | 2007 | 43 | 212,816 | 18,595 | 35.33 |
| Pakistan | Rupees | 79.098 | 2008 | 46.952 | 2006 | 10478.19 | 2008 | *40* | *97,660* | *107* | 44.23 |
| Nicaragua | Cordobas | 19.85 | 2008 | 1.766 | 2003 | 93.0073 | 2006 | *40* | *3,673* | *25* | 47.04 |
| Zimbabwe | Dollars | 80.77 | 2005 | 1.07 | 2002 | 129.533 | 2005 | *40* | *2,226* | *58* | 83.27 |
| Bangladesh | Taka | 68.92 | 2008 | 47.357 | 2006 | 4724.8 | 2007 | 46 | 113,278 | 42 | 99.14 |

Source: International Financial Statistics March 2009     Hours from International Labour Organization

*Hours not available, assumed 40/week, 2080/year.*

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Bob Blain, Ph.D. Sociology     23 April 2009

**Bowling Alone But Running and Knitting Together: Building Social Capital through Organizations Promoting 'Individual' Sports and Hobbies**

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Robert Putnam has written numerous articles and books on social capital, which he defines as "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995).  Putnam says that "members of associations are much more likely than nonmembers to participate in politics, to spend time with neighbors, to express social trust, and so on."  On a grander scale, he asserts that high levels of social capital – or "social connectedness" – ease transactions in government and business, which results in improved performance of government and social institutions.  This easing or smoothing of transactions ultimately leads to enhanced economic development for the community or society.

In his seminal article "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital" (1995) and his book "Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community" (2000), Putnam provides some evidence that social capital in America has diminished from the 1950s to the 1990s.  He finds a decline in *civic engagement*, represented by decreases in the percentages of people who vote in national elections and who attend public meetings.  He also finds a decline in *social engagement*, represented by decreases in the percentage of people who participate in "secondary associations," such as parent-teacher associations and labor unions, and people who visit their neighbors, invite friends over for dinner, play sports and cards with friends, etc.  Putnam writes, "The most whimsical yet discomfiting bit of evidence of social disengagement in contemporary America that I have discovered is this: more Americans are bowling today than ever before, but bowling in organized leagues has plummeted in the last decade or so.  Between 1980 and 1993 the total number of bowlers in America increased by 10 percent, while league bowling decreased by 40 percent."

Other scholars and researchers dismiss Putnam's conclusions by asserting that the forms of social engagement today are different than the bowling leagues, parent-teacher associations, labor unions and other associations of the past.  Everett Carl Ladd claims that the creation of new civic organizations had made up for the decline of old ones and that charitable giving and volunteering were on the rise (The Ladd Report, 1999).  Other scholars point to the increase in the number of support groups, such as Alcoholics Anonymous (Wuthnow, 1994).  Wuthnow found that 40 percent of Americans are involved in "a small group that meets regularly and provides support or caring for those who participate in it."

Putnam (1995) counters that members of support groups and other small groups tend to be concerned with their own members' psychological well-being rather than with any civic interests. But even Putnam says that these small groups "unquestionably represent an important form of social capital, and they need to be accounted for in any serious reckoning of trends in social connectedness."

This study is designed to account for the development and participation in new types of organizations – both formal and informal – that have emerged in recent decades to bring individuals together for a certain activity or cause. Specifically, it focuses on the increase in the number of organizations formed to promote certain sports and hobbies that previously had been defined as "individual" in nature, such as running, cycling, knitting and reading. These organizations include: 1) informal groups or clubs formed to facilitate or enhance participation in a sport or activity; and 2) formal nonprofit organizations that have received 501(c)(3) status from the IRS and use sport and physical activity as vehicle for fundraising and development.

One example of the growth in these types of associations is the Leukemia and Lymphoma Society's Team In Training. This organization began in 1988, when a man in New York formed a team of 38 people in honor of his daughter, who was a leukemia survivor. These people trained together to run the New York City Marathon and, as a group, raised more than $300,000 for the Leukemia and Lymphoma Society. Since that time, Team in Training has attracted about 300,000 individuals who train together in small, local teams for major running and cycling events. It has raised more than $600 million for the Leukemia and Lymphoma Society (The Leukemia and Lymphoma Society, 2006).

This study is important because it builds upon emerging theories and concepts in the literature. Specifically, it extends the thesis that sport can provide not only economic benefits for a community but also social benefits. For example, Eckstein and Delaney (2002) assert that a sport stadium can improve "community self-esteem," which involves an internal component (i.e., residents' own positive perception of their community) and an external component (i.e., residents' belief that outsiders have a positive perception of their community). Sparvero and Chalip (2007) outline the economic and social benefits of professional sport teams include enhancing the perception of a city by residents and by tourists and other non-residents. Olberding and Olberding (2008) develop a conceptual model of the social impacts of special events – including sport events – on a city. In addition, they present a case study of the social impacts of the Flying Pig Marathon on Cincinnati, Ohio, in the years following costly and well-publicized riots in the city. The authors find that about 86 percent of respondents indicated that their participation in the Flying Pig marathon had a positive impact on their perception of Cincinnati.

More generally, this study adds another layer of information to the broader discussion of the status of social capital in the United States by focusing on the development of nonprofit organizations and other groups for sports and hobbies that have traditionally been defined as "individual." As Robert Putnam (1995) suggests, there needs to be further research of new and emerging groups in order to gain a richer understanding of trends in social connectedness or social capital. This study is one step in that direction.

# EDUCATIONAL DISPARITIES IN INDIA; A SPECIAL REFERENCE    TO ANDHRA PRADESH

**Economics**

**FOR PAPER SESSION PRESENTATION**

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# EDUCATIONAL DISPARITIES IN INDIA; A SPECIAL REFERENCE   TO ANDHRA PRADESH

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## Introduction:

In India, a number of educational reforms helped for the better policies on education. Efforts through various commissions and committees like University Education Commission 1948-49 (also known as Dr. Radhkrishnan Commission), The Secondary Education Commission 1952-53, Committee on Emotional interpretation (Dr.Sampurnand Committee 1962-63), All India Teacher's Federation 1962, thought of programming for child education in 10+2+3 pattern that we have today.  Further, also formation of Education Communion 1964-66, helped for further Resolution on National Policy 1968. India at present has a literacy rate of about 65 per cent. The number of children in India between the ages of six and 14 attending school is only 49 per cent of the total. To tackle widespread illiteracy and its attendant child labour, the government has taken a number of initiatives aimed at making formal education mandatory and accessible for children. The National Policy on Education, formulated in 1986 and updated in 1992, provides a basic outline for the development of education in the country, specifically targeting the girl child. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Education for all campaign), initiated in November 2001, is the most impressive government programme aimed at achieving universalisation of primary education for children between six and 14, as mandated by the 86th amendment to the Constitution. The Parliament recently also passed the Free and Compulsory Education Bill, 2004 to provide free and compulsory education to all between the ages of six and 14.

## Objective& Methodology

 The main objective of this paper is to analyze the region wise, social group wise, rural, urban and gender wise disparities in education development of Andhra Pradesh

The methodology of the study include a secondary data collected from various issues of government published reports enabled us to draw conclusions and recommendations about  remove the educational disparities in the state government.

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## Educational Disparities in India:

### Disparities in the Growth of literacy:

NSS' 38th, 42nd, 43rd, 55th and 61st round survey found disparities in the levels of literacy basing on Socio-economic reasons of persons.  Reasons for disparities or variations are in fact; related to the monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) class, household type and rural/urban back grand and social group and religion of person and gender of the person. Over all literacy rates by sex and rural/urban residence in the census and NSS rounds have shown the following disparities.

Data shown are calculated per thousand but converted to percentage (Table 1).  Despite the fact, that there is a decadal growth and constant growth, we find variations in terms of literacy by sex and rural urban background.  Literacy rate in rural is much lower than urban; for females the progress in much slower in rural during 1983 & 1988.

**Table –1**

**Disparities in Literacy Rate, Sex wise and rural/urban background from 1971-2004**

| Date & Name of Survey | All India: Rural | | | All India: Urban | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Persons | Male | Females | Persons |
| 1971 Census | 48.6 | 15.5 | 27.9 | 69.8 | 48.8 | 60.2 |
| 1981 Census | 49.6 | 21.7 | 36.0 | 76.7 | 56.3 | 67.2 |
| 1983 (NSS 38th Round) | 45.2 | 22.2 | 33.9 | 70.1 | 52.3 | 61.6 |
| 1988 (NSS 43rd Round) | 48.4 | 25.9 | 37.5 | 72.3 | 55.9 | 64.5 |
| 1991 Census | 57.9 | 30.6 | 44.7 | 81.1 | 64.1 | 73.1 |
| 2001 Census | 70.7 | 46.1 | 58.7 | 86.3 | 72.9 | 79.9 |
| 2004(NSS 61st Round) | 63.6 | 45.0 | 61.9 | 80.5 | 69.3 | 82.7 |

*Source: Census of India &NSS*

### Disparities across Social Groups/Rural &Urban Background:

As per the variation from 1981 to 2001, by census of India reports, we find, though there is a growth of literacy by region wise, caste-wise, rural/urban-wise, still, disparities do exist even by 2001.  Table below shows marked disparities found in Rural and urban literacy, higher literacy rates for general than scheduled tribes and Scheduled castes. Also higher literacy rates and adult literacy rates for urban than rural adult literacy (See Table-2).

**Table -2**
**Disparities in the literacy rates-At all India level by census reports from 1981-2001**

*(Percentage)*

| Category | 1981 | | | 1991 | | | 2001 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Persons | Male | Female | Persons | Male | Female | Persons |
| Literacy (General) | 56.38 | 29.76 | 43.57 | 64.13 | 39.29 | 52.21 | 75.64 | 54.03 | 65.20 |
| Urban literacy | 76.70 | 56.30 | 67.20 | 81.10 | 64.00 | 73.10 | 86.42 | 72.99 | 80.06 |
| Rural literacy | 49.59 | 21.70 | 36.01 | 57.87 | 30.62 | 44.69 | 71.18 | 46.58 | 59.21 |
| Scheduled Tribes literacy(S.C) | 24.52 | 8.04 | 16.35 | 40.65 | 18.10 | 29.60 | - | - | - |
| Scheduled castes literacy (S.T) | 31.52 | 10.93 | 21.38 | 49.91 | 23.76 | 37.41 | - | - | - |
| Adult literacy combined | 54.92 | 25.72 | 40.83 | 61.89 | 34.09 | 48.54 | | | |
| Adult literacy Rural | 47.39 | 17.60 | 32.79 | 54.89 | 24.92 | 40.34 | - / - | - / - | - / - |
| Adult literacy urban | 76.29 | 51.90 | 65.11 | 80.14 | 59.86 | 70.68 | | | |

***Source****: Compiled from Reports of census of India.*

## Inter-State Disparities:

In fact, not withstanding the disparities in attainments of literacy from 1991 to 2001, a number of states with an exception of Bihar shown literacy rate more than 50 percent in 2001as against less than 50 percent in 1991.  From 1991 to 2001, Kerala, Mizoram, Lakshadweep, maintained more than 80% of literacy. Goa, Delhi, Chandigarh, Pondichery, Andhaman & Nicobar Islands, Damon & Diu that have 70-80% literacy could attain more than 80% literacy.  Maharastra, Himachal Pradesh, Tripura, Tamilnadu, from 60.70% in 1991 could attain 70.80% by 2001.  Uttaranchal maintained to show its 70.80% literacy from 1991 to 2001.  Gujarat remained in their 60-70% literacy. Uttar Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, shown improvement from less than 50 percent literacy to only 50-60% by 2001.  Jammu and Kashmir and Jharkand could not achieve further from their 50-60% literacy rate from 1991.  Assam, Haryana, Karnataka, Punjab, Sikkim, West Bengal from 50-60% in 1991 risen to 60-70% in 2001.  Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Meghalaya, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Dader & Nagar Haveli shown improvement from less than 50% to 50-60% (NHDR, 2001, P.53).

**Variations in Public Expenditure in States**:

From 1980-81 to 1998-99, education expenditure (Percentage of public expenditure to the total public expenditure) has increased. When at central level this ratio has increased from 2.7 to 3.9 during 1980-81 to 1998-99, at state level it increased from 13.89 in 1980-81 to 17.36 in 1991 and further to 17.39 in 1998-99. This ratio increased in Rajasthan, Orissa and Bihar but declined in Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and West Bengal. The ratio of public spending on education to Gross State Domestic Product, for the period 1990-91 to 1998-99 was between 2.5 percent to 3 percent and 8 to 10 percent in North Eastern States; it was 4.53 and 4.02 in Bihar in 1990-91 and 1998-99 respectively (NHDR, 2001, P.60).

## Educational Disparities in Andhra Pradesh:

Andhra Pradesh ranks 28th in terms of literacy for persons with 61.11; ranks 29th in terms of male-literacy with 70.85 and 26th with the corresponding rate as 51.17 for females (census of India 2001, P 11-18). The poverty ratio of A.P. is only 15.8 percent as compared to all India poverty ratio of 26 percent in 1999-2000; infant mortality declined from 77in 1991 to 62 only in 2002. Incidence of child labour with 34 percent as against 1.3 of Kerala and malnutrition in children by 50 percent are other factors, causing human development problem in A.P. (Dev, 2002, P.192). Further, A.P. State government had been able to increase annul allocations to the education substantially by 11 percent per annum; yet, at 3.1 percent of GDP as annual expenditure allocation for education, is significantly behind the all India target as 6 percent as set in the ninth plan in 1997-2002. (Oxford policy management, 2002, P.1)

### Disparities in Literacy Development of Andhra Pradesh

At national level A.P stands 28th in terms of literacy; and it occupies the fourth lowest position among the 16 major states. A.P's literacy status is far below national average because when by 2001national average in terms of literacy is increased from 51.6 in 1991 to 65.4, A.P's literacy could raise from 44.1 to 61.1 percent only (Subramanyam & Reddy, 2002, P.210). Overall in A.P. 57 percent of population aged seven and above are literate. As per census 2001, rural literacy for population aged 7 years and above is 55.5 (person), 66.3 (male) and 44.4 (Female). For urban these are 77.4 (persons), 84.4 (male) and 70.2 (female). Literacy is higher among males with 67 percent than females with 46 percent. Further when in 22 percent of households all are literate, in 19 percent of households there are no literate members at all. Adult literacy (defined as literacy level among persons aged 15 and above) is 15 percent (MICS 2000,P ix). In attaining literacy and education there are disparities by gender, income, social group and rural/urban background and region wise. Also disparities are found by religion wise. Hence variation is shown as 23 percent non-literates in rural as against only 8 percent in the urban area. The proportion of literates out of 22 households, 44 percent is from urban and only 13 percent from rural. When 60 percent

of population from other castes is literate, it is only 36 percent of scheduled tribes (MICs2000, P ix).  As per educational attainment, studied per thousand persons aged 7 and above, variations are found along with monthly per capita consumer expenditure class (MPCE) class, social group, household, rural/urban background  (NSS 55th round 1999-2000).  In the state of A.P., per thousand an average of 103 persons with primary level and 89 persons in middle level are educated in the rural area.  (Table 1R, NSS 55th, P.A-1).  As per these numbers in the urban, 127 with primary and 137 with middle levels are educated.  Along with an increase in the MPCE class from Rs 0-300 to Rs. 1925+, a variation is found in the number of persons educated with middle level, in rural and urban.  When studied levels of educational attainment by social groups it is found the number of educated per thousand are 50 SCs, 88 STs, 95 from other backward classes and 144 in the persons coming from others (Rural).  As per urban data, the persons educated in Primary also are increasing, by social group.  There are 95 from persons coming from ST class and 112 from SC Class, 129 from other backward class and 131 from others.  However the numbers with middle level educational attainment are also increasing by social group with an average 137 in urban and 129 in rural.  (See Tables 3R &3U in NSS 55th, for rural and urban data, PP A101 and A118 respectively).  The numerical data on educational status of the child, however, will be more clear when we go into the details of factors contributing for the child's education in the following lines.  Here, as we have done in the national level, empirical part in state level too, review of study will be presented in terms of, literacy as well 'education in the formal sense' through.

## Literacy of population -Comparison with other Major States:

  The state of Andhra Pradesh,  in terms of literacy shown an improvement from 35.66 percent  literacy rate in 1981 to 44.09 in 1991 to 61.11 percent in 2001 for persons when the national averages for the corresponding years are 43.57, 52.21 and 65.20.  (See table 4.1, NHRD 2001, P.186 also note that as literacy rate, for 1981 was defined for the population 6+, NHDR re-estimated the rates for population 7+).  Andhra Pradesh state stands 28th in terms of literacy rate for persons (61.11), 26th position with literacy rate for males (70.85) and 27th position with literacy rate for females (51.17) (census of India 2001, PP 111-118).  Yet, it is held, "this higher improvement" in A.P's literacy "than the national average need not be treated as extraordinary for, A.P. still shows "fourth lowest position in literacy among major 16 states " and for the reason that other low literacy states like Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan could achieve higher improvement.  (Subramanyam and Reddy, 2002, P.210, See also Table-3 cited below).

**Table – 3**
**Improvement in literacy rate in major states during 1991-2001**

| State | Literacy Rate | | Improvement | [+] Expected Literacy Rate for 2001 | [++] Level per formation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1991 | 2001 | | | |
| Bihar | 37.49 | 47.53 | 10.0 | 59.95 | Low |
| Uttar Pradesh | 40.71 | 57.30 | 16.7 | 63.36 | Low |
| Rajas tan | 38.55 | 61.03 | 22.5 | 65.39 | Low |
| Andhra Pradesh | 44.09 | 61.11 | 17.0 | 65.17 | Low |
| Orissa | 49.09 | 63.61 | 14.5 | 62.86 | High |
| Madhya Pradesh | 44.67 | 64.11 | 19.4 | 63.93 | High |
| Assam | 52.89 | 64.28 | 11.5 | 62.92 | High |
| Karnataka | 56.04 | 67.04 | 11.0 | 67.64 | Low |
| Haryana | 55.85 | 68.59 | 12.7 | 73.75 | Low |
| West Bengal | 57.70 | 69.22 | 11.5 | 68.54 | High |
| Punjab | 58.51 | 69.95 | 11.5 | 75.99 | Low |
| Gujarat | 61.29 | 69.97 | 8.7 | 72.55 | Low |
| Tamilnadu | 62.66 | 73.47 | 10.8 | 68.88 | High |
| Himachal Pradesh | 63.86 | 77.13 | 13.3 | 67.45 | High |
| Maharastra | 64.87 | 77.27 | 12.4 | 77.74 | Low |
| Kerala | 89.81 | 90.92 | 1.1 | 66.22 | High |
| All India | 51.63 | 65.38 | 13.8 | 66.79 | … |

*Source*: Table 1 in Subramanyam and Reddy 2002, P.211.

## Literacy Status of Andhra Pradesh-Comparison with southern states:

When looked at the comparative status, in terms of literacy, for person since 1981 to 2001, Andhra Pradesh shows the lowest position, when Kerala shows he highest position followed by Tamilnadu and Karnataka (table 4).

**Table – 4**
**Gender wise literacy rate in 4 southern states from 1981-2001**

| States | 1981 | | | 1991 | | | 2001 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Male* | *Female* | *Persons* | *Male* | *Female* | *Persons* | *Male* | *Female* | *Persons* |
| Andhra Pradesh | 46.83 | 24.16 | 35.66 | 55.13 | 32.72 | 44.09 | 70.85 | 51.12 | 61.11 |
| Karnataka | 58.73 | 33.17 | 46.21 | 67.26 | 44.34 | 56.04 | 76.29 | 57.45 | 67.04 |
| Kerala | 87.3 | 75.5 | 81.56 | 93.62 | 86.13 | 89.81 | 94.0 | 57.86 | 90.92 |
| Tamilnadu | 68.05 | 40.3 | 54.39 | 73.75 | 51.33 | 62.66 | 82.3 | 64.55 | 93.47 |

*Source*: Compiled from Table 4.1, NHDR 2001, and P.186

### Gender Disparity in Literacy of Andhra Pradesh:

There is an improvement in the literacy from 1961-2001. Literacy rate when viewed from 1961 to 2001, shown an improvement, however with disparities. The gap between male and female literacy was as 60 percent in 1961, which has come down to 4 percent by 1991 and to 28 by 2001 (see Table-5).

**Table-5**
**Literacy improvement during 1961-2001**

| Category | 1961 | 1991 | 2001 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Males | 37.4 | 55.1 | 70.9 |
| Females | 15.0 | 32.7 | 51.2 |
| Persons | 26.4 | 44.1 | 61.1 |
| Gender disparity Index (%) | 59.9 | 40.6 | 27.8 |

*Source: Subramanyam & Reddy, 2002, P.312*

From 1961 to 2001, female literacy has been improved from its 15.0% in 1961 to 32.7 in 1991 and 51.2 in 2001. Yet, it is much lower than national average, 65.38% and male literacy that is 70.9% by 2001. 65 percent of rural woman were illiterate even in 1997, 16 percent of SC women and 7 percent of tribal women in 1991 were illiterate. Rural Female literacy could increase only from 14 percent in 1981 to 35 percent in 1997 in A.P (Dev, 2002, P.191). By 1998-90 the percentage of illiterates for the female children in the age group 12-14 is 43.0 as against that of males as 24.6 (see Table .6, Subramanyam and Reddy, 2002, P.214) Still further, whether, it is a study on literacy by MPCE class, household type, by social group, by the size of the land possessed, by religion, or by rural/urban background or region-wise, the female literacy for the persons aged 7+ was always showing lower rates as against male literacy rate.

## Variations in the literacy ratio by rural/urban background of A.P:

Rural literacy for the persons aged 7 and above is 46% as against 76% of urban, by 2000 (MICS 2000, P.ix). NSS 55th data by different characteristics viz., MPCE class, social group household type, size of the land possessed, religion, also shows the rural/urban difference. (See Tables above on variations in literacy by MPCE class etc. also see table-6 given below)

**Table -6**

**Percentage of literate persons aged 7 years and above in rural areas and urban areas, by Sex, based on NSS 55th Round and NSS 50th Round in the state of Andhra Pradesh**

| State | Male | | Female | | Persons | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *NSS 55th 1999-2000* | *NSS 50th 1993-94* | *NSS 55th Round 1999-2000* | *NSS 50th 1993-94* | *NSS 55th 1999-2000* | *NSS 55th 1993-94* |
| Rural [+] Andhra Pradesh | 56 | 51 | 36 | 27 | 46 | 39 |
| All Indian | 68 | 63 | 43 | 36 | 56 | 50 |
| Urban ++ Andhra Pradesh | 82 | 80 | 67 | 60 | 75 | 70 |
| All Indian | 87 | 85 | 72 | 68 | 80 | 77 |

*Source: NSS 55th Round, Report No. 473, 1999-2000, +Based on Statement 6R, P.25, ++ Based on Statement 6U, P.26.*

## Region wise Disparities in the levels of literacy of Andhra Pradesh:

Of the five regions into which the state of Andhra Pradesh has been divided into, South Coastal Andhra attained the highest literacy rate as 66.2 by 2001 from 1991. Rayalaseema, South Telangana, North Coastal Andhra and North Telangana follow this, when the state literacy rate is, 61.1 in 2001(table-7).

**Table -7**
**Literacy trends across regions**

| Region | Literacy Rate | |
|---|---|---|
| | **1991** | **2001** |
| North Coastal Andhra | 39.6 | 56.4 |
| South Coastal Andhra | 48.6 | 66.2 |
| Rayalaseema | 45.0 | 61.1 |
| South Telangana | 37.1 | 59.7 |
| North Telangana | 37.1 | 56.0 |
| State | 44.1 | 61.1 |

*Source*: Table 8 in Subramanyam and Reddy, 2002, P.216

## Rural-Urban disparities across Regions of A.P:

Rural/urban differences are higher when compared to all India; yet the gap in disparity is narrowing down from 1971 to 2001(table-8). Further it is also held that when rural/urban disparity is highest in Telagana, Rayalaseema performed well over the period 1971 to 2001.(Reddy & Rao, 2003,P.124).

**Table-8**
**Rural/Urban Disparity Index across Regions**

| Region | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coastal Andhra Pradesh | 50.4 | 49.5 | 41.2 | 23.3 |
| Rayalaseema | 55.4 | 49.4 | 38.7 | 21.8 |
| Telangana | 67.3 | 63.4 | 54.4 | 35.0 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 58.2 | 54.8 | 46.2 | 27.0 |
| All India | 60.1 | 46.4 | 38.9 | - |

*Source*: Table 3, Reddy & Rao, 2003, P.1243

## Gender disparities across Regions of A.P:

As per one source gender disparity in the state has been shrinking steadily from 55 percent to 28 percent (table-9). However among the regions disparities have been declined faster in Rayalaseema and Telangana in comparison with Coastal Andhra (Reddy & Rao 2003, P.1243)

**Table -9**
**Gender Disparity Index Across Regions**

| Region | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coastal Andhra Pradesh | 45.1 | 42.4 | 36.4 | 23.7 |
| Rayalaseema | 62.8 | 57.3 | 47.9 | 34.0 |
| Telangana | 60.9 | 53.3 | 45.3 | 31.9 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 54.7 | 47.8 | 42.3 | 27.8 |
| All India | 52.5 | 46.8 | 38.7 | 29.0 |

*Source: Table 4, Reddy & Rao, 2003, P.1243*

## Social disparities across regions of A.P:

Social disparities show, over a period of time, a declining trend from 1971 to 1991, across regions. Social disparity index wise Telangana shown improvement to reduce highest disparity followed by Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema. Rayalaseema is found to show highest improvement in reducing the disparity followed by Coastal Andhra and Telangana  (Reddy and Rao, 2003,P.1244, table-10 in this work)

**Table –10**

**Social Disparity Index**

| Region | 1971 | | 1981 | | 1991 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | SC | ST | SC | ST | SC | ST |
| Coastal Andhra | 50.8 | 76.9 | 36.0 | 68.3 | 26.9 | 60.5 |
| Rayalaseema | 66.7 | 74.7 | 57.7 | 69.0 | 39.1 | 52.1 |
| Telangana | 69.4 | 71.2 | 53.4 | 74.4 | 43.4 | 64.7 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 63.5 | 72.5 | 58.6 | 63.3 | 50.0 | 60.7 |

*Source: Table 5 in Reddy & Rao, 2003, P.1244*

## Disparities across Districts/Mandals of A.P:

Inter-district disparities in Andhra Pradesh have been declined significantly from 1991-2001.  For, between 1991 and 2001 females show more than 15 percentage points change in all districts except Hyderabad and Mahaboobnagar.  In the state of Andhra Pradesh, inter- district variations are very high by literacy level.   In A.P. within in district again, for about 20 villages are grouped as one mandal (Subrahamanyam & Reddy, P.217, see table -11 in this work).

*Table – 11*

**Distribution of Mandals by Literacy Level in 2001**

| District | Number of Mandals with level of literacy | | | | | Literacy in 2001 | Literacy in 1991 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Very Low** | **Low** | **High** | **Very High** | **Total** | | |
| Srikakulam | 2 | 35 | 1 | - | 38 | 55.9 | 36.2 |
| Vizianagaram | 8 | 26 | - | - | 34 | 51.8 | 34.2 |
| Visakhapatnam | 15 | 24 | 3 | - | 42 | 59.4 | 45.5 |
| **North Coastal Andhra** | **25** | **85** | **4** | **-** | **114** | **56.4** | **39.6** |
| East Godavari | 3 | 26 | 17 | 11 | 57 | 65.5 | 48.8 |
| West Godavari | - | - | 23 | 23 | 46 | 74.0 | 53.4 |
| Krishna | - | 11 | 32 | 6 | 49 | 69.9 | 53.2 |
| Guntur | 4 | 30 | 21 | 1 | 56 | 62.8 | 46.4 |
| Prakasam | 5 | 40 | 11 | - | 56 | 57.9 | 40.3 |
| Nellore | - | 26 | 18 | 2 | 46 | 65.9 | 47.8 |
| **South Coastal Andhra** | **12** | **133** | **122** | **43** | **310** | **66.2** | **48.6** |
| Chittoor | - | 27 | 31 | 8 | 66 | 67.5 | 49.8 |
| Cuddapah | - | 29 | 20 | 2 | 51 | 64.0 | 48.1 |
| Anantapur | 4 | 58 | 1 | - | 63 | 58.3 | 42.1 |
| Kurnool | 15 | 36 | 2 | 1 | 54 | 54.4 | 40.0 |
| Rayalaseema | 19 | 150 | 54 | 11 | 234 | 61.1 | 45.0 |
| Mahabubnagar | 44 | 20 | - | - | 64 | 45.5 | 29.6 |
| Ranga Reddy | 5 | 20 | 8 | - | 33 | 66.3 | 49.1 |
| Medak | 14 | 30 | 1 | - | 45 | 53.2 | 32.4 |
| Nalgonda | 5 | 45 | 9 | - | 59 | 57.8 | 38.0 |
| **South Telangana** | **68** | **115** | **18** | **-** | **201** | **59.7** | **37.1** |
| Nizamabad | 9 | 27 | - | - | 36 | 53.3 | 34.2 |
| Adilabad | 19 | 33 | - | - | 52 | 53.5 | 33.0 |
| Karimnagar | 6 | 48 | 2 | - | 56 | 56.0 | 37.2 |
| Warangal | 2 | 46 | 2 | - | 50 | 58.4 | 39.3 |
| Khammam | 4 | 38 | 9 | - | 46 | 57.7 | 40.5 |
| **North Telangana** | **40** | **192** | **8** | **-** | **240** | **56.0** | **37.0** |
| **Andhra Pradesh** | **164** | **675** | **206** | **54** | **1099** | **61.1** | 44.1 |

*Source: Table 9 Subrahamanyam & Reddy, 2002, P.217.*

When viewed at the mandals through their performance in literacy, from 1991 to 2001, mandals with more than 44 percent and less than 61 percent state average, were treated as 'low literacy mandals'; mandals with the rate of literacy as more than 61percent, but less than 72 percent are classified as high literacy mandals and Mandals with more than 72 were treated as very high literacy mandals. Further data held that out of 1099 mandals in Andhra Pradesh 164 (15.%) are with 'low literacy'. These 'low literacy' mandals are from North Telangana, South Telangana and North, South Telangana and north Coastal Andhra. Still further, these 'very low literacy mandals' are concentrated in three areas, which are geographically distinct. These are:

- Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam as one area with 24 mandals
- Kurnool and Mahabubnagar Districts as one with 39 mandals and
- Medak Nizamabad and Adilabad districts, as one area, with 42 mandals. Of these, Mahabubnagar must be treated as a special case for it has 44 states with very low literacy category and 20 in 'low literacy category' while implementing special programmes on literacy (Subramanyam & Reddy 2002, P.218).

 Significance of Primary education acquired more importance than mere aiming at people's literacy. For, it is evident through cross country evidence also, that when a farmer who had completed four years of elementary education could attain production which was on an average 85 percent higher than that of a farmer who had no education at all (World development Indicators, 2001). But it is much more important to see, that each child enrolled, would be able to retain himself for the completion of entire elementary education, in full sense of two stages - primary and upper primary. For those "who drop out are likely to relapse into illiteracy" (Subhrananyam and Reddy, 2002, P.219). In view of this significant need and to enable various children, who are deprived of education and due to existing variations in the literacy Andhra Pradesh vision 2020 aimed for Education for all with the following objectives (cited in oxford policy management, 2002,P.12)

- Achievement of a steady increase in overall literacy levels from 44 percent of the population in 1991 to over 95 percent, through provision of quality primary education for all
- Encouragement of education for girls
- Focus on recruitment and training teachers.

In the state of Andhra Pradesh, data held that as per census 1991, school attendance of children shown only 49%; 53% of children in all mandals and 58% of children in tribal mandals drop out before they reach class V. The enrollment of girls is always less than the boys even in the better performing districts. Further it is held data at mandal level that out of 1074 on which survey was conducted, 126 mandals accounted for 1/3rd of non-school going children. (J.R. consultants, 2002, P.XI). Further data also stated that:

- As per DPEP Survey 6% of children in the age group 5-14 who were not attending school are actually idle
- 94% of children who are engaged in some activity or other should be counted as child labourers
- And per MIC survey 37% dropped out because the child is not interested in the school.
- 22.4% of children could not go to school because they were busy with household work
- 13%dropped out because the child was busy as a wage labour (J.R consultants, 2003,P.XII)

Before we go into these data and evaluate the reasons for the poor status of status, we will have a systematic way of reviewing the educational status of data, In terms of said indicators on educational inputs, educational participation, educational efficiency and educational out comes, as we have done at the national.

## Conclusions& Suggestions:

We have to march ahead to reach 85% of literacy to achieve the target fixed by the National Literacy Mission. The present efforts may not yield desirable results. Mere increase in the expenditure doesn't help the mission. Private and Public participation and continuous efforts are needed to wipe out the illiteracy .To remove all types of disparities in education development, the state government should develop all decision making powers concerning operation black board to Education Complex's which would seek consultation from DIET. The school concerned with the village Education committee should planning and implementing the scheme. The schools and the village Education committee should be made fully responsible for UEE in their respective areas, should under take a Micro planning exercise for working at their requirements under operational Black Board and be accountable for its implementation. Gender Sensitisation camps for community survey emphasis on girl's education and other gender issues should be organised from time to time by NGOs with the support from NCERT, SERT, and DIET etc. The people's institutions eg. Youth club, mahila mandals and local NGO's should be effectively involved along with Anganwadi Workers of the area at various stages. Primary education should be made cost-free through universal coverage of programme of mid-day meals, books, uniform etc.

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Title: Feasting with Little Responsibility:  the Exploitation of Intensive English Programs by American Institutions of Higher Education

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*Caveat*  This piece is in no way meant to be a scientifically-research piece with statistical analysis and months' of research supporting it.  In fact, there is very little actually published on this topic.  Instead, this article is based on responses that I received from various sources around the United States and is focused on interpretations and feelings – some of which are from very-newly-introduced teachers to the ESL field, and some are from veteran teachers.  After all, 90% of reality is perception, and it is this perception that I hope to address, even at a surface level, with this article.

**Abstract**  Many American institutions of higher education (IHE) offer English as a Second Language (ESL) classes for their non-native English-speaking students.  Mostly these classes are housed with intensive English programs (IEPs) that vary in placement from incorporation within departments to add-on programs that function only sporadically.  Because these programs usually are not for-credit, the revenues are not calculated into the IHEs' overall operating budgets; therefore, any dollars generated over the institutions' operating costs are a source of unexpected finances.  The unfortunate reality, though, is that most IEPs in the United States are cost-recovery, meaning that they are self-funding in regards to the IHEs where they are located.  This sets up a relationship whereby the IEP must fund itself and pay the IHE to exist.  This might seem a justifiable arrangement until one realizes that this arrangement is one-sided.  As long as the IEP does well and can generation the funding that it needs to operate, there is no problem.  The problems arise when the IEP falls short of its funding needs.  The causes, quite often, are related to uncontrollable obstacles such as economic crises, political disputes, and immigration restrictions; however, the IEP must find a way of supporting itself.  This is where the imbalance arises as the IEP has little to no "safety net" in its relationship with its IHE.

**IEP History in the US**


The history of intensive English programs in the United States began in the 1940s with the establishment of a few specialized training programs for groups from abroad.  As this need changed and as more and more it was required that most professionals have some proficiency in

English, IEPs began to become more common.  Also, via participation in the Peace Corps, there was a cadre of people (albeit not academically trained in second language teaching) who could staff the IEPs.  These first faculty members had the individual experience of having been abroad and working with non-native English speakers.  Therefore, they were the first ESL (English as a Second Language) teachers in the United States.  Because the majority of the Peace Corps teachers did not hold academic credentials, they were hired to teacher ESL but were not given the same rights and privileges as the as professionals with degrees.

## A Model of Exploitation

There are many models of IEPs in the United States, and each has its pros and cons.  Each also has its vulnerabilities to exploitation by the host institutions.  Following is one such example of a program that has existed since 1974:

The IEP receives a budget from its IHE; however, the budget has not funding behind it.  Rather, the IEP is considered an auxiliary unit of the IEP, subject to certain financial commitments that other units are responsible for.  For example, The IEP is classified as "cost recovery," meaning that it must fund itself and produce, at minimum, a zero-line budget at the end of the fiscal year.  Included within the budget is an 11% service charge calculated on every dollar that the IEP deposits.  This 11% is charged by IHE which will not acknowledge how the 11% was arrived at or what it pays for.  Additionally, there is a 5% charge assessed for each credit hour the IEP generates, and the IHE keeps 50% of any overage at the end of the fiscal year.  These charges are in addition to the regular expenses of salaries, fringes, student services, medical services, student health insurance, etc.  These charges are never revisited to see if they might be decreased, only to increase them, and the IEP never has any input as to the validity of the charges.  At one point in the IEP's history, the 11% service charge was calculated on expenses – a controllable amount.  However, the IHE made the decision, without consulting the IEP, that the 11% would be moved to deposits – an uncontrollable amount.  All of this was done at a time when the IEP really couldn't afford the financial change, but the IHE was unwilling to discuss the situation.

Additionally, in order to receive raises, the faculty of the IEP must adhere to the IHE's rules.  If all employees of the IHE receive raises, and the IEP has made money in the previous fiscal year, then the IEP faculty members may receive a raise.  However, if the IHE employees do not receive a raise, then the IEP faculty members will not receive a raise – even if the IEP made money in the previous fiscal year.  This sets up a system of punishment and uncontrollable reward for the IELP faculty members.  Only by the IEP doing well financially and by other non-associated employees receiving a raise do the IEP faculty benefit.  It's almost a catch twenty-two situation.

## Fight for Benefits & Equal Rights/Status – Full-time vs. Part-time

Since the majority of IEPs are considered auxiliary programs at their host institutions, their faculty members do not receive the same rights or benefits of their counterparts in "credit-bearing" undergraduate programs.  Mostly, IEP faculty members are not in tenure-track positions and have teaching schedules that consist of twice as many class hours when compared to tenure-track positions.  All of this is beneficial to the IHE because of there ever is a downturn in the

international student population, the IEP faculty can easily be let go.  When the international student population increases again, then the IEP faculty can be rebuilt.  This concept of the dispensability of an IEP faculty does not allow for consistency of programs and does not breed loyalty.  Additionally, it creates a class system with the IEP faculties being the second-class citizens to be used when needed and discarded when not needed.  This is where the discrepancy began as IHEs saw the potential for growth within an international population with very little responsibility attached.

### Facilities, Technology, & Professional Development

As IEPs began to increase in numbers, there had to be places to put them.  Many IEPs were given discarded facilities and sub-standard classrooms to use; however, they were happy to have a place to call their own.  As times changed and as the IEP faculties began to increase in number and graduates, their voices became louder and louder.  Finally, IHEs had to acknowledge that the programs were an asset; however, since most of the IEP faculty did not have the degrees in the field, they were regulated to the fringes of the academic arena.  Not all the classrooms offered the same amenities to the students, and, as technology advanced, it fell to the IEPs to fund the upgrades from slide projectors to LCD projectors, from opaque projectors to overhead projectors, and from old still pictures to internet-capable computers.  These costs, and the maintenance there of, do not come at a cheap price.

Additionally, many of the ESL professional did not feel a connection to their counterparts in the foreign language field.  There was a prevalent concept that ESL teaching was substandard teaching when compared to foreign language teaching as most ESL professional did not have the academic degrees behind them.  Master's-level ESL programs did not come into existence until the 1980s; therefore, many of the degreed foreign language professionals looked at ESL professionals as "substandard" teachers teaching in "substandard" programs.  The possibilities for professional development did not exist.

Then came along TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc.) and ACTFL (the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages).  These organizations offered second language professional development and welcomed all members of the second language field.  As these organizations continue to grow and expand their memberships, their voices are heard more and more often.  This is how change occurs.

### More, More, and More – Being the Victim of your own Success

When IHEs began to see the revenue potential in IEPs, they wanted a piece of the action.  Growing and doing well doesn't always mean that the IEP will flourish because others will want to "feed" on the success. Everyone one, outside of the IEP (student services, athletic services, admissions, etc.) wanted "their fair share."  Rather than looking at it as an investment in future gain, the IHEs and their parts wanted the dollars then.  Without realizing it, the IHEs were not fostering a feeling of "belonging" in the IEPs' students; rather, they were fostering the idea that the tuition dollars meant more than the individual student.  As most IEP graduates continue their

undergraduate studies at the IHE that houses the IEP, then they are a group of students that the IHE spend no money on recruiting.

Having more students and more faculty to teach them doesn't always guarantee quality and consistency. Each IEP has a core curriculum that it adheres to. If this curriculum has technology integrated into it, then all the facilities for all the ESL students MUST have technology enhancement. Otherwise, the students see a discrepancy in instruction. Without the ability to maintain quality, the program will suffer.

**Some Stated Benefits**

I would be remiss if I didn't mention the benefits that our somewhat precarious status does grant us.

1. Some degree of autonomy
2. A tendency to be "left alone" untouched by the politics that are pervasive in HIED today
3. Allowance to pursue activities for the students and for professional development as long as the money is present
4. Budget modification – expansion or contraction thereof
5. Complete control over our curricula and the materials
6. Responsibility of maintaining accreditation
7. Ability to pursue "experimental" projects (i.e. English for Specific Purposes, Community-based programs, etc.) to test the viability
8. Ability to revisit "experimental" projects if they didn't succeed the first time

**Conclusion**

When it all comes down to it, the ESL field in the United States and its relationships with IHEs has made some process, albeit baby-steps. However, that is the way that one begins to walk and then to run. It's now time for our field and for our leaders to insist that ESL professionals be treated just as that – professionals, equal among our peers at our various institutions. There is no one correct way of viewing just how we as professionals fit into the giant IHE puzzle, but, I for one, believe that we compose quite a few more puzzle pieces than others suspect. It is with that number-base, coupled with our ability to generate the extra tuition dollars that so many of our IHEs now need that puts us in a "power position." We need to keep this in mind and quite thinking of ourselves and our chosen profession as "red-headed stepchildren" who are simply happy to get whatever we get thrown at us. We, our students, our field, and our knowledge matter, and IHEs MUST acknowledge that.

# A Study on the Method of Increasing the Consumption of Leek:

# Based on the Research Conducted by Students on Fukaya Leek

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Abstract

This is a study on the method of increasing the consumption of leek; it is based on the research conducted by students on Fukaya leek. Owing to its taste, leek is a popular vegetable. However, only stressing on its taste is not the best method of increasing its consumption. Knowledge about the advantages of consuming leek can also promote the vegetable. Owing to its benefits, the leek is valued both as a food item and for its medicinal properties. Creating awareness about these benefits may increase the consumption of this vegetable. However, it is important to recognize the existence of a factor that could affect the consumption of leek. Even if sufficient awareness about the benefits of leek is created, it is equally important to recognize that leek is not consumed so much without cooking. Therefore, it is necessary to cook leek. The problem in this case is the amount of time it takes to cook leek. For daily consumption, spending a large amount of time to cook it can be seen as a major disadvantage. It is necessary to find a solution to this disadvantage. Finding a recipe for a dish that can be prepared in a short period of time is one of the possible solutions. A recipe is proposed in this study.

**Abstract for the 8th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences**

**Title:**  Life in Indo-Bangla Border: Human Rights at stake!

**Topic area of the submission:** International Relations, Political Science, Social Science, Cross-disciplinary areas of the above related to each other or other areas.

**Presentation format**:        Paper Session

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**Abstract:**

**Introduction:** On either sides of any international border, between two nations, strips of land are left unoccupied and unused for reasons of security. Neither of the nations claims or utilises those strips of land and hence they are called *no man's land*.

**Origin of the problem:** Bangladesh came into being in 1971, but the political international border between India and Bangladesh that was drawn did not follow the geographic and demographic norms; thus sprang the problem of people living stranded in the *no man's land* on either sides of the international demarcation. As the process of fencing the border is still going on and is yet to be completed a fraction of the population are stranded in the lands outside the fencing while other are destined to be outcast in near future. These people who have been residing in the Indo-Bangla international border since distant past even before Bangladesh came into being, suffer under a number of restrictions and bindings.

**Problem:** These poor people with no option but staying where they are, suffering all along since the inception of the fencing on either sides of the international border, sometimes might feel that the identity of belonging to a country bestowed upon them is ephemeral; only when they are needed to cast their votes for the sake of leaders of democracy they are recognized. After the obligation of democracy is over they feel deprived and forgotten.

**Methodology:** The village outside the fencing would be surveyed in person and the residents would be interviewed about their life and related problems.

**Scope of this paper:** This research paper would deal with the *Human Rights* that is jeopardised by the drastic restrictions and problems in the Indo-Bangla international border where people are supposed to breathe in and out at others' will.

**Key-words:** No man's land, Human Rights

**Title:** MICRO-FINANCING: EXPLORING THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT OF CREATIVE FINANCING IN AN ERA OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

**Topic area:** Sociology

**Format:** Paper session

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# MICRO-FINANCING: EXPLORING THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT OF CREATIVE FINANCING IN AN ERA OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

## ABSTRACT

As the current financial crisis deepens across nations, issues of micro-financing have increasingly come to the forefront of scholarly attention. This work explores micro-financing models from within a social and cultural context, with a specific focus on concepts such as SUSU, which is utilized by social networks in nations such as Ghana. Through a discussion of the historical context of these models and their development as a response to inadequate access to or services from more established, official sources of economic support, the current study endeavors to elucidate the important sociocultural influences which may structure micro-financing at an international level.

Thus the purpose of this study is two-fold.

> ➢ To explore the creative ways that relatively depressed communities in the developing world such as Ghana have employed in harnessing local financial resource

> ➢ To identify the lessons that developed countries could learn from the creative financing, and how these lessons could be applied to the seemingly intractable problem of revitalizing other depressed communities even in the developed world.

Preliminary data based on surveys of key informants in Ghana suggest the need for further research into this line of inquiry as well as increased discussion across academic disciplines.

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES UPON VOTER PREFERENCE IN EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS — A CASE STUDY

Public Administration

Paper Session

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ABSTRACT

In a democratic system of government, a clear understanding of voter preference is an essential component of the study of political science. Voters hold the power, and by examining how this power is influenced, candidates, public officials, as well as other voters can better understand how this power is and can be shaped in ways beneficial to their own goals and ambitions.

Previous research on voter preference has focused on a variety of factors, including, candidate gender, political sophistication, as well as environment. While voter preference has been studied in relation to these many factors, the influence of a university environment has yet to be examined.

In order to add to the existing body of literature on voter preference and environmental influences, the question, does one's surrounding environment influence voter preference in an educational institution, will provide valuable insight. The case of Sam Houston State University, Texas, will be investigated.

In this study, change will be measured by looking at any change in voter preference among the students, faculty, and staff at Sam Houston State University in the presidential elections of 2004 to 2008, and whether or not any factors specific to a university environment, such as ethnic diversity, level of education, or political activity, caused these changes. Statistical analysis will discover relationships, if any, between voter preference and a university environment.

Findings will reveal the extent to which a university environment influences voter preference, if at all. It will also be examined if whether or not changes attributed to a university environment could also be explained by certain demographic statistics or idiosyncrasies within the 2004 or 2008 elections. Because of the unique nature and subsequent outcome of the 2008 election, with the United States electing its first African American president, results could be skewed.

If a university setting is found to influence voter preference, policy implications are vast. Not only can political candidates attempt to harness this influence, but an understanding of what drives voter preference can shape or create campaign methods and ultimately create more competent and qualified candidates. Since the outcomes of potentially history-altering elections are determined by voter preference, therein lies the importance of this study.

The 8th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences will be held from **June 4th (Thursday) to June 7th (Sunday), 2009** at the **Waikiki Beach Marriott Resort & Spa** in Honolulu, Hawaii.

1. Submission ID: 378

**Information-Knowledge Paradox: Are We Creating an Anti Intellectual Society?**

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**Title: Information-Knowledge Paradox: Are We Creating an Anti Intellectual Society?**

Full Abstract:

The paper 'Information-Knowledge Paradox' will examine why as information increases, knowledge appears to be declining. In pursuing the reasons for this, the paper will explore why social and economic motivations, public/private policies, Information Technologies (IT) and popular vs. critical cultural media, continually shape information and knowledge as divergent forces. Why and how an 'information society' is being turned into an 'anti-intellectual society,' with public consensus? "Where is all the knowledge we lost with information?" (T. S. Eliot). The framework of analysis to interpret/ analyze media text, content, audience, production and history, will be drawn from Foucault, Marx and others. As popular cultural images and narratives on education and knowledge are shaped by the power of mass media, are critical media (Documentaries, cartoons, research reports, data sources) efficacious in deconstructing the information disseminated in the public sphere?

Brief Abstract: My paper 'Information-Knowledge Paradox' will explore why and how an 'information society' is being turned into an 'anti-intellectual society,' with public consensus.

# THE AFFECTS OF A FASHION EVOLUTION

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## Introduction

*Clueless*, written and directed by Amy Heckerling, is a motion picture that was released in 1995 (Rudin, Lawrence, & Heckerling, 1995). The film has a large target audience of young adults ranging from ages thirteen to twenty-three. It appeals more to high school aged girls, but it is a well-directed comedy that can reach an older audience as well. The film is a modern day version of Jane Austen's *Emma*, updated to current ideas and world values (Mills, 2004).

In *Clueless*, the main character, Cher, is a popular, wealthy Beverly Hills High student. Cher, in her pursuit to make the world a better place, decides to give the new girl in school a makeover. She is accompanied by her best friend, Dionne, who helps her. Object of Cher's attention is Tai, a transfer student with an inadequate fashion sense in a high school that revolves around style and couture. Cher immediately realizes that this girl is "so adorably clueless" (Rudin, Lawrence, & Heckerling, 1995) that she takes Tai's case as a personal challenge and opportunity to give back to the world.

In the opening scene of the movie, the audience is exposed to the glamorous life of students at Beverly Hills High School and the most popular student, Cher. Tai, the transfer student, is the complete

opposite of the popular kids at Beverly Hills High. She has a northern accent and is wearing grunge fashions. Her demeanor, improper English, and attire do not match that of the fashion-clad Beverly Hills High School girls (Table 1, Scene 1).

[Table 1 Here]

When Tai becomes the makeover project of the two most popular girls in school, Cher and Dionne, she lacks self-confidence and needs constant reassurance that her new look is appropriate and necessary to help her gain a social standing with her peers. Tai's popularity escalates after the makeover, due in large part to her fashionable attire and attention from Cher. By the end of the film, Tai learns how to be comfortable and self-confident, and, as a result, she adapts the look given to her in the makeover into a style to fit her own personality and status. The film and the character Tai, in particular, offers an excellent example of how fashion plays in important role in impression management, social acceptance and individual development.

**First Impressions**

First impressions are often lasting and hard to alter (Levak, 2008). Their effects are obvious when the fashion elite at Beverly Hills High see Tai for the first time. It is apparent to the audience as well. To further the point, a fellow student makes the comment that, "She [Tai] could be a farmer in those clothes" (Lawrence, Rudin, & Heckerling, 1995).

From her first appearance in the movie, clothing has an impact on how Tai is perceived as a person and how she is received by others. Clothing can give a powerful first impression because it is among the first things people notice. Peluchettie, Karl, and Rust (2006) conclude "that clothing decisions can make a difference in how one is perceived by others and that clothing wearers can use their attire decisions to influence the impressions formed by others" (p. 46). This is something of which Cher is keenly aware. She sets out to transform Tai into an acceptable member of their high school class.

After the makeover, there is a significant change in how Tai is perceived by others. People begin to notice her, and, ironically, she is given the chance to make a second first impression. When Tai arrives at school after her transformation in a green sweater and plaid miniskirt (Table 1, Scene 5), Cher makes the comment that boys are noticing her because of how nicely she is dressed (Lawrence, Rudin, & Heckerling 1995). By the conclusion of the film Tai has learned how to manage the impressions of others while remaining true to her own style and personality.

**Stereotypes**

Not only does her first ensemble (Table 1, Scene 1) give a poor first impression, it also stereotypes her into a particular group. Tai's references to drugs make viewers believe she used to participate in illegal activities frequently in the school she used to attend. She fits in particularly well with the Beverly Hills High School "loadies," who typically skip class to smoke. Tai speaks of wanting an "herbal refreshment," and she is flattered when a loadie, Travis, "offers her some smoke" (Rudin, Lawrence, & Heckerling, 1995). When Dionne tells her the school does not have tea, but has Coke, Tai responds, "…you guys got coke here?" in an obvious reference to cocaine (Rudin, Lawrence, & Heckerling, 1995). In this sense Tai's dress fits the stereotyped image of drug users at the school.

In an experiment conducted by Stangor, Lynch, Duan, and Glass (1992) results concluded that people categorize others according to physical characteristics, such as style of clothing, because "it [clothing style] is seen as more informative about underlying personality" (p. 216). Tai is repeatedly judged according to the style of clothing she wears. Her clothing in the first scene (Table 1) is the main factor in which viewers first stereotype Tai. Grunge was popular during the 1990s with "plaid flannel shirts, stonewashed blue jeans, and dark colours like maroon, forest green, indigo, and brown" and was thought of as the "anti-fashion" (1990s Time period, 2006). Here, she contrasts the fashions worn by the majority of Beverly Hills High, and, therefore, is judged accordingly. The students immediately stereotype Tai as a loadie.

However, after the makeover, Tai is classified into a different group.  She adopts a style of clothing that is congruent with that of Dionne and Cher.  The clothing is symbolic of how Cher (representing couture) thinks that Tai (representing the anti-fashion) should look to fit in at school.

**Status Symbols**

Not much is revealed about Tai's true status and social class in the film beyond the cues related to fashion.  According to Storm (1987) fashion is the coded language that indicates an individual's status.  After Tai's makeover, Cher gives Tai some of her old designer clothing perhaps giving Tai an elevation in status.  Fashion is a form of communication, which helps individuals exhibit status and social class (Harris, 2003).  When Tai changes her style and begins to wear high end fashion labels, she is conveying a higher social class than what the audience assumes she actually is.  According to Cher, the kids at their school think Tai was one of the most popular girls at her old school.

At the end of the movie, Tai adapts a style that better depicts her personality and social class. Her clothing does not appear to be couture or designer, but she remains fashionably well-dressed.  It is evident that Tai has adapted her own fashion style when she wears the striped golf shirt with the loose pants to the skateboarding competition (Table 1, Scene 12).  She is over the baggy, slouchy clothing of the grunge era, but is able to cultivate that style to something more congruent with the fashions of her friends.

**Psychology and Fashion**

Fashion and style can play a part in fulfilling Maslow's needs hierarchy, including enhancing self-esteem, increasing sense of belonging to a group, increasing confidence, and improving self concept (Storm, 1987).  Adhering to the dress code of her group of friends results in evidence that fashion is indeed fulfilling Tai's psychological needs.

Tai does not fit in with the crowd at the beginning of the movie because of her clothing, but her makeover from Cher changes that. Cher says (of Tai), "Her life will be better because of me." (Lawrence, Rudin, & Heckerling, 1995).  Her statement sounds superficial, but is proved true by the end of the film.

After Tai's makeover, she is more confident and happy with herself.  When Tai decides to take a style that fits her, she is still congruent with the fashions of 1995, but in a way that is less dramatic and trendy than the typical kids at Beverly Hills High.  After adapting her dress accordingly, her overall sense of well-being improves.  As a result of improved self-confidence and esteem she is able to remain friends with Cher and Dionne, but is also able to be friends with students from different social circles.

**Conclusion**

Fashion is a mode of dress that is accepted by a group of people in a specific context (Harris, 2003).  Fashion helps Tai adapt and conform to her physical surroundings.  Her eventual style allows her socialize with the popular kids in Beverly Hills High, elevate her social status among her peers and elevate her sense of self confidence.  According to Harris (2003) fashion communicates "strong messages about the (often fine) line between individuality and conformity" (p. 10).  In the end, Tai is able to express her individual self through fashion, but also remain congruent with the styles of 1995, proving that fashion can be a catalyst for acceptance and personal growth.

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**Table 1: Fashions Worn by Tai in the Motion Picture *Clueless***

| Scene | Clothing Worn | Tai's Reactions | Others' Reactions |
|-------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Orange tennis shoes, frayed gray denim jeans, black baggy T-shirt with Troll on the front, black backpack | Shows signs of insecurity around designer-clad Beverly Hills High School girls | Other girls laugh at her appearance because she lacks dress congruence |
| 2 | Makeover-gray trousers, Cher cuts blue polo shirt to show midriff | Covers her midriff and shakes her head negatively as if she doesn't want to expose her stomach, but seems happy with the rest of the makeover | Cher and Dionne are pleased with how well Tai's new look is turning out |
| 3 | Makeover (final)-maroon skirt, brown Mary Jane's with slight heel, long sleeved blue blouse with maroon heart outlined thickly in white | She is happy with her new look and feels beautiful | Cher and Dionne are happy at the sight of the new and improved Tai |
| 4 | Skin tight workout clothes, two piece suit, flannel shirt tied around waist, gray workout shoes | With her flannel shirt wrapped around her waist, she is still insecure about her midriff, but seems committed to the makeover process | Cher is still trying to improve Tai's physical appearance by getting her in shape |
| 5 | Yellow Mary Jane's, brown stockings, short green plaid mini skirt, hunter green cardigan over green striped top, khaki backpack, small earrings | Smiling, loves showing off her new look at school and feels confident around others | People are staring at the pretty new girl who is hanging around Dionne and Cher; people notice her now that she is dressed stylishly |
| 6 | Plaid red and black jacket, red and black striped shirt, black pants, suspenders, pearl earrings, black shoes. When she's at the party, she adds a choker and her top slightly exposes her midriff | Confident, wants attention from Elton so she exposes her midriff slightly, which also suggests she's becoming more comfortable with her body | Elton gives her attention and she is dressed like the other kids at the party. People are nice to her. |
| 7 | Brown lace up top that exposes midriff, brown plaid shorts, thin brown belt, small dainty necklace, later adds a maroon sweater | When Cher breaks the news that Elton isn't attracted to Tai, Tai says "It's my hips isn't it?" (Lawrence, Rudin, &Heckerling, 1995) suggesting that she is still insecure with her body which may be why she adds the cardigan sweater over the top that exposes her midriff | Cher and Dionne still like Tai, and still seem to think the makeover was a success despite the unsuccessful matchmaking between Elton and Tai |

**Table 1: Fashions Worn by Tai in the Motion Picture *Clueless***

| Scene | Clothing Worn | Tai's Reactions | Others' Reactions |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | Short, pale denim overalls with patchwork, pink tee, sheer blue button up with small floral print top, blue bow headband, tall silver sneakers | Needs reassurance from Cher as to how to wear the blue sheer top over her overalls. She changes how the sheer top looks by tying it around her waist and in her hair. | She doesn't get any male attention and isn't as well dressed as the other kids there. She doesn't fit in with the crowd and is left out. |
| 9 | Pink Capris, white polo top exposes midriff, pearls, white headband, white shoes | Loves her new look at the attention that she gets from two guys at the mall. Feels confident about her new look. | Cher and Christian like her clothes, but still determine that she is clueless for hanging out with the two losers she meets at the mall. They think she can do much better now that she hangs out with the rich popular kids and dresses better. |
| 10 | Blue short sleeve shirt, white button up underneath, blue hair clips | Confident and loving the attention she is receiving after her "brush with death at the mall" (Lawrence, Rudin, & Heckerling, 1995) | People listen to her testimony of her near death experience and seek advice from her. She is becoming the most popular girl in school. |
| 11 | Pink and black plaid jacket and pleated skirt, pink shirt, white knee socks, black shoes, pink headband, necklace | Takes on a different persona, feels powerful and popular and is dressed similar to the style of Cher at the beginning of the movie. She acts like Cher at the beginning of the movie—popular and well dressed with an aura that suggests she's better than other people | Cher thinks she has created a monster that looks exactly like her and she is shocked when Tai is rude to her. |
| 12 | Blue, white and yellow striped golf shirt, baggy black trousers, blue headband, hair in pigtails, pearl earrings, necklace | She is dressed more like herself and begins acting more like herself—nice and appreciative of how nice Cher has been to her. | She fits in with the crowd at the skateboard competition. Cher doesn't feel intimidated by her. |
| 13 | Pale blue dress with white horizontal pattern, pearl necklace, white Mary Janes | She is dressed appropriately for a summer wedding with spring pastel colors. She feels like a part of the group and she's happy. | People accept her for who she is. She is dressed stylishly for a typical middle-class American girl in 1995. |

8

# FASHION AND FEMINIMITY IN REAR WINDOW

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## Description of the Film

*Rear Window* was released in 1954 by Paramount and now owned by Universal which manages the copyrights for films that Hitchcock owned outright (Katz and Hitchcock, 1954). It concerns Life Magazine Photographer named L.B. "Jeff" Jeffries (James Stewart), laid up in his Greenwich Village apartment with a broken leg after a work related injury, who while fending off his high society girlfriend Lisa (Grace Kelly), begins to suspect that the traveling salesman on the on the other side of the courtyard, Lars Thorwald (Raymond Burr) has murdered his wife (Katz and Hitchcock, 1954).

*Rear Window* is supremely well acted in fact one of the best acted of all Hitchcock's thrillers. Leading a great cast that includes Grace Kelly, Raymond Burr, Thelma Ritter and Wendall Corey, James Stewart gives one of the most revealing, most internally conflicted turns. The only major mid-century male movie star permitted to cry or contemplate suicide without alienating his fans, Stewart was also able to play heels without losing the love of the audience as he does here. The rest of the cast is just as superior especially Thelma Ritter one of Hollywood's great character actors (Katz and Hitchcock, 1954).

Rear Window is one of Hitchcock's most popular films and is representative of Hitchcock movies. The reason that Rear Window is arguably Hitchcock's most beloved film is it is one of the last gasps of prestige Hollywood cinema, one of the last of the great studio films before the full impact of television. Rear Window explores some of the responsibilities and consequences of our natural curiosity, in this case Jeff's voyeurism. It's about subterranean darkness beneath the surface of our lives, the world that few see (Katz and Hitchcock, 1954). This film was intended for adult movie-goers looking for a suspense-filled drama underpinned by unrequited love. The film offers audiences the same appeal today and has stood the test of time as a classic.

The million dollar movie premiered in August 1954, and by May 1956 had grossed $10 million. It also reaped four Academy Award nominations, Best Director, Screenplay, Cinematography and Sound. In addition screen writer, John Michael Hayes, won an Edgar Allen Poe award from The Mystery Writers of America for the screen play. Its theatrical reissues were also resounding successes (Rear Window, n.d.).

**Costume Designer: Edith Head**

Edith Head received 35 Academy Award nominations and won Oscars, placing her at the forefront of motion picture costume design (*Edith Head*, n.d.). One of the industry's first professional women, she became a major American fashion force, designing for Vogue patterns and airlines as well. Her ability to shape each gown to a character or image made her as popular with film directors as with the glamour girls she dressed in both their private lives and screen roles. Yet the image she devoted the most work to was her own. Her friendly frankness led to regular appearances on Art Linkletter's daytime show in the 1950's, offering advice to the un-chic (*Edith Head*, n.d.). The "Look" that stands out in Head's spectrum of styles is best

exemplified in her designs for Hitchcock's blondes, particularly Grace Kelly's discreet sexiness, which she adapted for Audrey Hepburn and Natalie Wood (Edith Head, n.d.).

Preparing to shoot a scene of Kelly in a sheer night gown, Hitchcock eyed the actress and then called for Edith Head, telling her that the bosom needed enhancement. In Kelly's dressing room Head told the actress that Hitchcock wanted her to put in "falsies." Kelly thought they would show, the two women instead began making adjustments to the night gown itself. Hitchcock never knew the difference (Schopen, 2006).

In terms of costume Edith Head's challenge was to strike the correct balance between Grace Kelly as a film star and Lisa Fremont as a character in *Rear Window*, inviting the viewer to maintain a firm idea of the star underneath. On other occasions Head acknowledged that Hitchcock allowed her considerable say, particularly regarding styles and in negotiating with actresses about appropriate accessories. Head recalled that designing for Kelly was a special experience because she was so knowledgeable about fashion. The collaboration of Head and Hitchcock in this way suggests that feminine input into the film's costuming was crucial in the precision of each outfit, its resonances and contextual associations would have constituted a key focus point, particularly for female audience (Schopen, 2006).

The story told by the dresses in *Rear Window* privileges Lisa as an active, masquerading, threatening figure. Hitchcock, Edith Head, and Grace Kelly were offering a representation of femininity that was consistent with contemporary discussions about the aggressive nature of female sexuality (Chieriretti, 1976).

**Extended Plot Summary**

The story begins with well-known photographer, L. B. "Jeff" Jeffries, recuperating from

broken leg obtained photographing an out-of-control racecar.  Jeff lives in a small third-floor

apartment, and spends his time looking out the *Rear Window* into the courtyard of the building;

he can also see into the lives of all his neighbors, catching glimpses of their daily routines. It is

the sort of thing only an invalid might do.  Every day, Stella, his therapist, comes to visit Jeff,

dispensing her mature wisdom and berating him for sitting there all day spying on his neighbors.

She tells him that she can smell trouble coming. He should get his mind off his neighbors and

think about marrying his beautiful girlfriend. Jeff replies that he is not ready for marriage. (Katz

and Hitchcock, 1954).

The girlfriend arrives shortly after Stella leaves. Lisa Carol Fremont breezes in wearing a

stunning satin dress (Table 1, Scene 1), looking every inch the beautiful socialite she is, and

obviously very much in love with Jeff. They have dinner, but soon enough the conversation turns

to the future, and they quarrel. Jeff sees no way they can reconcile their different lifestyles, and

she walks to the door, telling him goodbye, at least until tomorrow.  The night drags by and it is

too hot for Jeffries to sleep. He dozes in his wheelchair by the window, but notices activity

across the yard.  A salesman neighbor goes out carrying his heavy silver sample case.  The blinds

in the bedroom are drawn, so Jeffries cannot see the wife. Later, the salesman returns, lifting the

case easily, as if it were empty. Twice more he goes out in the rain in the middle of the night,

lugging the heavy case, but coming home with it lighter. Intrigued, Jeffries wonders what the

salesman is doing, but he finally dozes off around daybreak (Katz and Hitchcock, 1954).


[Table 1 here]

Discussing the incident with Stella the next day, and then later with Lisa, they all begin to watch the salesman. With the blinds now open, they can see that the wife is gone. They watch as he goes into the kitchen and clean a large knife and saw. Later, he ties a large packing crate with heavy rope, and has moving men come and haul the crate away. By now they are all thinking the same thing; there is foul play going on, and the missing wife has been murdered by the salesman.

Jeffries calls in an old Army buddy who is now a detective, and explains the situation to him, but after some checking the buddy finds nothing wrong. Chastised, they all feel foolish, even disappointed when they find out there was not a murder after all. Jeffries and Lisa settle down for an evening alone, but soon a scream pierces the courtyard as another neighbor discovers her little dog dead. Jeff watches all of the neighbors rush to their windows to see what has happened, except for one, the salesman, who sits unmoving in his dark apartment, with only the tip of his cigarette glowing (Katz and Hitchcock, 1954).

Convinced that the salesman is guilty after all, they slip a letter under his door asking "What have you done with her?" and then watch his reaction. Calling his apartment, Jeffries tells the salesman to meet him at a bar down the street, as a pretext to getting him out of the apartment. Jeff thinks the salesman killed the little dog to keep it from digging up something buried in the courtyard flower patch. When the salesman leaves, Lisa and Stella grab a shovel and start digging, but after a few minutes, they find nothing. Refusing to give up, Lisa climbs the fire escape to the salesman's apartment and squeezes in an open window, much to Jeffries' alarm. Rummaging around the apartment, Lisa finds the wife's purse and wedding ring, things she surely would never have left behind on a trip. She holds them up for Jeffries to see, but he can only watch in terror as the salesman comes back up the stairs to the apartment. Lisa is trapped. Jeff calls the police and watches helplessly as the salesman finds Lisa and begins to

assault her.  The police arrive, saving Lisa just in time (Katz and Hitchcock, 1954).

Jeff watches from across the courtyard as the police question Lisa and then arrest her. The salesman notices Lisa signaling to Jeff and looks up directly at him with murderous understanding.  Stella heads for the police station, leaving Jeff alone.  Down below, he hears the door to his own building slam shut, and then slow footsteps begin climbing the stairs. The salesman is coming for him, and he is trapped in his wheelchair.  The salesman opens Jeff's door and after a struggle the salesman pushed Jeff out the window, just as the police rush up beneath him, breaking his fall.  The salesman confesses to the murder of his wife, and the police take him away.  A few days later the heat has lifted, and Jeffries sleeps peacefully in his wheelchair, now with two broken legs from the fall. Lisa reclines happily next to him, now wearing blue jeans and a simple blouse, and reading a camping book. She smiles at him as he sleeps, but pulls out a hidden fashion magazine from under the cushion (Katz and Hitchcock, 1954).

**Lisa's and Jeff's Relationship**

Much of the conflict surrounding Lisa and Jeff stems from Lisa's love of fashion and her career in the fashion industry.  Time and again Lisa's personality is reflected in her apparel, which entirely revolves around fashion in every sense.  As a professional in the fashion industry Lisa is expected to be knowledgeable and participate in the latest fashions, and Lisa seems to do this naturally.  She is a stylish vision of beauty, elegant and obviously affluent.  She is introduced to the audience entering Jeff's apartment and modeling her newest dress, a $1,100 haute couture gown (Table 1, Scene 1).  This is also the audience's first hint that Jeff sees Lisa's love of and involvement in fashion as a hindrance to their being able to be happy together as a couple.

Jeff accuses Lisa of being overly perfect, too beautiful and too sophisticated. He states that if she were ordinary she would be easy to marry. The film gives several indications that Jeff is experiencing a crisis of his masculinity: he fears that, due to his accident, he may have lost his nerve and dreads the prospect of having to give up his adventure photography in favor of Lisa's lucrative world of high fashion, a world that he obviously sees as being beneath him.

Lisa attempts to seduce Jeff always occur after the work day, when she reenters the domestic realm to which women of this era "properly" belong. She uses the outfits of her profession in her attempts to create an image appealing enough to seduce Jeff. Jeff's continuous choice to ignore Lisa's advances leads the audience to believe that this is an "old song and dance," and one that he is well-practiced in avoiding. Thus, Jeff's perceptions of Lisa are firmly established before the audience ever meets them.

**Dress Based Character Analysis of Lisa**

Lisa's adornment functions as a complex system of communication. Intriguing possibilities are created for all the characters via their costumes, but Lisa's dresses, bags and jewels tell a fascinating story that far exceeds the simple imperatives of plot development (Modleski, 1988). Lisa serves as a stereotypical female of the film's era, becoming, as all women do, an object of the male gaze. In a male-dominated society only men are in a position to see their desires projected on the screen. Women are styled to please them. Lisa's character fits this description although the audience feels that she accepts this and rather than fighting it, she uses it quite effectively to her advantage.

In terms of the basic advancement of the narrative, costume is central to the plot. One of the major roles fulfilled by costume concerns gender relations, particularly the central conflict

between Lisa and Jeff. Lisa's costumes and accessories display a resolute assertion of her femininity. Far from being passive, Lisa is an extremely active character, dominating many scenes with her mobility in contrast to Jeff, who is wheelchair-bound. Her flowing garments (e.g., Table 1, Scene 4) serve as power extenders, assisting her in commanding attention in various scenes. Her knowledge of fashion and her ability to use fashion to her advantage creates a feminine spectacle, where Lisa is clothed with power over her image underscoring the issues of sexual inequality. Modleski (1988) stated that in the film fashion is used more to show Lisa's desire to show desire and femininity than to symbolize her assimilation into the patriarchal system. She accomplishes this with seeming ease, using every accessory to her advantage.

During the film Lisa wears six different ensembles, accompanied by numerous bags and accessories which serve as signifiers of feminine desire, constituting a discourse of particular significance to female spectators. In keeping with her classy, affluent image, she wears different costumes to suit particular times of the day, with impeccable ability to display it with greatest impact (Hine, 1989). A point in case is Lisa's initial entrance in the film (Scene 1), marked by a particularly theatrical performance, assisted by the cameras increasing distance in three movements, each time giving us more of Lisa, and her costume, as she turns on one light after another light until she is completely illuminated and our vision of her is complete.

Lisa's first ensemble is a dress with a black, tight-fitting bodice and a full white layered net skirt paired with a white chiffon shawl and a pearl choker (Table 1, Scene 1). The overall style for Lisa's costumes, particularly her evening wear, is Dior's "New Look" the style launched in Paris in 1947 which celebrated full, feminine skirts and placed particular emphasis on the body (Harris, 1992). This particular costume is interesting because it encapsulates the broad spectrum of femininity that is evident in many of Lisa's outfits and, in her overall "look."

Lisa is the epitome of Dior couture. She enters with confidence and poise trying desperately to get Jeff's attention. Jeff's recognition that she never wears the same thing twice clues the viewer to the fact that Lisa is not living above her means. Her ability to engage in conspicuous consumption (vast wardrobe) provides more cues as to Lisa's love of fashion and her career (Storm, 1987). Lisa's professionalism as a working woman, ambition and enthusiasm for her job are a consistent theme in the film. It is interesting to note how Lisa's status as a single woman invests her display of costume with professional *and* personal satisfaction.

Lisa's second costume signifies only one thing: seduction. The dress has a full skirt and short sleeves and is low cut with a thin layer of translucent black material on the top that exposes both shoulders (Table 1, Scene 2). This costume is Lisa's most threatening and she wears it after she and Jeff's apparent marital incompatibility has been discussed without resolution.

Lisa's third outfit is an almond green silk linen suit, smart and businesslike, chic but a more tailored, masculine shape (Table 1, Scene 3). The skirt is narrow, below the knee with a short matching box jacket and a white, backless halter blouse and white gloves. Her jewels are predominately pearls; her hair is up and she is wearing a pillbox hat. She is presented as ready for the job of inviting herself to stay the night so that she can see "everything," referring to the salesman's unfolding story.

The green is hue of the suit provides symbolism of a deep affinity recognized by Lisa but rejected by Jeff as nonsense. Her jewels jangle and distract from the seriousness of her initial appearance and when she removes her jacket the sleeveless halter blouse reveals her bare arms and back, another example of how a sense of sexual presence is concealed but later revealed. The *piece de résistance* of this fascinating composite is her smart Mark Cross overnight case which contains ultra-feminine nightwear, a white silk negligee and silk slippers, symbolizing

Lisa's sexual openness. The overnight case is an excellent example of the hand bag as a sexual symbol. Lisa's overnight case looks as if it is a business case, but when she opens it, out cascades the white night gown and slippers, and excessive revelation of feminine clothing that has obvious sexual connotations (Storm, 1987).

Lisa quickly learns that to grab Jeff's attention she is going to have to compete with the *Rear Window* show, and she pulls out all the stops with her fourth costume change. Lisa enters wearing her night gown like a model walking on a fashion show runway, striking poses that alternate with twirls (Table 1, Scene 4). Lisa is not taking the traditional passive role here but purposely asserts herself to compete with the show taking place in the windows across the courtyard. Lisa uses the outfits of her profession in her attempts to create an image appealing enough to seduce Jeff. Lisa's night gown is not as threatening as her black dress and it is significant that the night gown appears once her sexual assertiveness has been contained by her recruitment into Jeff's murder mystery scenario.

The fifth costume change for Lisa, an afternoon dress (Table 1, Scene 5) is appropriate in her role as a intrepid action-woman, but as with her other outfits it is the height of fashion featuring a bouncy, full skirt. Her patterned white silk organdy print in wheat-colored spring flowers is practical and unfussy. Lisa's dress is the latest variation on a classic style, waisted with a high neckline. Lisa's dress emphasizes her new role as Jeff's accomplice in the investigation. In this scene Lisa momentarily curtails her more obvious attempts to seduce Jeff, placing more focus on the activities of the salesman. The costume chosen maintains Lisa's fashionability but is physically enabling (Storm, 1987), allowing her to engage in activities that prior ensembles would have prevented. Lisa's dress does not get in the way when climbs

through the window of the salesman's apartment and does not encourage an impression of her as a sexual being to the same extent as her previous costumes.

In the final scene, Lisa hides her fashion interest from Jeff. Casual observers will not see the full extent of Lisa's power, seeing Lisa's jeans and loafers (Table 1, Scene 6) as a sign that she has capitulated to Jeff's world. However, her secret peek at *Harper's Bazaar* reveals differing intentions. Lisa has a *business* relationship with *Harper's Bazaar*, a relationship she mentioned early on in the film. She ends with her professional desires intact and her personal goals fulfilled, with Jeff next to a woman not only powerfully real but also just plain powerful.

**Conclusion**

Lisa's world of fashion represents an upper-middle-class *milieu*: she works as a model, with a fashion magazine and mixes in society circles. By contrast, Jeff is a hard working photographer who lives in a small, down scale Greenwich Village apartment, resisting Lisa's attempts to render him "upwardly mobile" by securing him a full time job as a studio fashion photographer. Lisa's representation of class is largely based on taste. Her outfits are impeccable and her knowledge of fashion is impressive. As far as professionalism is concerned, she and Jeff are equally dedicated to their jobs, although Jeff's repeated dismissal of her job as frivolous and rather amusing confers a higher status on his own profession. Lisa is extremely conscientious about her work, trying out clothes in the evenings and speaking animatedly about professional events she has attended recollecting details about gowns worn by the rich and famous with enthusiasm and accuracy.

Lisa's "perfection" is about her professionalism as a working woman, ambition and enthusiasm for her job being a consistent theme in the film. It is interesting to note how Lisa's

status as a single woman invests her display of costume with professional *and* personal

satisfaction.  Lisa's costumes suggest a persona that revolves around notions of the feminine that

equally suggest independence, assertiveness and ability to achieve her goals, also professional

and personal (Street, 2000).

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Table 1: Adornment Descriptions for Lisa Carol Fremont in the Film *Rear Window*

| Scene | Ensembles | Hair | Shoes | Accessories |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Black and white chiffon haute couture cocktail dress, black patent belt at the waist, white chiffon wrap | Blonde-chic-long very sleek-hair is brushed away from face | Black patent evening sandals crossed on top of the foot and circled the ankle-sexy stilettos | 3/4 length white gloves, pearl choker, diamond studs, diamond and pearl bracelet, black clutch with stones |
| 2 | Black chiffon shirt-waist dress-black patent belt-cap sleeves | Long, sleek, away from her face | Black stilettos-hose black | Diamond earrings, pearl choker |
| 3 | Light muted green khaki linen suite, white tie halter back belted, jacket hip length with high collar tight pencil skirt with back slit | Sleek, French twist, away from her face | Black leather stilettos with a shorter heel | Hat-netting over the face-attached with pearl hat pins, pearl choker, pearl and silver earrings, 3/4 length white gloves, heavy loud charm bracelet with pearls, Mark Cross overnight case |
| 4 | Negligee-beige-silk see-through gown-chiffon see-through jacket with long belt sleeves-flown in the wind or when walking-cut low in the front and "V" in the back | Color a little cooler-very natural brushed away from her face | Flat beige silk slippers | None |
| 5 | Flowered shirt waist dress belted with full skirts no sleeves-dress has a beige background | Natural look-cooler blond-brushed away from her face | Red stilettos two inches-everything else is toning down but Lisa's shoes-that part of her she is keeping | Pearl earrings, pearl choker |
| 6 | Rolled up jeans burnt orange button down blouse with rolled sleeves | Very sleek-brushed from face natural look | Penny Loafers-flat heels | None |

# FASHION AS A SYMBOL OF SELF-TRANSFORMATION: A PORTRAIT OF TOULA PORTOKALOS

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## Introduction

Fashion is described as a set of commonly adopted patterns of dress that are context specific (Harris, 2003). It helps us understand and make sense of the world and sends messages in bold and subtle ways. In August 2002 Nia Vardolos celebrated the release of her first film, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*. Vardolos wrote and starred in the romantic comedy which was later nominated for an Academy Award (Brooks, Shareshian and Waitt, 2002). *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* captured audiences of single women in their late twenties and well into their thirties, however, families everywhere enjoyed the film and for many it was an ideal date movie (Tucker, 2002).

The film gives a unique and honest portrayal of growing up in a traditional Greek family. When Toula, the heroine, was a young girl she struggled to understand her family's way of life. She was taught by her parents that, "nice Greek girls are expected to do three things: marry Greek boys, make Greek babies and feed everyone until the day we die" (Brooks, Shareshian and

Waitt, 2002). It is here that the differences in Greek and American culture contributed to Toula's unhappiness and low self esteem. As an adult, the many years of feeling isolated are reflected through her appearance.

The Portokalos family can be described as a stubborn, strident group of individuals. At times Toula felt overwhelmed by her domineering family. As a result, she is unable to develop a sociable personality. Toula bears this burden into her thirties, at which point she discovers herself as a confident and ambitious woman. To her family's surprise Toula falls in love with a non-Greek, Ian Miller. This becomes the turning point in her life as she seeks out her parents' approval of her relationship with Ian (Brooks, Shareshian and Waitt, 2002).

Fashion is more than an item of clothing; it is also a process (Storm, 1987). For Toula, fashion becomes a continuing process of change in styles of living; for example through dress or even behavior. Toula experiences changes in her wardrobe and behavior according to the changes in her life. Table 1 contains an outlined description of the thirty-two costume changes and fashions worn by Toula Portokalos throughout the film. She goes through three major phases of dress. The first phase she refers to as her frump girl phase, the second phase is her transition phase, and finally the third phase is her breakthrough phase (Brooks, Shareshian and Waitt, 2002).

[Table 1 here]

In scenes 1 through 5 in the film Toula is going through her frump girl phase. This phase consists of bulky sweaters, relaxed fitting pants, and darker colors. Her appearance gives viewers the idea that Toula tried not to stand out in a crowd, she wore big baggy clothes as if she

were hiding in them. It is apparent that Toula doesn't want to be the center of attention and goes to great lengths to make this a reality.

The transition phase consists of scenes 6 through 24. During her transition, Toula begins experimenting with a new look. Toula's clothing is typical of the way most people presume a middle age woman of middle class status would dress. Her new look emerges after enrolling in her first college course at which point she becomes more aware of her appearance. Her new look includes makeup, accessories, brighter colors, and more feminine attire (Brooks, Shareshian and Waitt, 2002).

The third phase is interpreted as Toula's breakthrough phase. It is made up of scenes 25 through 32. During this time Toula finds true happiness and begins to embrace herself as a proud member of a Greek family. Her appearance reflects her comfort with herself and her acceptance of herself. Her fashion choices have evolved into a wardrobe that is congruent with how she views herself and her life, which is a total transformation from the Toula introduced at the beginning of the film.

**Analysis of Toula's Adornment**

Toula's desire to change her appearance mirror changes within her life. These changes mirror Maslow's needs hierarchy. During her frump girl phase (Table 1) Toula is focused on the lower order steps of Maslow's hierarchy, physiological and safety needs. It is obvious through the drab colors and outdated silhouettes that Toula is merely trying to survive, choosing apparel that makes her feel safe and helps her hide from her life. As she enters her transitional phase her clothing progresses into Maslow's belonging and self-esteem steps. Here we find Toula experimenting with apparel and slowing adding fashions that make her more appealing to her

love interest and reflecting the gradual elevation in her self-esteem.  The addition of color to her wardrobe symbolizes her realization that she is worthy of being desired and her intensions to find belongingness and acceptance.  In Toula's breakout phase her increasing confidence and improved self-concept and body image are reflected in her clothing choices.  It is here that she is seeking fulfillment of the self-actualization step of Maslow's hierarchy.

Toula has a number of ascribed and achieved roles which influence the way she dresses. At the beginning of the film her principle roles are that of waitress and daughter, which are intertwined due to her job being in the family business.  Even when wearing her required uniform at work (Table 1, scenes 2-3) it is her overall look that gives her away.  Little attention to hair, makeup and grooming in general are cues that Toula is not fully engaging with the world around her.  At this point her life is more about pleasing her parents by being the good daughter than about pleasing herself.  As her transformation takes place we see changes in the type and variety of roles she holds.  She progresses as student, friend and girlfriend, each contributing to changes in her disposition and mood, which ultimately make a positive impact on her appearance.

In scene 1 (Table 1) the film takes viewers back to Toula's youth, when she was a "swarthy six year old with sideburns" (Brooks, Shareshian and Waitt, 2002).  Toula provides an excellent description of how she perceived the world around her as a young girl.  Her perceptions of how others saw her in large measure created the confidence-lacking woman she became.  As with most individuals, her peripheral self, the stable portion of her self-concept, evolved at a very young age and did not change over time.  Toula's peripheral self was the only part of her personality and appearance that did not change as her story plays out.  This is evidenced by Toula's maintenance of consistency in her core (Storm, 1987).

Throughout her childhood, Toula continuously compared herself to the other girls, who she described as "blonde and delicate" (Brooks, Shareshian and Waitt, 2002). These comparisons were just the beginning of her constant self ridicule and low self esteem. Such factors contributed not only to Toula's vague self-concept but also her detachment from her real and ideal selves (Storm, 1987). Toula used dress as a way to express, conceal, and enhance her self-concept.

While in the frump girl phase Toula takes on the role of both daughter and seating hostess at the family restaurant, Dancing Zorbas. These roles can be identified by the uniform she wears to work (Table 1, Scene 2). Toula's depressed mood and pessimistic outlook on life is easily interpreted by the viewer based on her adornment, which was used to create a barrier that impacted her interactions with others. She was not yet ready to pursue her role as an independent woman. Although Toula did not realize it, her physical appearance gave others the impression that she was unapproachable. During these scenes (Table 1, scenes 1-5) Toula wears darker colors including black, brown, and gray. These colors often portray feelings of sadness, sorrow, detachment or isolation (Gems, 2008).

Toula's gradual addition of color in her wardrobe is her way of nonverbally communicating to the viewer that her personality is changing. Her personality evolves significantly during her role as a college student. We watch as Toula behaves differently in order to fit in. Some of the new behaviors she exhibits are based on perceptions of others' expectations of her. Moreover, this is the first time color is incorporated into Toula's wardrobe. In scene 15 (Table 1), her bright red lipstick symbolizes courage and her new found confidence. Red is often thought of as a power color (Uribes, n.d.). Throughout her transition and

breakthrough phases Toula wears a variety of colors such as soft blue, lavender, red, pink, white, and floral patterns.

As Toula's self-concept improved, so did her appearance. The self-concept theory is defined by Purkey (n.d.) "as the totality of a complex, organized, and dynamic system of learned beliefs, attitudes and opinions that each person holds to be true about his or her personal existence." Toula's self-concept slowly changes from negative to positive. During these same scenes Toula experiences changes to her body image as well. There are three contributor's to one's body image, including direct feedback, secondary feedback, and self-comparison (Storm, 1987). Toula makes some dramatic changes in her life, beginning with enrolling in school and wearing different clothes. Her new found confidence is a result of direct feedback she receives from others. She is pleased with the way she looks and that gives her the courage to explore social avenues she avoided in earlier years. Her self confidence is noticed by others and consequently she is treated more positively by others as a result of her appearance which is secondary feedback. Her social acceptance among her peers enables Toula to compare herself to her peers. However, unlike her childhood years she compares herself to her peers in a positive way, ultimately leading her closer to her ideal self.

Adornment can also provide indications of status and role. Women age into the status of wife and then mother. One example of how Toula's choice of clothing symbolize the roles she takes on, is her wearing the big, frilly, over-the-top wedding dress (Table 1, scene 30). Her dress symbolizes her role as a daughter being given away by her parents and her status as a new wife and the new role she is assuming.

In some cases it is possible and even probable to judge a book by its cover. Throughout the movie Toula's appearance accurately reflects her personality and the roles she takes on. As

her transformation progresses, Toula becomes more aware of her appearance.  The audience watches as Toula transforms from a sad, single, thirty year old woman still living with her parents into a confident, driven individual destined to find love.  The movie ends with the 'happily ever after' message to inspire and encourage audiences.

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Table 1: Costume Changes of Toula Portokalos in the Film *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*

| Phase | Scene | Costume |
|-------|-------|---------|
| Phase I: Frump Girl | 1 | Long-sleeve sweater, dark straight hair, glasses |
| | 2 | Restaurant Uniform: brown sweater, brown jacket, long lose fitting pants, glasses |
| | 3 | Restaurant Uniform: brown sweater, brown jacket, long lose fitting pants, glasses |
| | 4 | Large Pajamas: Long-sleeve button down shirt, large skirt |
| | 5 | Large bulky jacket, bulky scarf, wavy hair, glasses, frumpy skirt |
| Phase II: Transition | 6 | Blue long-sleeve button down shirt, make-up, contacts, rollers |
| | 7 | Blue turtleneck, curled hair, contacts, pants |
| | 8 | Light pink v-neck shorter dress, sweater, curled hair |
| | 9 | Floral dress, jean jacket, necklace, bright red lipstick |
| | 10 | Light blue button down shirt, earrings |
| | 11 | Light blue night gown |
| | 12 | Professional dress: black shirt, white undershirt |
| | 13 | Lavender sweater, necklace |
| | 14 | Black long-sleeve shirt, fitted black skirt, necklace |
| | 15 | Red dress |
| | 16 | White shirt, jeans |
| | 17 | Red sweater, black skirt |
| | 18 | Lavender sweater |
| | 19 | Black sweater, pants |
| | 20 | Blue dress, blue sweater, jewelry |
| | 21 | Ian's plaid pajamas |
| | 22 | Black sheer shirt |
| | 23 | Red dress |
| | 24 | Red dress, red sweater |
| Phase III: Breakthrough | 25 | Red shirt, black skirt |
| | 26 | White shirt, black pants |
| | 27 | Light blue shirt, black skirt |
| | 28 | Blue nightgown |
| | 29 | Blue night gown, pimple |
| | 30 | Big frilly wedding gown, big veil, lace gloves, bows on dress |
| | 31 | Wedding gown: no veil, no gloves, no bows |
| | 32 | Jean jacket, black pants |

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# Fashion as an Symbol of Self-transformation: A Portrait of Toula Portokalos

# Research of self-care ability in schizophrenia patients

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## ABSTRACT

This research used comparative study to analyze the self-care ability of 35 short-term and long-term hospitalized schizophrenia patients, to examine the self-care ability and the critical factors of institutional short-term and long term hospitalized schizophrenia patients, and to evidence the institutionalization phenomena.

The findings of this research show that under the influences of disease progression and institutional care, short-term and long term hospitalized schizophrenia patients show different clinical phenomena. Basically, the overall self-care ability shows mild-to-medium disabilities. The obvious differences appear in sexual reproduction pattern, coping-stress-tolerance pattern, and the basic management pattern of daily socialized living. Meanwhile, long-term institutional care combining disease progression and the lack of family support show limited influence on self-care ability and then accelerate functional degeneration process.

Although the source of sample in this research is modern western psychiatry oriented, integrated treatment program is provided in assisting rehabilitation. Under the impact of various dangerous factors resulted from institutionalization, long-term hospitalized schizophrenia patients still possess the influences from institutionalization. Therefore, it is verified that hospital is not the most effective treatment space but the community!

**Keywords:** schizophrenia patient, self-care ability, community rehabilitation

# FASHION ANALYSIS OF A SHREW TAMER: PATRICK VERONA IN *10 THINGS I HATE ABOUT YOU*

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## Introduction

This Touchstone Pictures film production was released in March 1999 and had record breaking box office sales (Chernov, Jaret, and Junger, 1999). In additional to being a commercial success, the movie was also a critical success. It went on to foreign distribution in the United Kingdom, Ireland and France and it has been released in several languages and various formats. The film was produced using Dolby Sound and contains a fabulously eclectic musical sequence compiled from 32 songs that are well-integrated into the film's storyline from it's very beginning, ranging from Frankie Valli's *"Can't Take My Eyes Off You"* to The Notorious B.I.G.'s *"Hypnotize"* (*Production Notes*, n.d.).

## Description of Storyline and Target Audience

The movie, *10 Things I Hate About You,* is a romantic comedy set at Padua High School in the 1990s. The film is loosely based on William Shakespeare's play, *The Taming of the Shrew*. Staging the movie in an overwhelmingly beautiful castle-like setting is in perfect keeping with its "happily-ever-after" fairy tale context. Utilizing spin-offs names of the original

Shakespearean names of Petruchio (of Verona), Katherine and Bianca, the *10 Things I Hate About You* storyline modernizes Shakespeare's play by featuring the new boy in school, Cameron James, who likes the pretty, ingenue and popular boy-magnet, Bianca Stratford (Chernov, Jaret, and Junger, 1999).

Bianca's overprotective father has set up a new rule stating that she can't date anyone until her aggressively, disagreeable and anti-social sister, Kat (the shrew), finds a suitor of her own. Feminist and boy-hating Kat would sooner die than go out with on a date and her nasty attitude and acerbic put-downs keep her male peers cowering. It is Cameron's friend, Michael, who engineers a solution. He convinces Cameron to pay bad-boy Patrick Verona to win over and take out the ill-tempered but whip-smart Kat, so that he can in turn ask Bianca out. Since the majority of this movie's leading characters are teenagers, the target audience for this coming-of-age movie is also adolescents, pre-teens, teenagers and young adults. It is rated PG-13 for crude sex-related humor and dialogue, alcohol and drug-related scenes, all involving teens (Chernov, Jaret, and Junger, 1999).

**Description of Character**

Patrick Verona, portrayed not unlike a clone of rocker Jim Morrison, is the character that will be analyzed in this paper. Patrick is an impoverished and rebellious outsider of this movie that most of the other students fear. His black combat boots, black jeans and shirt, silver chains, and cigarettes make him appear very unapproachable, although later in the movie that is certainly not the case. He keeps to himself for the most part and only associates with friends that are much like him. He has a laid back attitude about school and is not concerned with fitting in or being popular. In fact, it seems as though he prefers his individuality and contrasting personality from the typical high school crowd (Chernov, Jaret, and Junger, 1999).

Patrick's initial portrayal in the movie is very visual, and almost that of a psychopath. Knifing the frog he is supposed to be carefully dissecting in a biology lab, and lighting an in-class cigarette with a Bunsen burner flame in another science lab (Table 1, Scene 1), he is initially depicted as the wild eyed and edgy individual of whom to steer clear. Mysterious, moody and brooding, and with an unidentifiable Australian accent, he is, of course, not really a psycho. He is negatively portrayed as such through such adornment as the long hair he sports, the unkempt, dark-colored, punk clothing he wears and the manual labor he does, working in a metal shop. As the story develops, the viewer gradually concludes that Patrick is not a bad guy after all, he's simply misunderstood (Chernov, Jaret, and Junger, 1999).

[Table 1 here]

### Description of Character's Fashions

Patrick's dress plays an enormous role in keeping up with his bad boy persona. As an ill-fitting and non-conforming misanthrope, he uses fashion as a paradox by being fashionable to his peers because he is so unfashionable, or different from them. His wardrobe consists of mostly black clothes, which symbolizes authority or power (Johnson, n.d.). The authority or power that he wants to command from his fellow classmates is that he is someone to be feared.

Patrick also wears combat boots all throughout the movie sending out yet another signal through his fashion that he is someone to be feared. "During the Vietnam war the government was responsible for the creation and distribution of combat boots to soldiers, and soldiers only. They were specifically and obviously designed for combat" (Harris, 2009). Combat boots had been developed as protective footwear during specific situations of enemy combat, and they were never intended for any other purpose within our culture. Since Patrick chooses to wear these very rugged, macho and masculine boots everyday to school it appears he is symbolically

conveying to his fellow students not only that he is prepared to fight, whenever, wherever, but also that he is expecting to fight.  In a further reference to his readiness for a military-style fight, Patrick frequently sports a shirt, sometimes worn as an overshirt, with button-down chest pockets and epaulettes, another type of adornment that symbolizes conflict and power (Storm, 1987).  In Patrick's case, the use of this shirt may also signify the wearer's rank as a member of the working class, since epaulettes contemporarily also connote use as security and utility uniforms.

A review of Patrick's wardrobe (Table 1) reveals that he wants to be left alone.  He does not want to be the center of attention and he enjoys being in the background.  He is not interested in impressing other people with what he chooses to wear every day.  In fact, careful observation shows that he wears much of the same clothing over and over, in different combinations with each other, and sometimes with little apparent concern for his overall appearance.  For example he wears the same combat boots and black button down shirt in several unrelated scenes (Table 1, Scenes 1, 4, 5, 7-10, 13).   In general, he combines black, navy blue, gray and brown apparel, occasionally with a white shirt, without any attempt at color coordination.  In other words, his daily attire just doesn't matter to him, except possibly to maintain distance from other people.  Furthermore, Patrick appears to use his clothing as a means to deflect normal human interaction with his peers at Padua High School.

Even though Patrick Verona seems like a typical tough guy and there are rumors that he has spent a year in jail, subsequently the audience learns that there is much more to him than meets the eye.  Patrick is the hard-hitting guy in school, he always has been, and probably always will be, until he is paid money and challenged to take the unruly Kat out on a date.  Patrick begins to quietly and relentlessly woo her, breaking down her exterior brittleness rather than her spirit, but meanwhile he also simultaneously allows his own guard down and involuntarily and unexpectedly falls in love with Kat.  In a twist on the storyline, it is Kat, the shrew, who has inadvertently and unintentionally tamed Patrick (Chernov, Jaret, and Junger, 1999).

**Character Analysis**

Once Patrick realizes that he has met his match, he falls in love with Kat and his true personality comes out and shows that he is a nice guy under the exterior harshness.  Patrick never fully loses his own style (he continues to wear his usual adornments:  the wristband, necklace and ring), but he does take on a style more suitable to Kat's own tastes so that she will find him more attractive.  Throughout the movie Kat has an eclectic wardrobe, normally characterized by Army green fatigue pants and long print cotton skirts, both with skimpy tops, that wouldn't be found in any mainstream high school student's closet.  Patrick knows and understands this facet of Kat, and tries to fit himself into her lifestyle by changing the clothes that he wears to fit her tastes.  It is extremely evident when Patrick, wearing shiny blue vinyl pants (Table 1, Scene 6), goes to see modern feminist, Kat, at Club Skunk.  That is obviously not something that he would normally wear, but he is going out of his own comfort zone in an attempt to fit in with someone else's style.  Patrick also decides to ask Kat to the prom, which is totally out of character for him (except as a bribe, the condition of which is no longer a factor for him).

When they arrive at the prom, Kat is dressed as a typical teenage girl would be for this occasion, in a beautiful long Prussian blue silk dress and a professional hairdo.  Since Kat has chosen to go with a more traditional dress for prom, Patrick responds in turn, wearing a classic indigo blue tuxedo, something which he ordinarily would never do.  In his attempts to make Kat fall in love with him by doing all these innovative changes to his dress, like wearing a tuxedo, he nonetheless still chooses to play the edgy and non-conforming rebel by not including a bow tie in his formal attire.  Additionally, in lieu of a corsage, he brings Kat a single long-stem red rose, which she promptly modifies for use as a hair simple ornament.  It is within this beautiful setting that Kat finds out that the fairy tale prom date with Patrick was all a setup.

The nonverbal communication that sullen Patrick provides with his fashion is that he prefers to be withdrawn from a crowd and does not want to call any unnecessary attention to himself. He is never seen speaking to someone without averting his eyes or smoking a cigarette (except for conversations with Kat). These subtle nonverbal actions mean that he is never fully engaging in the conversation because he never gives the speaker his full attention, but rather divides his attention between the speaker, the cigarette, and his surroundings (Tannen, 1990).

Patrick also wears many layers of attire throughout the movie, especially when he is at school or any other particularly social area. The only times he doesn't seem to wear many layers of clothes is when he is with Kat. This type of nonverbal communication shows the level of comfort he feels by the number of layers that he wears, meaning the more comfortable he is with someone (Kat) translates to a comparable reduction in the amount of layered clothing that he wears. The layered clothing, mostly shirts, represents the many layers of his personality. On the exterior he is a rebellious bad boy, but on the inside he is an intelligent young man whom no one has taken the opportunity to get to know. This representation can also be seen by the colors of the shirts that he layers, most of the shirts worn on the outside are black, while the shirts underneath are white. Black symbolizes power and authority, which is how Patrick would like to appear to his classmates, while white has always symbolized purity in our society, which is actually his true nature (Johnson, n.d.).

In another application of non-verbal communication, it is noted that Patrick is taller than the other leading characters, which allows him to look down at them while speaking as they, in turn, look up at him, signaling his superior status in some manner. Patrick's superior status is not derived from money or other material possessions, but rather comes from the respect that he commands by presenting himself in such a way that makes the other students fear him. He does not show himself in a way that represents a high social status, but then again, his fashions are not those of someone from a lower social class, but rather an average middle social class. More than

anything, however, Patrick simply shows that he has not reason to be interested in his attire (or in his general appearance, for that matter) until he falls in love with Kat. They have each met their equal, despite their respective inclinations to not become involved with the other.

Patrick does try to move across the social spectrum in his attempts to take Kat out on a date because she is from an upper class family, the oldest daughter of an overly protective father. As people move across classes they must adapt the behavior and dress of that class to fit in (Storm, 1987). As stated before, Patrick varies his fashion somewhat to fit in with Kat's tastes, but he also quits smoking in an attempt to adapt his own behavior to suit hers. Smoking was once considered to be an act in which only "high society" could partake because no one else could afford tobacco. In more recent years, however, and following new research equates smoking with any number of negative health concerns, smoking has been reduced to something in which only the uneducated (or, in Patrick's case, the rebellious) wish to participate. Patrick stops smoking almost immediately, not wanting to seem uneducated or unworthy of Kat's affection.

Patrick, the loner, displays total dress congruence with his tough exterior, but not with his true personality. Those who do not know him on an intimate level would believe that he does display complete congruence because all they know are the black clothes, combat boots, and silver chains. Kat, however, is able to see through his daily attire to find an intelligent, observant, bright, tender and caring person whose attire is entirely incongruent with the reality of the personality he hides from everyone else.

In an affectionate moment, coinciding with Patrick's wearing the least amount of clothing throughout the entire move (Table 1, Scene 11)—while he is accompanying Kat on a paddleboat ride on Puget Sound, the symbolism of the removal of layers of clothing as thematic and cinematic device to imply the melting away of his hardened exterior layers of personality—is reiterated in a subsequent sequence at the paint ball place. Here, Kat and Patrick embark on a

hugely fun and innocent time, fully clothed in lightweight white coveralls as they enjoy a two-person paint ball battle (Table 1, Scene 12). Eventually, they fall into a pile sawdust for a sweet and tender kiss, innocent and totally protected from each other by of their protective white coverall "fashions."

Interestingly, at least two of the ten things that Kat lists in her hate poem involve fashion. While it does not specifically involve fashion attire, Patrick's <u>hair</u> is another iconographic symbol. Long and shaggy, it is the first thing that Kat denounces in her hate poem, "I hate the way you talk to me, and the way you cut your hair." Fourth on her hate poem list are Patrick's "big dumb combat boots" (*10 Things I Hate*, 2009).

**General Observations and Concluding Remarks**

An interesting fashion apparel 'aside' takes place with the small character of Michael is in one of the opening scenes of the film, when he tells Cameron that his friends have abandoned him because, **"**Bogie Lowenstein started a rumor that I...that I….buy my Izods at an outlet mall" (Chernov, Jaret, and Junger, 1999). The Izod clothing brand (and its alligator logo) once enjoyed a long association with society's upper crust and preppy types. Prior to the appearance of the Polo brand on the market, 'Izod' was a synonym for 'knit golf shirt' much in the way that Xerox brand identity is synonymous with 'office copy machine.' The insulting remark was then not only that he aspired to the presumptive status that the wearing such labels might bring, but also that he bought them from an outlet mall, rather than an exclusive high-dollar retailer.

Generally speaking, the manner of women's dressing that was used was for purposes of maximizing the female form and leg exposure. There is an abundance of female anatomy ghosting through scanty clothing and a profusion of exposed female navels. As for the men, their dress is not quite so revealing, although several sleeveless t-shirts are utilized to similarly reveal nice body parts and pleasing masculine physiques.

The struggle between men and women is not a new one.  The story presented here was as much a success 400 years ago as it was when *10 Things I Hate About You* was retold it in more contemporary terms.  The topic presents endless opportunities for exploration and has been the subject of untold amounts of literature, poetry, film and all other civilized forms of communication since the beginning of time.  As such, the depictions of clothing in the movie have been used to reinforce and manipulate the audiences' perception of the personae of the various characters portrayed.

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Table 1:  Adornment Descriptions of Patrick Verona by Scene in the Film *10 Things I Hate About You*

| Scene | Top | Bottom | Accessories | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** *(Classroom)* | Blue 3/4 length form-fitting shirt | Tight blue jeans | Army green shoulder bag/ bookbag, black combat boots | Messy long curly hair |
| **2** *(Science Lab)* | Black V-neck short-sleeve T-shirt | Not visible | Brown leather wristband, Silver ring on right hand | Messy long curly hair, Bunsen burner flame and cigarette |
| **3** *(Soccer Field)* | Black button-up shirt worn, sleeves rolled up over scoop neck 2-tone gray undershirt beneath | Brown jeans | Silver rope-chain necklace, brown shoes | Messy long curly hair, cigarette, pocket knife, electric drill |
| **4** *(Meeting w/ Joey)* | Black long-sleeve button up work shirt w/button-down chest pockets and epaulettes | Black jeans, black belt | Silver rope-chain necklace, black combat boots, two silver rings,  brown leather wristband | Messy long curly hair, toothpick in mouth, welding torch and gray welding glove |
| **5** *(Biker Bar)* | Faded black short sleeve T-shirt layered over blue T-shirt | Blue jeans | Silver rope-chain necklace, silver ring on right hand, army green shoulder bag/ bookbag, brown leather wristband, black combat boots | Messy long curly hair, cigarette,  can of beer |
| **6** *(Club Skunk)* | Gray/ blue short sleeve T-shirt | Shiny blue pants w/ silver trim | Silver ring on right hand, brown leather wristband | Messy long curly hair |
| **7** *(Bogie's Party)* | Dark red collared jacket over gray/blue button up shirt with light-colored scoop neck undershirt | Dark jeans | Silver ring on right hand, brown leather wristband, black combat boots | Messy long curly hair, shirt tail hanging out below jacket |
| **8** *(Track Field)* | Black long-sleeve button up work shirt w/ pockets and epaulettes over white button up shirt | Blue jeans | Black combat boots | Messy long curly hair |
| **9** *(Guitar Store/Book Store)* | Black short-sleeve button up shirt over gray shirt | Black jeans | Silver ring on right hand, silver rope-chain necklace, brown leather wristband, army green shoulder bag/ bookbag, black combat boots | Messy long curly hair |
| **10** *(The Serenade)* | Dark blue collared jacket over white button-up shirt over black T-shirt | Black jeans | Silver ring on right hand, army green shoulder bag/ bookbag, black combat boots | Messy long curly hair |
| **11** *(Paddle Boat)* | Sheer white short-sleeve button up w/ dark colored shirt underneath | Black jeans | None | Messy long curly hair |

Table 1:  Adornment Descriptions of Patrick Verona by Scene in the Film *10 Things I Hate About You*, continued

| Scene | Top | Bottom | Accessories | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **12** *(Paint Ball Place)* | Solid white paintball suit | | | Over-shoulder paint ball carrier, goggles, white boots, hair back |
| **13** *(Front Porch Kat's House)* | Black sleeveless tank top | Black jeans | Silver ring on pinky finger, black combat boots | Hair tied back |
| **14** *(Prom Night)* | Cuffed navy tuxedo jacket over white tuxedo shirt w/ dressy buttons | Navy tuxedo pants | Small cummerbund, open shirt and no bow tie, black dress shoes | Single long-stem red rose |
| **15** *(Classroom/ Street)* | Preppy gray long-sleeve horizontal pinstripe T-shirt | Dark jeans | Silver ring on right hand, brown leather wristband | White Fender guitar |

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# Statistical analysis on an individual's deposit-withdrawal behavior: An empirical analysis using individual data collected through a Web-based survey

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March, 2009

**Abstract**

The purpose of this research is to statistically or quantitatively investigate relationships between individual behaviors of whether depositors will withdraw all of their deposits and factors such as the degree of trust in information sources, frequency of communication, an individual's way of dealing with banks, and individual attributes. By doing so, we suggest a method whereby depositors will not excessively withdraw their deposits after receiving uncertain information on the financial environment. To this purpose, we analyze the relationships by using individual data collected through a Web-based survey we conducted in 2007. The results were as follows: First, individuals who trust in information sources such as weekly/monthly magazines, the Internet, and rumors from people at the workplace would be more likely to withdraw their deposits. Second, an increase of phone call frequency with friends and frequency of communication at neighborhood and workplaces also leads depositors to withdraw

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funds. Third, when depositors receive uncertain information on the financial environment, their tendency to withdraw their deposit is affected by a difference between individual attributes such as gender and education. The authors suggest that government needs to improve and spread the individual's recognition of the deposit insurance system as a first-step policy for preventing depositors from a panic situation such as a bank run. Recognition of the deposit insurance system affects an individual's behavior.

KEYWORDS: withdrawing deposit, logistic regression analysis, Web-based survey

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# 1  Introduction

What action do you take if you hear that the financial institution where you keep your money is about to fail? Are re likely to withdraw your deposit from the account, if you can? Are you likely to pass the rumor of bank failure to your friends, colleagues and family even if the rumor is not credible? Actually, there is a run on the banks case exists in Japan because of a non-credible rumor in the past (Nagaoka and Takemura 2008).

Is it necessary for depositors to withdrawal all their money if such a situation occurs? If appropriate countermeasures are not taken, the economy and the market might become unstable, and the panic might spread to other countries through globalization. It is sometimes said that the worldwide financial crisis is caused by a delay of countermeasures and new policies. Banks, financial authorities and governments therefore should discuss appropriate prior and post countermeasures. Especially important is that the countermeasures are based on scientific approaches, not countermeasures based on historical or no-scientific approaches such as rule of thumb. Responding to a crisis rapidly if an unexpected situation occurs is difficult. On the other hand, most academic researchers and economists are strictly interested in financial crises that have occurred recently all over the world, and they research economic situations from various viewpoints. Most macroeconomists believe in clarifying the reasons for financial crises by building a macroeconomic model and suggesting policies based on the model. Of course, it is clear that macroeconomic indexes such as stock prices and the growth rate of the GDP affect the aggregated economy and people's financial behavior. However, it is doubtful that macroeconomics can capture people's behavior in a financial panic situation. In other words, financial policies using macroeconomic models have limited use for sensitive issues such as financial panic.

Therefore, in this work, our challenge is to create a model to study decision-making in individuals who withdraw their deposits. This work also investigates which factors affect withdrawal behavior. By investigating such factors, we believe that banks, financial authorities and governments can learn prior countermeasures for bank runs, and will learn post countermeasures even if a bank run unfortunately occurs. That is, the authors of this paper believe they can offer countermeasures and policies for the banks, financial authorities and governments that should be considered. For this purpose, we analyze the relationships of depositors by using individual data collected through a Web-based survey we conducted in 2007. This kind of research at the individual level is still now in exploratory stages and the accumulation of data so far has been small.

The reasons for our work are discussed next. Quantitative analyses on bank runs have not yet been done. As mentioned previously, modeling within a framework of macroeconomics is limited because a few ex-post data are only used in this research. Analyses based on modeling through a framework of microeconomics are needed for policy support. As mentioned in Nagaoka and Takemura (2008), decision-making based on a depositor's psychological perspective has not been analyzed much in economic fields because most researchers are interested

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in cases caused by the failure of the management of the bank and not individual factors.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces previous work on financial crises and bank runs. Next, we present our model, and explain the statistical method and data set in section 3. Section 4 shows estimated results and the implications. Finally, we conclude remarks and point out future work in section 5.

## 2   Literature Review

Research is available from various economic approaches on financial crises.

Almost all research on financial crises studied the effects of policies on financial crises from macroeconomic perspective, for example, Choe and Lee (2003), and Pathan, Skully and Wickramanayake (2008). They verify what kind of long- term financial impact on markets result from polices on bank restructuring during financial crisis. This research provides important suggestions on countermeasures which governments should take in a financial crisis. On the other hand, from a microeconomic perspective, few research on financial crises have yet to be been accumulated. In other words, almost none of the previous quantitative research on financial crises produces models at the individual level. However, there are a few researches, such as Yada, Washio, Ukai and Nagaoka (2008), and Takemura and Ukai (2008) base models at the individual level.

Yada, Washio, Ukai and Nagaoka (2008) model a bank run during a financial crisis. They build a model of an account holder's bank-runs in a financial crisis, and use this model to estimate deposit withdrawal amounts during financial crises by using data-mining as an estimation technique. Their research estimates the total deposit withdrawal amount at a branch when the bank has credit insecurity, and they verify significant differences of estimated total deposit withdrawal amounts caused by differences of branch location and main depositor groups.

Takemura and Ukai (2008) model decision-making on whether or not individuals withdraw their deposits after receiving uncertain information on the financial environment. These authors estimate the parameters of various attributes in the model by using a statistical method. Next, the authors mention the need for a model that includes psychological factors and economic variables that do not affect decision- making on withdrawing a deposit. Our work is based on Takemura and Ukai (2008).

Research based on a microeconomic perspective is richer than research based on a macroeconomic perspective because the former perspective has much information and can capture an individual's (unexpected) behavior. Therefore, in this work, analyses are based on a microeconomic perspective.

Finally, we introduce historical research on financial crises; Nagaoka and Takemura (2008), and Shiller (2008). This research is important when we analyze the financial crises from the viewpoints of economics, too.

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# 3 Framework

## 3.1 Model/Statistical Method

The purpose of this research is to statistically or quantitatively investigate relationships between individual depositor withdrawal behavior and whether they will withdrawal all of their deposits and factors such as the degree of trust in information sources, frequency of communication, individual relations in dealing with banks, and individual attributes. By doing so, we suggest a method such that depositors do not withdraw their deposits excessively after receiving uncertain information on the financial environment.

For a long time, logistic regression (or multiple logistic regression) has been widely used for building a decision-making model as a statistical method for grasping the relationships among explanatory variables and explained variables in various fields such as psychology, sociology, economics, and business administration. Generally, a logistic regression model consists of an explained variable which is a probability that a certain event happens p, and explanatory variables as co-variables that influence p. Note that p follows logit distribution, $\text{logit}(p) = \log(p/1 - p)$.

In this research, we build our model by a logistic regression analysis. In our model, the explained variable is the probability that individuals withdraw all of their deposits after receiving uncertain information on financial environment p, and explanatory variables are divided roughly as follows: 1) degree of trust in information sources $X_1$, 2) frequency of communication, $X_2$, 3) individual relations in dealing with banks, $X_3$, and 4) individual attributes, $X_4$. Section 3.2 will concretely explain these variables in detail.

The relationship between the explained variable and explanatory variables is simply described by using equation (1).

$$p = \frac{\exp[a + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3 + b_4 X_4]}{1 + \exp[a + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3 + b_4 X_4]} \tag{1}$$

or,

$$\log(p/1 - p) = a + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3 + b_4 X_4 \tag{2}$$

Note that we can obtain equation (2) by taking the logarithm of both sides of the equation (1).

A feature of our model in (2) is incorporating not only economic variables, but also psychological variables in the decision-making of a depositor's behavior. We assume that depositors would be strictly affected by psychological factors if they encounter a financial panic situation such as a bank run.

In general, many economic models using individual data have only various economic variables such as revenue, asset, investment, consumption, and so on. Of course, such an analysis is meaningful, but it does not demonstrate the charm of analysis. We insist that it is important to incorporate psychological factors into economic analyses by using individual data[1]. This individual data

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[1]Many macroeconomic models cannot incorporate psychological factors.

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is particularly useful when we analyze a panic situation by using an economic framework[2]. In this way, we will be able to build a richer economic behavioral model.

The explained variable on the left side of equation (2) represents a logarithm odds ratio. This can be interpreted as the degree to which individuals are apt to withdraw all of their deposits[3]. Also, the coefficient parameter of each explanatory variable on the right side represents a logarithm odds ratio when the explanatory variable changes one unit. For example, if $X_j$ with the ordinary property changes one unit and the coefficient parameter $b_j$ is positive (resp. negative), then individuals are apt to (resp. not to) withdraw all of their deposits after receiving uncertain information on financial environment. In other words, bank run will occur if many individuals withdraw, and such a situation is a risk for banks.

Here, we introduce methods and processes to estimate coefficient parameters in equation (2), and to evaluate the fitness of our model. To estimate each coefficient parameter in equation (2), we use the general maximum likelihood estimation method based on a binominal distribution. Because calculating the estimation is too complex, we use SPSS as statistical computer software in this work[4]. SPSS has a) a forceful method for inserting explanatory variables, b) a variable increase (decrease) method by likelihood ratio, c) a variable increase (decrease) method by Wald, and d) a conditional variable increase (decrease) method as a method of variable selection. From these methods, we apply the variable increase and decrease methods by likelihood ratio as a method of variable selection in this work. This method is often used as one of preferable indexes among methods[5].

We run the Hosmer-Lemeshow test to evaluate the fitness of our model. Note that the null hypothesis of this test $H_0$ is that the model is well suited[6]. In addition, we evaluate the validity of the model by using a positive distinction rate, which forecasts this model correctly[7].

In this work, we run both variable decrease methods and variable increase methods by likelihood ratio and compare the methods. Then, we synthetically evaluate estimated results from the viewpoints of fitness and validity.

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[2]In other words, it is valid and natural that we assume deposit behavior is not only a result of decision-making with economic rationality under such a situation.

[3]An odds ratio is a statistical measurement showing the odds of an event occurring in one group to the odds of it occurring in another group.

[4]We use SPSS version 17.01J for Windows, SPSS, Inc..

[5]It would be preferable to use a variable stepwise method by likelihood ratio, but unfortunately, SPSS does not have this method.

[6]Refer to Hosmer and Lemeshow (2000) about details of this test.

[7]The higher the positive distinction rate, the more correctly the model is forecasted. Therefore, this model is said to be preferable.

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## 3.2 Dataset

We use data collected through a Web-based survey, which is a questionnaire survey via the Internet[8]. The data collection period was September 8 to 9, 2007. The sample size is 1500. Collected data includes over 70 properties such as gender, age, and education, and attributes related to bank run conduct, such as recognition of deposit insurance, income level, total amount of deposit, and so on. In this paper we use some of these properties.

Compared with other social surveys, pure statisticians and researchers who conduct social surveys point out that a Web-based survey has various biases because the collection method of Web-based surveys is not necessarily random sampling. These statisticians are correct, and overcoming this problem is important. Recently, some researchers have been trying to develop a method and procedure to coordinate such biases[9]. If common methods are established, the problems will be overcome. In this work, we do not especially discuss the problem on bias in the Web-based survey, but we insist that there are trade-off relationships among social surveys[10]. The collection method of the mail survey and telephone survey generally are adopted random sampling, but rate of recovery has decreased rapidly in recent years and cost of the surveys is too expensive[11]. On the other hand, the cost of the Web-based survey is less expensive than the other social surveys, and a lot of samples can be collected in a short period.

We conducted this survey in 2007 and considered the trade-off relationship between the merits of a Web-based survey and problems regarding bias. Note that this survey has some biases on sampling. So, results of this research might not have generality. However, as mentioned section 1, this research has various possibilities in social sciences.

### 3.2.1 Individual withdrawal behavior on withdrawal of all deposits

Our explained variable is given in equation (2): Whether an individual will withdraw her entire deposit or not, after receiving uncertain information on the financial environment. Other actions are not considered (i.e. withdrawal of part of the deposit). Therefore, in this work, the explained variable in equation (2) is defined as follows:

$$p = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if she withdraws her deposit} \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

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[8]The data we have collected can be used all over the world for research purposes by applying to the Research Institute for Socionetwork Strategies (abbreviation, RISS), Kansai University. Our data, can be accessed through the the Website (http://www.kansai-u.ac.jp/riss/en/shareduse/database.html), or by direct contact.

[9]Refer to Hoshino (2007), for example.

[10]Ohsumi (2002) gives some suggestions on the limit and possibilities of Web-based surveys in the future.

[11]n Japan, conducing social surveys such as mail-in surveys, and phone surveys) are too difficult to conduct because of an act on protecting individual information. Recently, social surveys via the Internet are increasing in Japan. In the near future, Web-based surveys will be the most popular type of survey.

where $p$ represents the probability that she withdraws her deposit.

The frequency distribution for withdrawing all deposits is shown Table 1.

Table 1: Frequency Distribution for Withdrawing all Deposits

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Withdraw | 555 | 37.0 |
| Do not withdraw | 945 | 63.0 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

### 3.2.2 Degree of trust in information sources

We assume information sources as TV, newspapers, weekly/monthly magazines, Internet, e-mail, or phone calls with friends, rumors from neighbors, and rumors from people at the workplace.

The features of the information sources are in Table 2, but these features are not strict.

Table 2: Features of Information sources

| Information source | Form | Direction | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1) TV | Formal information | One way | The transmission speed is a little slow |
| 2) Newspapers | Formal information | One way | The transmission speed is a little slow |
| 3) Weekly/Monthly Magazines | Informal information | One way | The transmission speed is slow |
| 4) Internet | Informal information | Interactive | The transmission speed is fast |
| 5) e-mail or phone calls with friends | information | Interactive | The transmission speed is fast |
| 6) rumors from neighbors | information | Interactive | The transmission speed is fast |
| 7) rumors from people at workplace | information | Interactive | The transmission speed is fast |

The degree of trust in these information sources $X_{1j}$ (for $j = 1, \cdots, 7$) are measured by the following 5 ordinal indexes: (1) I never trust it, (2) I do not trust them at all, (3) both/either, (4) I weakly trust them, and (5) I strongly trust them[12].

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[12]Similarly, Takemura and Ukai (2008) analyze the depositor's behavior including the Yamagishi and Yamagishi measurement as a psychological factor. Refer to Yamagishi and Ya-

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Frequency distribution on each degree of trust in information sources is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Degree of Trust in Information Sources

|     | (1) | | (2) | | (3) | | (4) | | (5) | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|     | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 1) | 122 | 8.1 | 805 | 53.7 | 367 | 24.5 | 177 | 11.8 | 29 | 1.9 |
| 2) | 231 | 15.4 | 902 | 60.1 | 268 | 17.9 | 80 | 5.3 | 19 | 1.3 |
| 3) | 5 | 0.3 | 172 | 11.5 | 592 | 39.5 | 624 | 41.6 | 107 | 7.1 |
| 4) | 24 | 1.6 | 445 | 29.7 | 731 | 48.7 | 270 | 18.0 | 30 | 2.0 |
| 5) | 83 | 5.5 | 518 | 34.5 | 700 | 46.7 | 179 | 11.9 | 20 | 1.3 |
| 6) | 7 | 0.5 | 128 | 8.5 | 641 | 42.7 | 574 | 38.3 | 150 | 10.0 |
| 7) | 13 | 0.9 | 241 | 16.1 | 796 | 53.1 | 381 | 25.4 | 69 | 4.6 |

Total number of samples: 1500

From Table 3, we can find that many people trust TV and newspapers, but the other sources are not trusted as much.

### 3.2.3 Frequency of communication

We describe the frequency of communication using the frequency of phone calls and e-mail with friends, and the frequency of communication with neighbors and people at the workplace, respectively. Each frequency of the communication is shown in Table 4 - Table 7.

From these tables, the frequency of communication with people at the workplace was found to be more than two times per one day, which is a lot, but the other frequency is not as much.

The frequency of communication is $X_{2m}$ $(m = 1, \cdots, 4)$: 1) the frequency of phone calls, 2) the frequency of e-mail with friends, 3) the frequency of communication with neighbors, and 4) the frequency of communication with

Table 4: Frequency of Phone Calls

|     | N | % |
| --- | --- | --- |
| (1) one time per month | 529 | 35.3 |
| (2) 2 -3 times per week | 507 | 33.8 |
| (3) 1 -5 times per day, and | 376 | 25.1 |
| (4) more than 6 times per day | 88 | 5.9 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

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magishi (1994).

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Table 5: Frequency of E-mail with Friends

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| (1) one time per month | 436 | 29.1 |
| (2) 2 -3 times per week | 488 | 32.5 |
| (3) 1 -5 times per day, and | 420 | 28.0 |
| (4) more than 6 times per day | 156 | 10.4 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

Table 6: Frequency of Communication with Neighbors

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| (1) no communication with others | 848 | 56.5 |
| (2) one time per week | 245 | 16.3 |
| (3) one time per 2 - 3 days | 200 | 13.3 |
| (4) one time per day | 125 | 8.3 |
| (5) more than 2 times per day | 82 | 5.5 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

Table 7: Frequency of Communication with People at the Workplace

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| (1) no communication with others | 460 | 30.7 |
| (2) one time per week | 68 | 4.5 |
| (3) one time per 2 - 3 days | 114 | 7.6 |
| (4) one time per day | 226 | 15.1 |
| (5) more than 2 times per day | 632 | 42.1 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

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people at the workplace) is measured by the following ordinal indexes: (1) one time per month, (2) 2 - 3 times per week, (3) 1 - 5 times per day, and (4) more than 6 times per day, for the frequency of phone calls and e-mail with friends, and (1) no communication with others, (2) one time per week, (3) one time per 2 - 3 days (4) one time per day, and (5) more than 2 times per day.

### 3.2.4 The relation of individual people in dealing with banks

To capture the relation of individuals dealing with banks, we use the following values; the number of bank accounts, type of main bank, the total amount of deposits, ratio of term deposit in total amount of deposits, annual income, and recognition of the deposit insurance system.

In a Web-based survey, individuals name their main bank. We define the type of main bank by using the following indicator function:

$$X_{32} = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if depositor's main bank is a mega bank including Yucho bank} \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

In addition, the recognition of the deposit insurance system is defined as follows:

$$X_{36} = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if depositor recognizes the deposit insurance system} \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

Table 8 shows elementary statistics on the number of bank accounts and the ratio of term deposit in total amount of deposits.

Table 8: Elementary statistic on the number of bank accounts and the ratio of term deposit in total amount of deposits

| | Average | Median | Standard deviation | Kurtosis | Skewness |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of bank accounts | 3.43 | 3 | 1.80 | 7.52 | 1.70 |
| Ratio of term deposit in total amount of deposits | 23.85 | 10 | 30.57 | 3.76 | 1.39 |

In addition, Tables 9 - 12 show the frequency of the type of main bank, the total amount of deposits, annual income and recognition of the deposit insurance system.

From each table, the highest frequency of total amount of deposit is less than 5 million yen and annual income is less than 2 million yen, respectively. In Table 12, the rate of people that recognize the deposit insurance system is more than 85%.

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Table 9: Frequency of Type of Main Bank

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Mega banks including Yucho bank | 686 | 45.7 |
| Others | 814 | 54.3 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

Table 10: The Total Amount of Deposits

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| 1) less than 5 million yen | 1169 | 77.9 |
| 2) 5 - 10 million yen | 176 | 11.7 |
| 3) more than 10 million yen | 155 | 10.3 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

Table 11: Annual Income

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| 1) less than 2 million yen | 564 | 37.6 |
| 2) 2 - 3 million yen | 167 | 11.1 |
| 3) 3 - 4 million yen | 193 | 12.9 |
| 4) 4 - 5 million yen | 167 | 11.1 |
| 5) 5 - 6 million yen | 124 | 8.3 |
| 6) 6 - 7 million yen | 88 | 5.9 |
| 7) 7 - 8 million yen | 58 | 3.9 |
| 8) 8 - 9 million yen | 44 | 2.9 |
| 9) more than 10 million yen | 53 | 3.5 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

Table 12: Recognition of Deposit Insurance System

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Recognition | 1279 | 85.3 |
| No recognition | 221 | 14.7 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

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### 3.2.5 Individual attributes

As individual attributes, we use gender, age, education, living area, married or not, and type of employment.

Tables 13 - 18 show the frequency of each individual attribute, respectively.

Table 13: Gender

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Male | 765 | 51.0 |
| Female | 745 | 49.0 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

Table 14: Age

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| One's teens | 14 | 0.9 |
| One's twenties | 286 | 19.1 |
| One's thirties | 631 | 42.1 |
| One's forties | 366 | 24.4 |
| One's fifties | 121 | 8.1 |
| More than one's sixties | 82 | 5.5 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

Table 15: Education

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| graduation from Junior high school | 32 | 2.1 |
| graduation from Junior college and high school | 560 | 37.5 |
| graduation from career college | 15 | 1.0 |
| graduation from higher professional school | 199 | 13.3 |
| graduation from university | 604 | 40.4 |
| graduation from Graduate school | 85 | 5.7 |
| Total | 1495 | 100 |

Note that the other items excluding age and education are treated as category data and education is treated as ordinal data.

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Table 16: Living Area

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hokkaido and Tohoku area | 157 | 10.5 |
| Kanto area | 634 | 42.3 |
| Hokuriku and Koshinetsu area | 77 | 5.1 |
| Tokai area | 138 | 9.2 |
| Kinki area | 310 | 20.7 |
| Chugoku area | 73 | 4.9 |
| Shikoku area | 21 | 1.4 |
| Kyushu and Okinawa area | 90 | 6.0 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

Table 17: Married or Not

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Married | 854 | 56.9 |
| Not married | 646 | 43.1 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

Table 18: Type of Employment

|  | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Self employed | 113 | 7.5 |
| Work in family business | 49 | 3.3 |
| Permanently employed (salaried, etc.) | 742 | 49.5 |
| Temporary or part time | 191 | 12.7 |
| Employee dispatched to other company | 69 | 4.6 |
| Unemployed but seeking work | 76 | 5.1 |
| Not working or seeking work | 260 | 17.3 |
| Total | 1500 | 100 |

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# 4  Estimated Results and Implications

In this section, we estimate the coefficient parameters in equation (2) by running both a variable decrease method and a variable increase method by likelihood ratio. First, we use 23 kinds of explanatory variables that we introduced in section 3. For the reader's convenience, we show explanatory variables' descriptions in Table 19.

Table 19: Explanatory Variables' Descriptions

| Variable name | Description |
|:---:|:---|
| $X_{11}$ | TV |
| $X_{12}$ | newspapers |
| $X_{13}$ | weekly/monthly magazine |
| $X_{14}$ | Internet |
| $X_{15}$ | e-mail or phone calls with friends |
| $X_{16}$ | rumors from neighbors |
| $X_{17}$ | rumors from people at the workplace |
| $X_{21}$ | the frequency of phone calls |
| $X_{22}$ | the frequency of e-mail with friends |
| $X_{23}$ | frequency of communication with neighbors |
| $X_{24}$ | frequency of communication with people at workplace |
| $X_{31}$ | the number of bank accounts |
| $X_{32}$ | type of main bank |
| $X_{33}$ | the total amount of deposits |
| $X_{34}$ | ratio of term deposit in total amount of deposits |
| $X_{35}$ | annual income |
| $X_{36}$ | recognition of deposit insurance system |
| $X_{41}$ | gender |
| $X_{42}$ | age |
| $X_{43}$ | education |
| $X_{44}$ | living area |
| $X_{45}$ | married or not |
| $X_{46}$ | type of employment |

The results show that 9 kinds of the variables survive when we run the variable decrease method and 8 kinds of the variables survive when we run the variable increase method. The estimated results are sequentially shown in Tables 20 and 21, respectively.

Comparing table 20 with table 21, we find the following: First, estimated coefficient parameters of the degree of trust in information sources, weekly/monthly magazines, the Internet, and rumors form people at the workplace are statistically significant and the values are positive, respectively. Next, the estimated coefficient parameters of the frequency of e-mail with friends, the frequency of

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Table 20: Estimated Result I

|            | $B$     | Standard error | $\exp(B)$ |
|------------|---------|----------------|-----------|
| $b_{13}$   | 0.161   | 0.075          | 1.174     |
| $b_{14}$   | 0.169   | 0.078          | 1.184     |
| $b_{17}$   | 0.224   | 0.073          | 1.251     |
| $b_{22}$   | 0.205   | 0.062          | 1.228     |
| $b_{23}$   | 0.093   | 0.046          | 1.097     |
| $b_{24}$   | 0.086   | 0.034          | 1.090     |
| $b_{36}$   | $-0.280$ | 0.155         | .756      |
| $b_{41}$   | 0.264   | 0.118          | 1.302     |
| $b_{43}$   | 0.102   | 0.038          | 1.108     |
| Constant term | $-3.257$ | 0.414      | .039      |

Table 21: Estimated Result II

|            | $B$     | Standard error | $\exp(B)$ |
|------------|---------|----------------|-----------|
| $b_{13}$   | 0.158   | 0.075          | 1.172     |
| $b_{14}$   | 0.173   | 0.078          | 1.189     |
| $b_{17}$   | 0.224   | 0.073          | 1.251     |
| $b_{22}$   | 0.212   | 0.061          | 1.236     |
| $b_{23}$   | 0.091   | 0.046          | 1.095     |
| $b_{24}$   | 0.085   | 0.034          | 1.089     |
| $b_{41}$   | 0.282   | 0.118          | 1.326     |
| $b_{43}$   | 0.096   | 0.038          | 1.101     |
| Constant term | $-3.497$ | .394       | .030      |

communication with people in the neighborhood and workplace are statistically significant and the values are positive, respectively. In addition, on the individual's relation in dealing with banks, the estimated coefficient parameter of the recognition of the deposit insurance system is statistically significant and the value is negative only in table 20. On individual attributes, the estimated coefficient parameters of gender and education are statistically significant and the values are positive. On the other hand, the estimated coefficient parameters of others are not statistically significant.

From the results of the Hosmer-Lemeshow test in Tables 22 and 23, we can evaluate how these models are fit to some degree because each model has a 5% or more significance level. In addition to these results, because the positive distinction rate is at a level between 64.1% and 65.5%, we can insist that our models are valid.

These results in this work are meaningful. The psychological aspect is important in our model, that is, we expect that psychological factors work strictly

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Table 22: Hosmer-Lemeshow Test I (variable decrease method)

| Chi 2 Square | Degree of freedom | Significance probability |
|---|---|---|
| 9.742 | 8 | 0.284 |

Table 23: Hosmer-Lemeshow Test II (variable increase method)

| Chi 2 Square | Degree of freedom | Significance probability |
|---|---|---|
| 2.995 | 8 | 0.935 |

when individuals are likely to withdraw their deposits after receiving uncertain information on the financial environment. In particular, those who withdraw deposits easily are people who trust informal information, not formal information. Moreover, the more frequency of e-mail with friends, and communication with people in the neighborhood and at the workplace, the higher the probability that individuals will withdraw their deposits. To summarize, we expect that people who strictly trust in informal information and frequently communicate with people around them are likely to withdraw their deposits after receiving uncertain information on the financial environment. That is, if some people receive uncertain information even once about their financial environment, they would not only feel uncertain and withdraw their deposits, but they would also fuel uncertainness in the people around them. We imagine that this would easily cause a situation of panic.

On the other hand, we find economic valuables such as annual income and total amount of deposit are not bound in our model. This situation might make an economist, especially a macroeconomic researcher take a deep breath. However, by building a macroeconomic model with various economic variables and controlling some variables, many of macroeconomic researchers think that a situation of financial panic can be prevented. This fact therefore causes doubt in macroeconomic modeling. In addition, this doubt is attributable to whether or not individuals behave rationally.

Finally, we found that people who recognize the deposit insurance system are not likely to withdraw their deposits even if they receive uncertain information on the financial environment. This fact brings good news for policy-makers because policy-makers can stop depositors from withdrawing their deposits carelessly if depositors realize and understand that the deposit insurance system has been improved through decisions made by policy makers. Note however, that this fact cannot be confirmed in table 18.

Gender and education as individual attributes are bound. Also, we find that after receiving uncertain information on their financial environment, males would withdraw their deposits more easily than females, and highly educated people would be more likely to withdraw their deposits than the less educated.

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# 5   Concluding Remarks and Future Work

In this work, we statistically investigated the relationships between the behaviors of individual depositors as to whether or not they will withdraw all of their deposits and factors such as the degree of trust in information sources, frequency of communication, individual relations of dealing with banks, and individual attributes. Our results show the following: First, individuals who trust in information sources such as weekly/monthly magazines, the Internet, and rumors from people at the workplace will be more likely to withdraw their deposits. Second, increases in phone call frequency with friends and frequency of communication in the neighborhood and workplace will also lead to more withdrawals. Third, when depositors receive uncertain information on the financial environment, the tendency to withdraw their deposits is affected by a difference between individual attributes such as gender and education. The message from these results is that banks and policy-makers have to pay attention to information sources so that they do not send information that unnecessarily causes panic. Moreover, banks must understand that a situation such as a bank run is caused if uncertain information is communicated. Policy makers must take advance countermeasures as part of a business continuity plan (abbreviation, BCP). On the other hand, economic variables such as annual income and total amount of deposit are not statistically significant. This may cast a shadow on classical macroeconomic modeling. Of course, more research is needed in the future as well as further exploration of the expansion of the models by using data at the individual level.

Finally, we show several issues remained for the future. First, one can point out bias of the Web-based survey's characteristic population. It is just a limit of this paper. Second, we can build the other economic model at individual level, for example, by using statistical framework such as covariance structure analysis. In the near future, we must solve these issues, and investigate more effective proposals.

## Acknowledgements

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# *Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences*

# *Conference Proceedings Publication*

1. Title of the Submission: **The Theory of Universal Prosperity**
2. Name of the Author: **Dale G. Caldwell**
3. Affiliation of the Author: **Seton Hall University**
4. Address of the Author: **16 Goodale Circle, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901**
5. E-mail Address of the Author: **dalegcaldwell@aol.com**
6. Full paper: **See attached document**

# Proceedings Submissions

1. Title of the Submission

How the Muslim Brotherhood was created and has strengthened its political power in Jordan?

2. Name(s) of Author(s)

Song, Sang Hyun

3. Affiliation(s) of the author(s)

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6. Abstract and/or full paper

## Abstract

For the people in the Middle East, Islam is not simply a religion regularizes their way of life, consolidates their unity, and gives their regime legitimacy. In the history of the Middle East, political stability has not been seriously threatened by local people as long as empires or dynasties recognized religious communities, particularly Islamic societies. In the political scene of the contemporary Middle East, Islam plays a role of spear and shield for Middle Eastern regimes. Sometimes it gives the regimes in the Middle East good opportunities to strengthen their legitimacy and popularity with their subjects; however, sometimes it challenges the existence of the regime and political stability. It is clear that Islam has expanded its role in the

society and has firmly established its position in politics of the Middle East in the course of twentieth century.

In terms of Islamic movement in the Middle East, especially in the Arab-Islamic world, the most influential and powerful current Islamic movement is led by the Muslim Brotherhood (*Jama'at al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*). However, its history is quite different in accordance with its relationship with each Middle Eastern regime.

Unlike the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the movement in Jordan has successively promoted its agenda and message in the Jordanian society. At the beginning of the movement, its conservative Islamic ideals were well matched with the political needs of the *Hashemites* to check potentially political opponents. As the Muslim Brotherhood has effectively provided support for the sovereignty of the monarchy whenever the regime has encountered political challenges, it has benefited from the limited political system by acquiring the privilege to operate various organizations which can provide a wide range of support for local people. Under the circumstances of mutual benefits between the regime and the Muslim Brotherhood, it can effectively expand its power in the Jordanian society.

# A Novel Approach for Rebuilding Social Network Structure from Web-based Survey: Toward Bank Run Simulation

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## Abstract

Recently, social network analysis comes to play an important role for social science. Most of social behaviors come from interactions among people on the social network. For example, social network analysis is essential for analysis on spread of rumor, pandemic and so on. If we can analyze and simulate the spread of rumor and pandemic on the social network, it will be very helpful for solving social problems we faced today.

However, while the social network analysis is getting a lot of attention, methods for analyze and simulate the real social network structure has not been well developed. The reason comes from the fact that there are few techniques to observe the social connection among people directly. Although recent social networking services (SNS) collect data on the relationship of people on the Internet, the collected data from SNS does not properly reflect the real social network. This is why there are so few researches that use the real social network structure. Most researches on the social network assumes that the real social network has small world network and/or scale free network characteristics [1], and use some sort of virtual networks which does not exactly reflect the real social network.

The purpose of this research is to propose a new technique to rebuild a social network based on the data collected by Web-based surveys. In order to build a social network which reflects the real social behavior as accurately as possible, we will carry out a couple of Web-based surveys to collect statistical distributions on degree, clustering coefficient and betweenness of the social network, and then build a social network which meets the statistical characteristics of the social network.

We will propose a method to employ Generic Algorithm (GA) method [2] to rebuild a social network which meets the observed statistical characteristics. To rebuild a network which meets some constraints is one of combinatorial optimization problems. We need to find an optimal set of connections of people which satisfies the observed statistical distributions on degree, clustering coefficient and betweenness. This kind of problems usually has a large solution space,

and cannot be determined analytically. GA is one of meta-heuristic methods, and known as to be robust for this kind of optimization problems. By using GA, we will try to establish a method to rebuild a social network from given statistical characteristics of a network. The network generated with this technique has greater accuracy for the real social network, compared to the network just assumes small world and/or scale free network.

As an example of applications on the rebuilt social network, we will pick up a bank run behavior simulation as one of analysis incorporating social networks. The bank run behavior also can be modeled as spreading of rumors on a social network. We will also collect information about what people tend to do under a financial crisis through the Web-based surveys. We then adopt the framework of local interaction game, in which players myopically make a decision whether or not they withdraw their deposits, based on information collected via social networks we build in this paper. A local interaction game is one topic of learning game theory. In our model, we assume that players are bounded rational, and they learn their best behaviors through playing the game many times [3].

We believe that this research has two contributions for social science. One is that we would be able to establish a new method to rebuild a social network based on the observed statistical distributions on the real network. This method has the potential to be applied to other social problems on social networks. The other is that the research on the bank run simulation would be able to figure out the mechanism of the spread of financial crisis, and give some propositions to prevent the spread of the financial crisis.

## Acknowledgements

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[2] John H. Holland. *Adaptation in Natural and Artificial Systems: An Introductory Analysis With Applications to Biology, Control, and Artificial Intelligence.* The MIT Press, April 1992.

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# Grassroots Feminist Theater: An Effectual Means for Community Consciousness Raising & Socio-Political Change

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January 10th 2009

Introduction

The nature of theater gives it the ability to create a "third space" in which communities of people can come together to work on potentially controversial issues that are more challenging to confront through other modes of communication. As Shauna Butterwick and Jan Selman point out in their article about feminist popular theater in participatory education, theater and theatrical projects allow for the integration of history, emotional and political passions, and personal insight and ideas into this third space that exists within the genre of theater[1]. I agree, and I take this point further by arguing that *Grassroots Theater*, more specifically, can be used by activists and communities alike as a means of raising consciousness and awareness of inequalities and social injustices and, over time, as a means for generating meaningful, large-scale socio-political change. Grassroots *feminist* theater in particular has evolved over the past forty years in the United States into one of the most effective tools of the feminist movement in directly confronting injustices, inequalities, violence, and discrimination against women through the involvement of the communities themselves.

Although I am still in the early stages of my research into the influence and the history of the grassroots feminist theater movement, not only in the United States but in Latin America as well, I have been successful in identifying several fundamental socio-political factors that have helped shape the movement into what it is today. This paper focuses on only some of those factors, beginning with the women's movement and the creation of a feminist "drama" in the United States in the mid-twentieth century, and moving on to discuss specific examples of the leading grassroots feminist theater troupes

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[1] Butterwick, Shauna and Jan Selman "Deep Listening in a Feminist Popular Theatre Project: Upsetting the Position of Audience in Participatory Education," (*Adult Education Quarterly*, Vol. 54: November 2003, pp7-22) 10.

of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. While my specialization is actually in

the field of Latin American contemporary feminist theater, I recently became interested

in researching the parallels and differences between the feminist theater movements in

the United States and Mexico after completing an extensive research project on the

contemporary Mexican playwright Carmen Boullosa. Through my research into

grassroots feminist theater in the United States, I hope to develop a broader perspective in

regards to grassroots feminist theater in the Americas in general, a perspective that will

no doubt further illuminate its importance in promoting (and achieving) meaningful

socio-political change.


Feminist Theatre: Origins and Beginnings

Before examining the distinct characteristics of grassroots feminist theater as an

artistic genre and a mode of communication, it is necessary to look back to the 1960s in

the United States to the rise of a feminist theater and a feminist drama in general. By the

late 1960s, the women's movement in the US had become a full-blown social

phenomenon, drawing much of its force from women from both the Civil Rights and

New Left movements. With a goal to end "sexual double standards" and the "male

power hierarchy," the women's movement began on a small scale, attempting to raise the

consciousness of individual communities and to develop new communication strategies

with which to transmit its goals and agendas[2]. Why were new modes of communication

necessary when experimental theater had already been flourishing for decades? In her

book titled *Feminist Theater: A Study in Persuasion*, Elizabeth J. Natalle explains that the

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[2] Natalle, Elizabeth J. *Feminist Theater: A Study in Persuasion.* The Scarecrow Press, Inc.: Metuchen, N.J. & London, 1985. (11)

experimental theaters of the late nineteen sixties were necessarily tied into the socio-

political movements of the era, leaving little opportunity for women to act out their own

problems through drama and theater[3].  In order for female experiences to be accounted

for in a new feminist theater that did not mirror the larger power hierarchy already in

place , the women's movement needed to uncover essential points of the collective

*women's* past and with these ideas create new female histories.  Charlotte Canning, in her

book *Feminist Theater in the USA*, argues that this new, collective female history

effectively pointed to the development of a feminist consciousness outside the confines of

the previously male dominated account of the United States history[4].  By giving credit to

and acknowledging the lived experiences of women, feminist theater could begin to

explore these realities in a new female drama on a new feminist stage.

By 1969, approximately 185 feminist theaters had sprung up in cities around the

United States, one by one spreading the desired new mode of communication across the

nation.  The theaters themselves became the voice that both used and contributed ideas to

the growing women's movement[5].  Furthermore, feminism began to link the force and

knowledge behind the political grassroots women's movement with the historical and

academic projects of the New Women's History Movement.  The NWHM, at the same

time, provided valuable previously untold information about the female experience that

both empowered feminists in the political movement and allowed women to begin to

reexamine themselves in a new, liberating context[6].  One example of a major contribution

of the NWHM to the growing feminist movement was its addition of gender as a credible

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[3] Natalle 11.
[4] Canning, Charlotte. *Feminist Theaters in the U.S.A.: Staging Women's Experience.* Routledge, London & New York: 1996. Copyright 1996 Charlotte Canning. (14)
[5] Natalle 13.
[6] Canning 14.

category in historical studies[7].  With gender studies finding a place in the world of academia, many more women found access to and the courage to first confront the realities of the inequalities inherent in the gender dichotomy and to later challenge these dichotomies through gender studies, political activism, and artistic expression.

In the theaters specifically, feminists (realizing that a truly "female drama" did not yet exist) began to develop a new drama grounded in their own female experiences[8]. This step was necessary on the path to creating feminist theatrical works in order for women to develop and experiment with new, self-liberating models of expression that both acknowledged and transcended the dominating patriarchal systems already in place. In their attempts to convey on the stage what it meant to "be a woman," the beginning of a consciousness-raising occurred as women (and, in some cases, men) elevated their conceptions of the world beyond the dominating institutions that have historically repressed women's theatrical (and, in a broader sense, human) growth.

According to Shirlee Hennigan, "... the collectiveness evoked by and due to the raised consciousness" is the decisive factor in defining feminism for theater artists[9]. Furthermore, in her article titled "The Difficulties Facing Feminist Theatre," Sandra Bemis stresses that feminism is more centered on a way to approach life and politics than it is a specific set of politic ideals.  Drawing on the idea of the collective over the individual as stressed by Hennigan and other feminist critics and playwrights, Bemis puts it well when she characterizes the feminism of feminist theater as working for equality

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[7] Canning 15.

[8] Natalle 16.

[9] Bemis, Sandra. "The Difficulties Facing Feminist Theatre: The Survival of At the Foot of the Mountain." *North Dakota Journal of Speech and Theater.* Volume 1: 1987, North Dakota State University. (1)

for *all*[10].  "Truth," in particular, was and continues to be central to these new feminist

dramas.  For example, the developing feminist dramas shared an "intense preoccupation

with the female body and the woman's relationship to hers"[11].  From this preoccupation

stems the idea of a female truth, whether individual or collective, that can transcend the

preexisting male truths, especially in regards to a woman's relationship with her body.

Above all, the feminist plays of the late sixties and seventies intended to provoke

reactions, thoughts, and ultimately conversations about all aspects of a woman's life.  The

central themes ranged from stereotyping and abortion to motherhood and rape, from

lesbianism and history to mother-daughter relationships and domestic violence[12].  In

addition to their initial effects, including shocking the public into confronting a new

version of Truth that included, and even privileged, the female perspective, the feminist

plays of this era spurred the next decade's worth of research and an increased emphasis

on the collective approach to combating, through theater, sex, gender, and sexuality

inequalities and injustices.  One example of such a playwright was Lillian Hellman, born

in 1905 in New Orleans, whose last original play *Toys in the Attic* (1960) involved

interracial relationships, incestuous desires, and, most importantly, was characterized by

critics as giving a voice to feminist themes, despite Hellman's hesitance to identify with

the feminist movement.

An advocate of the move to the collective approach, Helene Keyssar outlines the

intentions and subsequent accomplishments of feminist theater that have evolved in the

aftermath of the initial flurry of activism in the late 1960s.  First, she explains the

feminist theater movement's intention to eliminate the reliance upon one

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[10] Bemis 1.
[11] Natalle 17.
[12] Natalle 17-18.

"elite/compound/individual voice" that assumes authority for all relevant definitions.  She

emphasizes the importance feminist theater groups placed on creating a space for the

expression of new, multiple voices and histories, especially for female voices that had the

power to reshape cultural, social, and political definitions bound by the structure of a

patriarchal society.  Secondly, she describes feminist theater's eventual rejection of "the

individual," a characteristic that would come to define the feminist theater movement and

one which contrasted greatly with the tradition of mainstream theater at the time[13].  Linda

Killian furthers Keyssar's explanation of the move toward a collective voice and a

collective approach to feminist theater by adding that a group that emphasizes the

collective can maintain *various* goals while holding onto a "generalized shared politic"[14].

Roselyn Costantino, an expert on postmodernism and feminism, especially in

Latin American theater, uses the terms "feminisms" as opposed to its singular form,

citing it as more accurate because it "encompasses economic, class, religious, regional,

ethnic differences in groups of women"[15].  She argues that a variety of organizations and

tactics are often needed to create the meaningful change that feminist theater groups

desire[16].  Costantino clearly recognizes the importance of acknowledging the diversity of

background, history, and present life of even those people that unite under the common

cause of feminism.  Furthermore, Costantino, Killian, and Keyssar *all* acknowledge the

importance of the feminist movement's move toward the collective in that it sought to

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[13] Canning 29.

[14] Canning 30-31.

[15] Costantino, Roselyn. "Postmodernism and Feminism in Mexican Theater: *Aura y las once mil vírgenes* by Carmen Boullosa." *Latin American Theater Review*. Spring 1995: 55-71. (56)

[16] Costantino 56.

include and give authority to a diverse group of women, thus creating opportunities for open discussion and debate.

The appreciation of diversity within a group unified under a common goal also relates to the importance of acknowledging and appreciating the diversity of the audience to which a theater group addresses itself. Griselda Gambaro, a successful Argentine playwright, who used her plays as a means of revealing the atrocities of a tragic and violent period in Argentine history, writes that feminist works "attempts to explain the mechanics of cruelty, oppression, and violence through a story that is developed in a world in which men and women exist"[17]. According to Catherine Larson and Margarita Vargas, feminist theater demands "another way to be," another way to imagine all possibilities, and it attempts to re-sensitize human senses that have been anesthetized by the mass media and the dominating societal institutions[18]. Therefore, an effective feminist theatrical performance must take societal realities into account and work not only to convey its ideas but also to ensure those ideas are received in a way that offers the audience a chance to interpret and make meaningful personal and collective conclusions.

While it is perhaps possible to achieve diversity within a theater group itself while simultaneously acknowledging and appreciating the diversity of the audience, the nature of more traditional or formal theater venues necessarily prevents certain demographic, socio-economic, and marginalized groups from having access to, or interest in, its performances. *Grassroots* Theater, then, theater that begins literally from the ground up and is driven by the involvement of the community which it serves, is one way for

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[17] Larson, Catherine and Margarita Vargas, Ed. *Latin American Women Dramatists: Theater, Texts, and Theories.* Indiana University Press: Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1998. (185)
[18] Larson 184.

feminist theater groups to accomplish this unity between performers and spectators, between theater groups and communities.

## Grassroots Theater: Origins and Today

By the early 1970s, "street theater" in the United States had become a popular mode of communicating the concerns of the younger generation in regards to race, poverty, sexism, and the Vietnam War. This generation "acted out" on the streets and in less formal settings their desires for equality and an end to the war.[19] A common characteristic of these street performances was that they took place in outdoor public locations without a specified paying audience. With this in mind, it is easy to understand how this type of theater could appeal and be accessible to, at the very least, a larger majority of Americans. Although gendered issues were at first less successful at causing real socio-political change than non-gendered issues, the rise of street theaters in cities around the United States marked the beginning of a Grassroots Theater Movement that would be used heavily by feminists for decades to come.

Yet, as university women and activists alike joined the Civil Rights Movement, the NWHM, and the Women's Movement, many women continued to be treated unequally and became disillusioned by how little credit they received for their efforts. In her book titled *Feminist Theatre of the Seventies in the United States*, Brenda Murphy explains that several women left these larger movements in order "to create their own theatre without men or at least without the all-too-familiar productions in

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[19] Murphy, Brenda. "Feminist Theatre of the Seventies in the United States" *The Cambridge Companion to American Women Playwrights.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1999. (2)

which…women's roles were not given fair credit"[20]. Among these women were Megan Terry, Maria Irene Fornes, and Ntozake Shange, dramatists of the 1970s who continue to write today. They, along with other women, made up the "New Theater" of the seventies, characterized by aesthetic and political distinctions from the feminist groups of their contemporaries and known for the social contribution of their innovative plays that broke contemporary American theatrical traditions of the time period[21]. The efforts of the New Theater to create theater in non-conventional ways and locations, to highlight companies instead of single stars, and to incorporate in its works alternatives to the conventional forms of modern playwrights[22] helped to open the door to the expansive possibilities of grassroots feminist theater. In 1972, Fornes, Terry, and several other female playwrights formed the Women's Theater Council, which "sought to create a professional theater which would develop the talents of women in all areas of the theater,"[23] and marked the beginning of the formation of an actual feminist theater.

One example of an alternative organization that has evolved out of the efforts of the women of the New Theater is the Feminist Coalitions. These coalitions have been important locations of learning for women within the existing power hierarchy (of race, class, culture, language, ability, sex) to unite in order to address issues of inequality and social injustice. According to Butterwick and Selman, feminist coalitions are both effective and challenging in that they must address the inequalities present not only on the outside but also within the organization itself[24]. In other words, although a group of women come together to work on, for example, a common goal of ending gender

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[20] Murphy 3.
[21] Murphy 3.
[22] Murphy 4.
[23] Bemis 2.
[24] Butterwick 8.

inequality, even these women themselves exist in a variety of positions within the ever-present social, racial, economic and political hierarchies in the United States.  Before these women can successfully address the greater issues in their community, their nation or the world, they must first address these realities within their group itself.

One example of a theater troupe that has addressed the realities within their own group from the very beginning is the San Francisco Mime Troupe (SFMT).  Founded by R. G. Davis in 1959 with the goal of hosting avant-garde performance events in lofts and basements, the troupe has since evolved into a fifty year tradition of free shows, both in public parks and in "palaces of culture," in an attempt to reach the widest audience possible.   The official website for the SFMT clarifies that the troupe has been multiracial since its founding in order to reflect the complexity of America's reality.  In this way, then, the troupe values looking first within the group itself to address racial inequalities present in the larger outside world.  In doing so, they believe they are better equipped to discredit the official history of relevant issues, to make their audiences laugh at the absurdities of life, and to emphasize the personal psychology of characters who are both individuals and members of the greater socio-political system[25].

During their studies of feminist coalitions, Butterwick and Selman examined the "challenges of creating inclusive feminist spaces that respect difference," citing that groups seeking mutual identification are prone to leave many women out[26].  They conclude in their article that a "politics of difference" is necessary to eliminate such exclusions.  Such a politics is also applicable to grassroots feminist theater groups in that they must respect and consider the differences, including differences of class, race, sex,

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[25] "About the Troupe." *San Francisco Mime Troupe*. 2005: SFMT.  1 May 2008. <http://www.sfmt.org/index.php>. (1)

[26] Butterwick 9.

sexuality and gender, of their audiences.  On the other hand, Grassroots Theater has the

ability to work effectively within specific cultural, historical, political, or socio-economic

contexts.  Therefore, it has the potential to be a theater created with, by, and for the very

communities most affected by the causes it undertakes[27].


Conclusion

The work of the New Theater, the Feminist Coalitions, and grassroots feminist

theater troupes across the nation was initially met with a flurry of response from the

academic community in the form of articles, books and anthologies, conferences, and

general discourse.   At the same time, communities and individuals outside of the

academic world began to get involved, as spectators and critics, but also as participants.

In the past decade, however, both critical, academic responses and public interest

have been on the decline.  This is not an usual phenomenon, if we consider the example

of the development of Critical Theories such as post-structuralism, post-modernism, and

post-colonialism.  All three found a place in the academic community and, for a decade at

least, inspired countless debates and critical responses, encouraged the rereading of

commonly studied texts and literature, and sparked a wave of new classes and

curriculums at colleges and universities.  But today, these theories and ideas are often

cast aside as already pertaining to the past, as something passé that is no longer relevant.

Grassroots feminist theater, too, while still active in certain communities around

the nation, is no longer causing as much debate, is no longer inspiring as much written

response, is less often used as a tool for the minority rights struggles that are still very

much alive today.  For these reasons, it is more important than ever that the work and the

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[27] Butterwick 10.

potential of Grassroots Theater are not forgotten, not only for feminist groups but for any

group of people who want to work toward a common socio-political goal.

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# Central and Eastern European Misplaced Cultural Assets in a Changed Cultural Landscape

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## Nazi Plunder and Destruction of Cultural Property

Throughout history, wars have been the means by which states secured property and territory.  On numerous occasions during war, cultural property has fallen victim to plunder and destruction; thus, wars in themselves have posed the greatest threat to the cultural survival of nations ravaged by military conflicts and occupations.  Poland, which arose as a distinct political entity in the tenth century and disappeared from the map of Europe late in the eighteenth century, has had its share of wars, failed insurrections, and foreign occupations culminating in the eighteenth-century partitions of the country's territory until that time.  It was the twentieth century, however, with two world wars fought right in the "heart of Europe," to borrow the title that Norman Davies gave to his short history of Poland, that turned out to be the most tragic period of Poland's history, as it threatened the very physical and cultural existence of the nation.[1]

The Nazi war on European culture produced the greatest destruction and dislocation of artworks, archives, and library collections in the history of the world.  The looting and destruction of cultural property was a significant part of a total war against the enemies of the Third Reich and was rooted in a racist ideology proclaiming the superiority of the Aryan race.  Nazi looting of Polish as well as other Central and Eastern European cultural property stemmed from a combination of ideological premises, opportunism, and personal avarice.  One of the underlying tenets of the Nazi ideology was the belief that the Aryan race was the superior promoter of culture and that Germanic culture was greater than cultures of other nations or races.[2]  Consequently, the art considered Germanic in nature needed to be protected, and if it was in other

hands, the Germans had a right to reclaim it.  On the other hand, the art and culture of inferior races threatening the purity of Aryanism had to be eliminated.

In addition to ideological motivation, there was also a drive for personal gain and self-enrichment that resulted in the spirit of intense competition among the Nazi officials involved in the appropriation of cultural property in Poland, and other countries.  In the course of the occupation of Poland, Nazi policies regulating the appropriation of cultural property became more oppressive and unbridled, expanding confiscations to include "non-Germanic" cultural objects.

Major players and often competitors involved personally or through their representatives in looting efforts included Hitler himself, the Reichsführer SS and head of Gestapo Heinrich Himmler, chief of the Luftwaffe Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, and Governor-General Hans Frank who presided over the part of Poland not annexed into the Third Reich.  They all showed major interest in the acquisition of an excellent collections of paintings and works of art, which came largely from the spoils of war and embellished their estates and offices.  For Hitler the appropriation of artworks from other countries also had a very personal reason.  On June 26, 1939, he commissioned Hans Posse, director of the renowned Dresden museum, to "build up the new art museum for Linz Donau."[3]  Under the *Sonderauftrag* (Special Project) *Linz* Hitler's hometown was to be transformed into a major art center that might eventually eclipse the galleries of London, Paris, Rome, and Vienna.  There were already storerooms of confiscated art from Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Germany, and the invasion of Poland would add new treasures destined for Linz.  Hitler's personal preferences for particular kinds of drawings and paintings included, among others, his great passion for works by Albrecht Dürer, which did not go unnoticed by Nazi plunderers.  In November 1939, Joseph Mühlmann, brother of Dr. Kajetan Mühlmann, confiscated three pen and ink drawings by Albrecht Dürer from the Warsaw University Library. These included, *Recumbent Lioness*, *Madonna with Child*, and *Exlibris of Willibald Pirckheimer*.  In July 1941, Dr. Kajetan Mühlmann, at the direct order of Göring, seized

twenty-seven drawings by Albrecht Dürer from the former Lubomirski Museum in Lviv (Lwów, Lemberg) and sent them to Berlin.

Within the first six months of German occupation, approximately ninety-five percent of Poland's artworks had been looted and stored in collecting sites in Warsaw and Kraków.[4] In addition to massive plunder of artworks and library collections, the Nazis engaged in the destruction of immovable cultural property that culminated in the annihilation of Warsaw following the failed Warsaw uprising, organized by the Polish underground Home Army in August 1944. In addition to hundreds of thousands of civilians and Polish Home Army insurgents killed during sixty-three days of fierce street fighting, the destruction of the Warsaw cultural and historic infrastructure was catastrophic. It needs to be emphasized, that much of the destruction was done after the fighting ended, and thus could only be interpreted as a deliberate act of vengeance for defying the Nazi occupiers. For example, in November 1944 the Nazis burned the Archives of Modern Records as well as the City Archives resulting in the destruction of over one million records (97 percent of its holdings) of the former, and almost the complete destruction of the latter.

The losses of Warsaw libraries were also substantial: 78 percent of the National Library collections, 97 percent of the Warsaw Polytechnics Library collections, 82 percent of the Warsaw Public Library collections, 99 percent of the Central Military Library collections, 97 percent of the Zamoyski Library collections, and many others. Out of 957 Warsaw historic buildings (including churches, mansions, palaces, etc.) only thirty survived amidst piles of rubble, and that did not compare favorably with the rest of the former Polish territory, where on average 43 percent of historic buildings had been destroyed by the end of the war.[5]

The overall losses of Polish cultural property due to Nazi plunder and destruction, from 1939 to 1945, were enormous and included, among others, almost 15,000,000 volumes of books (about 70 percent of all prewar collections, and 93 percent of public and school libraries collections), 75,000 manuscripts, and 22,000 early printed books. The scale of devastation and

plunder of cultural property in Poland made future restitution and reparation efforts a formidable task, continuing long after the capitulation of the Third Reich, and resurfacing with a new strength after the end of the Cold War.

The Nazis systematically destroyed Jewish historic and religious buildings after their owners had been removed to ghettos. In the Poznań region, annexed to the Third Reich in 1939, special arson squads (*Brenn-Kommando*) were assigned to burn synagogues and Jewish books.[6] Losses of Jewish school, public, and private libraries were catastrophic and reached most likely one hundred percent. Some collections were flagged by various Nazi "research" institutes or agglomerated by newly created state libraries (*Staatsbibliotheken*). After crushing the Warsaw ghetto uprising of 1943, the Nazis blew up the Warsaw Great Synagogue, which had already been stripped of its Library for Jewish Studies in the early months of the occupation. The seizure and destruction of Jewish cultural property became inextricably linked with the Holocaust of Polish Jews, and even their few personal belongings were confiscated upon their arrival to extermination camps. Jewish cultural and religious life, as it was known before the war, was almost completely annihilated. The scale of destruction of Jewish communities would become one of the major factors affecting the restitution process of Jewish cultural property in postwar Poland and Eastern Europe.

**Soviet Plunder and Nationalization of Cultural Property**

Nazi Germany was not the only aggressor of Poland in September 1939. The German-Soviet Treaty of Non-Aggression of August 23, 1939, the so-called Hitler-Stalin Pact, paved the way for the Soviet occupation of Poland in 1939 and its partition between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. The secret protocol of this treaty divided spheres of influence in eastern Europe between Germany and the Soviet Union giving the Germans and the Russians each roughly half of Poland's territory. The Soviets also staked their claim to Bessarabia, Estonia, and Latvia. The

new Soviet-German border was to run slightly west of the Curzon Line, established as a potential truce line to terminate the Polish-Soviet war in 1920.

Following the takeover of the Polish eastern territories on September 17, 1939, Soviet nationalization policies were applied to banks, entertainment centers (e.g. dance halls), industrial and business companies as well as small businesses that availed themselves of hired labor.  The nationalization of cultural property included collections and holdings of various public and private cultural and educational institutes and foundations.  The property of landowners and aristocrats, with all buildings, including art collections and libraries, stocks, and chattels, was expropriated, without any compensation, and their owners arrested, forced to relocate, or deported by the NKVD (Soviet secret police) deep into Russia.  In Western Ukraine, the Soviet authorities proceeded to liquidate Polish prewar cultural institutions, including the Ossoliński National Institute (*Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*), known as the Ossolineum.  The Ossolineum, founded in Lemberg (Lwów, Liviv) by Count Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński in 1817, became a major cultural and educational center for the Polish population of the area and served a crucial archival function in prewar Poland.  In early 1940, the Ossolineum was incorporated into the newly created Lviv Branch of the Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, and its as well as other libraries' Polish character was suppressed.

The fate of the Ossolineum during the Soviet occupation was only the first episode in its tragic dispersal during and after the war, resulting in postwar Polish-Soviet and Polish-Ukrainian restitution negotiations during which both Poland and Ukraine claimed to be the rightful owner of its collections.

The Soviet authorities were especially interested in the appropriation of archival materials of Polish police administration, judicial administration, military administration, political parties, military veterans' organizations, state and military intelligence agencies, Roman Catholic and Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic church administration, and Ukrainian cultural, political and national organizations active in pre-war Poland, from the annexed Polish eastern provinces.

Those materials, collected mostly by the NKVD, were deemed of significant operational interest to Soviet security agencies not only in 1939 and 1940, but also at the end of the war and during the early postwar years. [7]

A relatively brief period of Soviet occupation from September 1939 to June 1941, and the reoccupation from 1944 to 1945, resulted in the mass deportations of hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens and brutal Sovietization policies, which produced cultural, economic, demographic, and political social effects of its own.  Consequently, Poland's cultural influence and presence in its former eastern provinces was greatly diminished and repressed.  The nationalization and amalgamation of significant collections from cultural and educational institutions such as the Ossolineum saved them from immediate dispersal and plunder, but the fate of many private and lesser-known art and book collections expropriated from the residences of deportees remains largely unknown.  More research needs to be done before we can say that we have a full picture of mechanisms employed in the implementation of de-Polonization policies and the resulting cultural losses and displacement of Polish cultural property.  The postwar change to Poland's eastern borders made restitution of cultural property even more complicated.

**Changed Cultural Landscape**

As a result of the conferences in Yalta and Potsdam, Poland's prewar boundaries changed dramatically, decreasing the total area of Poland by 20 percent.  The country that emerged from the ashes of World War II bore little resemblance to its prewar predecessor.  A number of ethnic Poles who constituted only 64 percent of the population underscored Poland's prewar multiethnic character.[8]  By 1954 ethnic Poles accounted for over 95 percent of the population, very different from Poland's prewar ethnic composition in which Ukrainians made up 16 percent, Jews 9.8 percent, Belarusians 6.1 percent, and Germans 2.4 percent of all inhabitants.[9]

The main reasons for the substantial decrease of Poland's population and its ethnic composition were the Nazi genocidal war policies as well as postwar Communist policies that

resulted in forced and voluntary resettlements, internal and external deportations, and occasional state-supported and instigated waves of immigration, especially of Germans and Jews. The population translocations, primarily of Germans, Ukrainians, and Belarusians, were carried out in accordance with "the new political exigencies designed to make Poland ethnically homogenous."[10] Plans to create an ethnically homogenous country with no significant minorities were already under consideration by Polish communist elite only weeks after the end of World War II.[11] At the May 1945 plenary session of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party (*Polska Partia Robotnicza*), various speakers discussed the issue of the deportations of Germans from the areas ceded to Poland after the war. Władysław Gomułka, future minister of the Recovered Territories, stated that land reform and the western expansion of Polish territory would solidify support of the Polish population for the new Communist system. Therefore, Gomułka argued, the Germans who fled before the approaching Soviet army should not be allowed to return, and "we [the Communists] must expel them, because all countries are built on the national principles, not the ethnic ones."[12] For Gomułka and other Communist Party officials the efforts to settle the former German territories were "a serious, revolutionary, and national matter."[13]

Gomułka's remarks, though directed exclusively at the German population, reflected a broader trend of building a national state with only a marginal minority population as evidenced by the resettlement and deportation policies expanded to cover other ethnic minorities such as Belarusians, Ukrainians and Lemkos. The concept of a national state with only a marginal minority population resulted in a shift in the ethnic structure of postwar Poland and had serious consequences for the future of pluralistic and multiethnic culture. The ownership and preservation of cultural property of ethnic minorities were greatly jeopardized and their cultural activities marginalized and even forbidden. It must be remembered that Poland's entire cultural life was becoming uniform and almost completely subservient to the policies of the Communist Party, whose goals included the formation of an ethnically homogenous and classless society.

The transfer of the German population was accompanied by a series of nationalization decrees and laws issued by the Polish government, which nationalized German property, including cultural objects.  The postwar deportations and forced relocations of Ukrainians and Lemkos involved the appropriation of their property as well as the communal property, including cultural possessions, of the Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic Church.  Despite efforts to preserve and restore some historic churches, especially from 1956 to 1959, occasional demolitions of Unite churches continued until 1988.  Following the 1947 deportation operation, code-named "Vistula" (*akcja "Wisła"*), up until the end of the Communist era, 240 of 552 pre-war Unite and Orthodox churches located in southeastern Poland, in the former great Rzeszów district, were demolished or fell into disrepair.[14]  Limited cultural, educational and political freedoms of Ukrainians and Lemkos continued until the fall of communism in 1989.

At the end of the war, there were 380,000 Polish Jews, fewer than twelve percent of the prewar Jewish population in Poland, including the 7 percent who survived within the Soviet Union.[15]  Despite catastrophic demographic losses due to German extermination policies, the Jews were able to rebuild in part their pre-war cultural and political life. In the first post-war years, Communist authorities generally treated the Jews with restraint, and the Jewish population "enjoyed a relatively large degree of freedom with regard to its social and cultural activities."[16]

The relatively large degree of freedom with regard to social and cultural activities of Jewish minority in Poland had its political and social limits.  By 1950, communist authorities dissolved all Jewish political parties, liquidated the Jewish Society for the Propagation of Fine Arts (*Żydowskie Towarzystwo Krzewienia Sztuk Pięknych*), restored after the war by Jewish art historian Józef Sandel, and banned the activities of the American Jewish Joint Distribution.  The cultural, social, and religious activities of the Jewish community were undermined by occasional anti-Semitic incidents, culminating in the 1946 Kielce pogrom, which accelerated the emigration of 100,000 Jews from Poland; by the end of 1947, only 80,000 Jews were left in the country.[17]  The last significant wave of Jewish emigration occurred from 1968 to 1971 following an

officially sanctioned anti-Jewish campaign resulting from an internal power struggle in the ruling

Communist party, during which many Jews were denounced as Zionists and expelled from their

places of work.  The demographic losses suffered during World War II, followed by the post-war

waves of emigration, resulted in the Jewish community in Poland being decreased to less than ten

thousand by the 1970s.  The gradual decline in Jewish population and lack of a comprehensive

government program for the preservation of communal property of various ethnic minorities

made regular upkeep and conservation of many Jewish synagogues and cemeteries challenging, if

not impossible.

Government approval of putting some abandoned synagogues, as well as former Greek

(Ukrainian) Catholic and German Lutheran churches, to economic use represented a departure

from early postwar policies allowing the use of abandoned synagogues only as schools, libraries,

and cultural centers.  Some synagogues, considered even by the authorities to be historic

monuments, were not spared from demolition.  These included synagogues in Opatów

(seventeenth-century), Mikołów (1816), Pabianice (1847), Piaseczno (eighteenth-century), and

Chrzanów (1784-86). [18]  By the early 1990s, researchers identified 321 synagogues in 240

locations, their conditions ranging from well preserved, and in some cases restored or under

renovation, to abandoned and ruined.[19]  Numerous Jewish cemeteries fell into disrepair due to

neglect and vandalism.

In many places, the elements of cultural landscape that represented centuries-old Jewish

presence were largely destroyed by the Nazis, but little was done to restore and preserve their

remains in Communist Poland.  The situation began to change in the 1980s when there was a

genuine wave of interest and appreciation of Poland's Jewish heritage.  Some synagogues and

cemeteries were renovated, but major changes, including the restitution of Jewish communal

property, did not occur until the democratization of Poland following the fall of Communism.

Another issue that resurfaced after the fall of Communism was the fate of displaced

cultural assets in Poland, Ukraine, and Russia.

**Misplaced Cultural Assets as Trophy and "Compensation" Collections**

Polish restitution plans during the war envisioned the recovery of Nazi-looted objects and restitution in kind for the cultural assets Poland lost in the war against Germany, which were in large part irreplaceable. Whereas the recovery of the Nazi-looted collections from various occupation zones of Germany was relatively successful, any plans for post-war restitution in kind from Germany remained unrealized. Restitution in kind was intended to partially satisfy Polish restitution claims. Polish cultural experts put together lists of objects lost and acceptable equivalents from German collections, though some argued strongly against vindictive replacements with items representing German art and culture and instead advocated restitution through equivalent *Polonica* from German museums and libraries. It is difficult to ascertain how realistic those demands were in lieu of a comprehensive international restitution policy. Their scope reflected a position favored by many individuals involved in cultural restitution in Poland and in the Polish government-in-exile in London: namely, that the Nazi war on Polish culture produced the greatest dislocation and destruction of art, archives, and libraries in Polish history. Therefore, Polish cultural losses needed to be redressed not only by recovering looted objects but also by Germany compensating for destroyed and lost objects in Polish collections with unique items from German collections. Polish plans for cultural restitution in kind were never realized, but paradoxically a similar position, though more extreme, was adopted by the Russians who felt that destroyed Soviet museums should be replenished with artworks from Germany.

U.S. policy concerning restitution reflected the view of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas (the Roberts Commission), which opposed the use of works of art as replacement or reparation material. At its final meeting on June 20, 1946, the commission recommended that "cultural objects belonging to any country or individual should not be considered or involved in reparations settlements growing

out of World War II."[20]   The American, and to some degree the British, position may have been influenced by an increasingly aggressive Soviet policy in Eastern Europe.  Massive cultural reparations from Germany might have hurt American efforts to shape Germany into a strong American ally in an emerging Cold War.  Polish compensation and reparations plans, prepared in large part for a post-war peace conference with Germany, could not be utilized since such a conference never took place.  Instead, at the Potsdam Conference (also known as the Conference of Berlin) the Allies decided that Polish reparations claims would be settled by the Soviet Union from the Soviet share of reparations.  The subject of cultural compensation was further complicated by the fact that a peace treaty between victorious Poland and defeated Nazi Germany regulating economic and cultural reparations from Germany and recognizing Poland's new western border was never signed.

By the end of the war, the Russians had already been pursuing their own restitution policy by removing thousands of works of art and other "trophy" items from Germany as arbitrary compensation for devastated collections in the Soviet Union.  Consequently, the only way for Poland to receive cultural compensation from Germany was to nationalize abandoned or misplaced German property, including cultural items, found in former German territory that was annexed to Poland at the close of the war.  Moreover, even this property was in danger of being "picked over" or confiscated by Soviet trophy brigades scouring former German cities and villages for spoils of war.

The unresolved issue of post-war restitution in kind resurfaced after the end of the Cold War to haunt Polish-German relations.  Without publicly acknowledging it, many Polish politicians and cultural officials would admit that the most contested collection, the former Prussian State Library music collection, has become "hostage" or "reparation" art.  Jeanette Greenfield has best characterized the historical significance and emotional appeal of "reparation" art in her work, *The Return of Cultural Treasures:*

"Trophy" art has become "hostage" or "reparation" art; but in the context of an invasive

war that caused immeasurable human suffering and cultural loss, it is an argument which

is bound to have strong emotional …"[21]

In addition to original German cultural property located in pre-war German eastern and

northern territories that were annexed to Poland, there were collections of German materials that

had been transferred there during the war for safekeeping, and materials looted from occupied

countries by various Nazi agencies and deposited in safe storage depots in Pomerania and Silesia.

**Music Collection of the Prussian State Library in Berlin**

Upon discovery by Polish authorities, the Berlin musicalia collection, referred to in Polish as

*Berlinka,* was transferred to Cracow. The collection contained, among other things, 109 Mozart

autographs, including treasures such as a complete manuscript of *Die Zauberflöte* (The Magic

Flute), the last two acts of *Le Nozze di Figaro* (Marriage of Figaro), one act of *Cosi fan tutte,* and

11 symphonies (including the *Jupiter* Symphony); 22 Beethoven autographs (including

Symphony No. 9 in D minor op. 125 without the choral finale); 25 autographs from the Bach

collection; 112 autographs from the Cherubini collection; and others. In addition to autographs,

the collection contained 145 musical manuscripts from the fourteenth to the seventeenth

centuries, 133 librettos from the seventeenth century, and over 2,500 early music prints published

between 1501 and 1700. The latter collection included early German hymnbooks, anthologies,

works by anonymous composers, and numerous works by German and Italian composers

(including 26 works by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina).[22]

This impressive music collection, however, was almost immediately designated as secret

by the authorities and its existence would not be revealed for several decades. Current Polish-

German negotiations over the return of the collection to Berlin are deadlocked.

**The RSHA Masonic Library**

The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA-Reichssicherheitshauptamt) was one of the major Nazi agencies responsible for the plunder, displacement, and dispersal of Europe's cultural heritage. By the end of the war, a large part of its trophy treasure trove was moved from Berlin to Silesia and the Sudetenland to escape air raids by the Allied forces.

After finding the abandoned RSHA Masonic Library and apparently with Soviet trophy scouts breathing down their neck, Polish authorities immediately began to plan its transfer to Poznań. According to early reports by Polish cultural scouts, 95 percent of the materials related to Freemasonry and came from Germany, France, Belgium, and other countries. The oldest part of the collection included 17th century documents of the Rosicrucians as well as lists of members and reports of Johannite and Grand Lodges. Other topics included the occult and witchcraft with an extensive literature about witch trials, and underscored Himmler's personal interest in witchcraft and the supernatural.

Eventually, close to 100,000 Nazi-looted Masonic books (mostly German) from the RSHA Masonic Library would form a special Masonic collection in a branch library of the University of Poznań.[23] Only a selected few of those books have returned home to France and other countries, with the exception of Germany.

**Music Collection of the Music School (Hochschule für Musik) in Berlin and the Friedlaender Collection of the Berlin City Library (Berliner Stadtbibliothek)**

One of the major music collections evacuated from Berlin to Silesia included musicalia treasures from the Music School (Hochschule für Musik) in Berlin. After the war, Polish authorities found some music collections in one of many German evacuation centers in Silesia. The materials from

the Hochschule were transported to Łódź where they enriched the newly established university and its library. They included printed music, music manuscripts (sixteenth century to early twentieth century), treaties and early writings on music, and opera librettos.[24] Altogether, the materials amounted to more than 4,500 items, including the collection of the music historian Philipp Spitta, which represents "the most prominent single component of the materials formerly of the Berlin Hochschule."[25] The Spitta Collection consists of numerous printed music works, including complete works of Bach, Handel, Mozart, Palestrina, and Schütz.

For more than four decades, the collection remained largely unknown and its fate uncertain to Western scholars. The fall of Communism lifted the veil of secrecy that surrounded the fate of many evacuated German library collections and made them accessible for researchers. Sixty years after the end of World War II, German and Polish musicologists produced the first complete catalog of the Spitta holdings at the Łódź University Library, namely *Katalog der Sammlung Spitta*.[26]

Another significant German library collection held in Łódź came via Silesia from the Berlin City Library (Berliner Stadtbibliothek). The collection of a German physician, George Friedlaender, includes rare pamphlets, posters, and leaflets relating to the Revolution of 1848 as well as numerous 19th century books and periodicals. Since early 2000, the Łódź University Library and the successor to the Berlin City Library, namely *Zentral-und Landesbibliothek Berlin*, have been cooperating to provide a digital access to the Friedlaender Collection to scholars for study and the public for education and enjoyment. The digitization project also serves an important preservation purpose. The chances of the collection being physically repatriated to Berlin remain slim, but the access to it has already increased through the digitization project.[27]

The music collections of the Prussian State Library and the Hochschule in Berlin, and the RSHA Masonic Library collection represent the most famous displaced German and Nazi-looted collections in Poland. They have remained in Poland, still considered "compensation" for Polish

monumental wartime cultural losses.  As will be discussed further, their repatriation is mostly

unlikely considering their compensatory status and little progress made by Polish and German

restitution negotiators.  In the meantime, further research is needed to establish the provenance of

other less-known German collections incorporated into various Polish libraries after World War II

to assure unrestricted physical and digital access to cultural German collections.


**Polish-Ukrainian Restitution Efforts**

In 1997, Poland submitted eight restitution claims for the remaining parts of the Ossoliński

collection, the library collection of Prince Witold Czartoryski, as well as some art collections.[28]

In 2002, the Ukrainian side submitted a restitution claim for the archives and manuscripts from

the former Library of the Schevchenko Scientific Society (*Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka*),

for the most part held by the National Library in Warsaw.

The collections, including records of the Ukrainian National Republic (1918-1919),

military files of the Ukrainian Galician Army (1918-1920), and personal papers of Dmytro

Dontsov (and others), were evacuated from Liviv by the Germans in 1944 and eventually ended

up in Adelin (Adelsdorf, now Zagrodno) in Lower Silesia.[29]  Ukraine also expressed interest in

recovering an archeological collection of the Historical Museum in Kiev, Bohdan Khmelnytsky's

(Chmielnicki) baton (*buława*), held by the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw, the library of the

Przemyśl Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic Capitula, which in large part is held by the National

Library, and others.[30]  Despite years of negotiations and the formation of representative bodies of

experts and scholars, both countries have so far been unable to reach an agreement regarding the

return of the disputed collections and objects.

The post-Cold War era has seen heightened tensions over cultural restitution between

Poland and Ukraine, due in part to both countries' efforts to reassert and redefine their cultural

heritage beyond their current geographical borders.  Mutual cultural relations need a spirit of

compromise and cooperation that would allow both sides to focus on the areas where

collaboration has already been successful. The unresolved issue of returns, or rather exchanges, of certain collections should provide a major impetus for keeping bibliographic and preservation efforts alive and result in professional description of displaced items and collections. It remains essential to provide digital access to dispersed collections, even if it proves unfeasible under present circumstances to reunite them physically. Technological advances offer a unique opportunity in this regard, and some progress has already been made, as demonstrated by digitization projects involving the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław and the V. Stefanyk Scientific Library in Lviv. In the absence of acceptable restitution agreements, short- and long-term deposit agreements should be considered to temporarily transfer certain items or collections of great interest to each country.

A growing understanding of Poland and Ukraine's common cultural heritage and its significance for their cultural history will result in better preservation of existing *Polonica* and *Ucrainica* collections in both countries. Both Polish and Ukrainian political elites should actively support minority cultures and resist nationalistic tendencies to diminish or even cleanse the Polish cultural and historical presence in Ukraine and, likewise, Ukrainian cultural and historical contributions in Poland.


**The Reconstruction and Protection of Cultural Landscape**

The period following the end of the Cold War, especially the 1990s, witnessed a renewed interest in the protection and restitution of cultural property and resulted in several significant international symposiums and conferences as well as international commitments concerning the issue of identification and return of Nazi-confiscated art.

The 1991 Cracow Symposium on Cultural Heritage, held by the participating states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, explicitly recognized the "intrinsic value of cultural heritage," and expressed support for regional cultural diversity. The preamble declared:

"The participating States respect the irreplaceable uniqueness of all their cultures and will endeavor to promote continued cultural dialogue among themselves and with the rest of the world. … Regional cultural diversity is an expression of the richness of the common cultural identity of the participating States. Its preservation and protection contribute to building a democratic, peaceful, and united Europe."[31]

The fall of Communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union paved the way for dramatic political and economic changes, including property relations, in the former Soviet Bloc countries. Since 1989, the process of the restitution of private property in Poland has been on a case-by-case basis as a result of court litigation or administrative action by local authorities, and yet no comprehensive solution has been found. The exception has been the restitution of communal property to various ethnic and religious groups, including Jewish religious communities and the Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic Church.

The reconstruction of Poland's cultural landscape involved the legal recognition of various ethnic and religious organizations, including local Jewish religious communities (*gminy*) that became legal entities and recognized successors to the pre-war Jewish (Israelitic) religious communities. Various post-Communist laws that gave recognition to ethnic organizations also allowed for the restitution of their communal property, nationalized and confiscated by the Communist government. For example, the Jewish communal property included cemeteries, synagogues, and "the buildings where previously offices of Jewish communities were located, and the buildings utilized for the purposes of religious practices, and cultural, educational, and charitable activities."[32]

Jewish religious communities were not the only beneficiaries of post-Communist legislation with regard to communal property. From 1989 to 1997, the Polish parliament passed laws regulating the restitution of communal property of other denominations, including the

property of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and various Protestant churches.  There

has also been significant restitution of the communal property of the Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic

Church.  Resolution of the disputed ownership of the properties formerly owned by the Greek

(Ukrainian) Catholic Church is necessary to undo historical injustices and to compensate for the

years of persecution by Communist governments.  It may require compromise, however, to

respect the allegiance of the faithful and mutual stewardship of some buildings that might have

been given to Roman Catholic and Orthodox communities.

Another significant part of the reconstruction of cultural landscape is the provenance

research into works of art and culture that underwent a change of ownership between 1932 and

1946.  It should include both Jewish and non-Jewish cultural property and be conducted in as

many countries as possible in both private and public collections.  The need for provenance

research into German and Russian museum and library collections cannot be underestimated.

Considerable progress has been made in returning Jewish and Ukrainian communal and religious

property.  Still successive Polish governments have been unable to pass a restitution law

permitting the return of nationalized private property, including cultural property, to its rightful

owners and heirs.  Provenance research has been mostly limited to cultural war losses suffered by

Polish museums and libraries.

Poland has been a significant contributor to the UNESCO's program, the "Memory of the

World," aiming at preservation and dissemination of valuable archival holdings and library

collections worldwide.  In 1992, UNESCO established the program in response to growing

concerns about the precarious state of preservation, and access to, world documentary heritage.

By early 2009, Poland had seven objects listed in the program's public face, namely the "Memory

of the World Register."  These included the ancient Old Church Slavonic manuscript, Codex

Suprasliensis, Nicolaus Copernicus' masterpiece *De revolutionibus libri sex*, Chopin's

masterpieces, the "Twenty-One-Demands" of the striking workers at the Lenin shipyard in

Gdańsk and many others.  Objects such as the August 1980 "Twenty-One-Demands" of the

striking workers at the Lenin shipyard in Gdańsk-the birthplace of the Solidarity social movement, pertain specifically to Polish recent history, but the register also includes examples of documentary heritage shared by other countries.

The Codex Suprasliensis, of which 285 parchment folios are extant, was partitioned in the 19th century, between Ljubljana (118 folios), St. Petersburg (16 folios), and Warsaw (151 folios).  The Nazis appropriated the Warsaw section and after the failed 1944 Warsaw rising, it disappeared without a trace, and many presumed it was destroyed.  After resurfacing in the United States, Polish authorities recovered it in 1968.  The Codex is a prime example of a shared documentary heritage and Poland, Russia Federation and Slovenia recommended it for inclusion in the "Memory of the World Register" in 2007.

The "Memory of the World" program can not only increase awareness of the existence and significance of documentary heritage in various parts of the world, but also provide impetus for rediscovering scattered components and bringing missing parts of shared cultural collections together, if only to facilitate their preservation.

After decades of Communism, Poland as well as other former Soviet satellites and newly independent states have begun the long and painful process of reclaiming their own history.  An integral part of the process of regaining Poland's cultural memory is the restitution and protection of its cultural assets, including the cultural heritage of its ethnic minorities.  The Communist policy of creating a homogeneous and nationalistic state deprived Polish culture of the heritage of various ethnic groups and contradicted the tradition of political, religious, and cultural freedom.  Therefore, the reconstruction of Jewish, Ukrainian, and German cultural elements should not be viewed as a threat to Poland's national culture.  Other Central and Eastern European governments must apply the same principle of cultural inclusiveness to reclaim their shared cultural heritage.

Bringing justice to World War II and Holocaust victims by restituting their private property, including cultural assets, remains a moral imperative that any government in that part of the world must be ready to pursue.

[1] Norman Davies, *Heart of Europe: A Short History of Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[2] Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 7.

[3] Lynn H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 44.

[4] Jakob Kurz, *Kunstraub in Europa: 1938-1945* (Hamburg: Facta Oblita, 1989), 111-2.

[5] Jan Pruszyński, *Dziedzictwo kultury Polski* (Kraków: Zakamycze, 2001), 2: 411.

[6] Jacqueline Borin, "Embers of the Soul: The Destruction of Jewish Books and Libraries in Poland during World War II." *Libraries and Culture* 28, no. 4 (Fall 1993): 447.

[7] For a list of Polish and Ukrainian archives appropriated by the NKVD from the former Polish eastern provinces see Ewa Rosowska, "Losy polskich archiwaliów na ziemiach wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej (1939-1945)," *Archeion* 106 (2003): 94-116. The list is by no means complete.

[8] *Nowa encyklopedia powszechna PWN* (Warszawa: PWN, 1998), 4: 254. Some scholars estimate the number of ethnic Poles before 1939 at 69 percent.

[9] *Nowa encyklopedia powszechna PWN* (Warszawa: PWN, 1998), 4: 254.

[10] Piotr Eberhardt, *Ethnic Groups and Population Changes in Twentieth-Century Central-Eastern Europe: History, Data, and Analysis* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 140.

[11] This was not a one-way process. An estimated 2.15 million ethnic Poles and 150,000 Polish Jews migrated westward from the former Polish provinces that had become parts of the Soviet Union, namely the Ukrainian SSR and Byelorussian SSR, resulting in a significant "de-Polonization" of western Ukraine and Belarus. They settled mostly in Poland's newly acquired western territories that had become evacuated by the Germans, and helped to polonize them.

During a brief period of political liberalization from 1955 to 1957, an additional 250,000 Poles were allowed to migrate or return to Poland (many of them prisoners of Soviet labor camps). Ibid., 140-43.

[12] "Protokół z plenarnego posiedzenia Komitetu Centralnego [PPR], odbytego w Warszawie w dniach 20-21 maja 1945 r." [Proceedings of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party held in Warsaw on 20-21 May 1945], in Aleksander Kochański ed., *Protokół obrad KC PPR w maju 1945 roku* (Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 1992), 11.

[13] Ibid., 38.

[14] Ryszard Brykowski, "W sprawie architektury cerkiewnej województwa rzeszowskiego po 33 latach," in Anna Marek ed., *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku* (Rzeszów: Regionalny Ośrodek Studiów i Ochrony Środowiska Kulturowego w Rzeszowie, 1997), 157-59.

[15] Israel Gutman, "Poland: The Jews in Poland," in Israel Gutman, chief ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1990), 3: 1174-75.

[16] Ibid., 1175.

[17] Ibid.

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Abstract

The Search for Certainty: A Pragmatist Critique of Childbearing

Biological theories of emotion often are used to explain human desires, in particular, the desire to reproduce biologically, that is, naturally. The naturalization and normalization of such theories sustains the pursuit of biological childbearing as a need, a product of a biological necessity. In addition, foundational metaphysical and epistemological theories lend authority and urgency to the process of biological child bearing over alternative modes of parenting. Rather, I propose that these desires are largely socially constructed. I suggest that this form of biological necessity, or determinism, if you will, rests on what John Dewey calls an unfortunate "search for certainty". It is a contrived search and yet justified as true from within the boundary of biological certitude. Since the claims emerge from within an arena of discovery, they are taken as biological truths and subsequently, as articles of cultural belief. Those beliefs, then, justify a perception of urgency, that is, a biological clock, if you will. It is an ill-conceived certainty.

Moreover, I propose that a constructed reproductive biological urgency underlies the thinking that drives the research of some advanced forms of reproductive technology. I suggest, as Dewey does, that a search for certainty misdirects attention about the nature of observed facts and rests on a logical fallacy that Dewey calls, "the fallacy of antecedent conditions." My project is to use Dewey's analysis of the search for certainty in order to analyze the constructed nature of reproductive urgency. Finally, I hope this

analysis will provide some insight specifically into the logic and urge for multiple

embryo implantation.

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# Learning by Giving: Using Student Philanthropy to Enhance Engagement in the Classroom and in the Community

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"Student philanthropy" is a relatively new and innovative teaching strategy that has been gaining attention and interest during the past few years.  In essence, student philanthropy provides a class with funds, and then the students research problems or needs in the community, identify and evaluate nonprofit organizations addressing those problems or needs, and ultimately make grants to some of those organizations.  Student philanthropy is part of the broader pedagogy of "service learning" that has been defined as a process "in which students engage in activities that address human and community needs together with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development" (Jacoby, 1996; 5).   Service learning is expected to have a number of potential benefits such as: 1) the development of knowledge or skills in students; 2) community service, or helping nonprofit organizations address social needs; 3) moral and ethical development in the students, including an enhanced interest in public service and a greater respect for collaboration; and 4) political activism among students, which may be "a means for combating public apathy, distrust, and contempt toward government" (Dicke, Dowden and Torres, 2004).

Northern Kentucky University (NKU) has a student philanthropy program that is one of the most established, well-funded, collaborative and progressive in terms of incorporating philanthropy into many different disciplines.  The Mayerson Student Philanthropy Project was created in 1999 through a partnership between NKU and the Manuel D. and Rhoda Mayerson Foundation.  The goals include engaging students more fully in the curriculum, teaching them about community problems and nonprofits, and encouraging them to be involved with nonprofit organizations in the future, as philanthropists, volunteers and staff.  Student philanthropy has been incorporated into about 50 different courses at NKU in a wide range of disciplines, including communication, criminal justice, education, literature and language, marketing, music, philosophy, public administration, sociology, and theatre and dance.  To date, more than 2,000 students in Mayerson classes have invested about $425,000 in nearly 300 nonprofits in Northern Kentucky and Greater Cincinnati.

NKU has two approaches to student philanthropy.  The original approach – the "direct giving" model – provides funds to a number of classes each semester and allows students to experience philanthropy firsthand by being grant makers in the classroom.  Students in each class research problems or needs in the community, identify and evaluate nonprofit organizations addressing those problems or needs, and ultimately make grants to some of those organizations.  A couple of years ago, NKU created a new approach to student philanthropy – the "indirect giving" model – which partners a class with a corporation in the region.  The students review and evaluate funding requests that nonprofit organizations have submitted to the corporation's philanthropic board, and then the students make funding recommendations to the board.

The purpose of this paper is twofold.  The first purpose is to describe the pedagogy of student philanthropy in some detail and present empirical evidence of its impacts.  Specifically,

it includes both quantitative and qualitative measures of changes in students' awareness of social problems and nonprofits, their attitudes and beliefs in regards to helping others and service, and their intentions to donate money to charity, volunteer for nonprofit organizations and work in the nonprofit sector.  The second purpose of this presentation is to provide practical information and ideas on how to incorporate student philanthropy.  Specifically, it discusses ways to structure and integrate student philanthropy into a course, potential exercises and assignments related to student philanthropy, suggestions on assessing students' work on the philanthropy project, and other "lessons learned."  In short, this paper looks at student philanthropy from both a scholarly perspective as well as a practical perspective.  It should be informative to faculty in all disciplines who are interested in trying innovative teaching strategies that enhance students' engagement in the classroom and in the community.

# Increasing Parent Involvement in Youth Development

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Abstract

Volunteering for educational and youth organizations is a high priority with the American public. It is the second largest segment of the over 61 million adults who volunteered in the United States in 2006, double the number in 1989. Researchers have found that adults volunteer because they have a child enrolled in the program. With this premise in mind, this study explored reasons why parents were not actively volunteering with a youth program. A qualitative study was conducted by interviewing parents with a child in a youth program but who were not enrolled as volunteers. Findings indicate that parents look for a program which offers a safe, fun, learning environment, and one which is organized and welcoming to family involvement. Once these elements are evident in a program, parents are more apt to volunteer their time in support of their child's involvement. Implications of these findings for parent involvement are provided.

Introduction

Although volunteering for educational and youth service is a high priority (Independent Sector, 2007), a common challenge in youth development programs is lack of adult leadership to mentor and work with youth who would like the opportunity to be involved. Parent volunteers are an integral component of youth development organizations. The most commonly cited reason for involvement of adults in the 4-H youth development program is that they have a child enrolled in the program (Copernicus, 2001; Culp, 1995). With this premise in mind, the present study explored why more parents or guardians were not actively volunteering with the program. Participants were asked to share information about what entices them to volunteer and what makes them feel prepared to volunteer. Two main questions were posed regarding implications for practice: 1) how can youth development professionals effectively involve parents of youth members; and 2) how can a greater number of volunteers be retained beyond the first one or two years of their involvement.

Volunteers want to align themselves with an organization they value and that is valued in the community. Those who commit their time and talents must be satisfied with the organization and their role within it (Dorsch, Riemer, Sluth, Paskevich, & Chelladurai, 2002). Essential elements identified in successful volunteer-led programs include: clear policies and procedures, orientations and trainings, a safe and supportive environment, and involving volunteers in setting goals and measures of outcomes so they can see how they have helped the organization succeed (Graff, 2005; Dorsch, et al.). Volunteers also expect an organization to be structured, organized, and that there is open communication among its members and staff (Braker, Leno, Pratt, & Grobe, 2000; Grossman & Furano, 2002; Volunteer Centre of Ottawa, 1992).

Methods

The present study employed a qualitative methodology in conducting semi-structured interviews with 31 individuals who had children enrolled in the 4-H program but who were not currently enrolled as volunteers. Participants were purposively selected from a statewide 4-H enrollment database which contained the names of all members in the state. Representative areas of the state were selected based upon the geographic location of members.

Data collection was conducted by a 4-H youth development specialist, three members of the state volunteer council and an undergraduate student who had no prior involvement with the program. Each interview was conducted using the same semi-structured interview schedule, thus insuring all participants were given the opportunity to respond to a core set of questions. Interviews were conducted in the participants' homes and were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Data were analyzed using a method described by Bogdan And Biklen (2003) which allows researchers to look for major themes in answer to the research questions. A team of five researchers individually analyzed the data by reading transcripts and becoming immersed in the data. Themes were then shared with the group in order to clarify any questions or uncertainties.

Findings

Four overarching themes of shared experiences emerged from the data. These themes illustrate elements that respondents indicated must be in place in order for them to volunteer their time. The four themes, in order of importance, were:

- a safe place in which youth learn while having fun
- relationships with and support from other adults who care about youth
- a youth group which has organization, structure, and communication, and
- being able to do things together as a family.

In addition, an unanticipated finding regarding participants' concept of volunteering will also be described.

*A Safe Place in Which Youth Learn While Having Fun*

This emerged as the most prevalent theme throughout the data. Parents said the greatest enticement was that it was something in which their children were interested. As one parent indicated, "If my kids are interested then I am more than happy to volunteer." Another parent more specifically shared, "I like to be involved with my children's learning. I like to see my children grow. I like to know what they are learning and what goes on, so that's why I am involved."

*Relationships with and Support from Other Adults who Care about Youth*

Respondents indicated that the building of relationships with other adults who care about youth was an important aspect in volunteering. One parent stated, "I think one of the biggest positives for me has been getting to know these other parents and them taking my daughter under their wing with their knowledge--and be willing to share that." For others, the building of relationships was more about sharing responsibilities of club leadership. As one participant said, "I learned immediately--ask the parents. What would you like to see? On a one-time basis, what [would] you like to help us out with. It got them interested."

*Organization, Structure, and Communication*

Respondents spoke of the importance of clear expectations regarding the volunteer role. In essence, they told us that the organization should be run in an organized manner so that volunteers knew what was expected of them and what to expect of the organization. One parent said she needed, "good training, good communication, good homework packets where I can browse and read, and a list of people to call who have been volunteers previously."

Organization, structure, and communication appear to be key factors in not only keeping families involved with an organization but, most importantly, in deciding whether to have their family involved in the program. Parents who volunteer are looking for organizations which offer activities they feel are organized and meaningful. As one parent said, "I look for things that are well organized, well planned out activities that are time efficient and not wasteful."

*Being Able to Do Things as a Family*

With time constraints of work, family, church, and other venues, it was important for respondents to be part of an organization that was of interest to their kids and allowed them to do things together as a family. Participants told us that volunteering should not be something that takes one away from the family, but should be something that adds to the family. As one parent stated, "It should be something that is family-oriented and something that you don't have to get rid of your kids to go do."

*The Meaning of Volunteering*

An unanticipated finding was how respondents conceptualized and thought about volunteering. Although participants were identified as being a parent of a 4-H member and were not enrolled as a volunteer, it was revealed that many of the respondents did, indeed, volunteer time with the program. They may not have considered it a formal arrangement and submitted the required enrollment forms, but many participants shared stories of how they had provided some type of support for the club in which their child was involved. As one respondent indicated, "I have not been a volunteer but I have supported my friends who have chosen to volunteer by assisting with activities or helping to drive kids places they need to be."

Implications for Practice

Participants stated that once they found certain essential components in an organization, they were more apt to volunteer their time in support of their children's involvement. The following implications are provided based upon the findings of the study. It can be argued that these are important factors which need to be addressed in order to attract volunteers to the program, and to keep them involved.

*Safe and Fun Learning Environment*

This was a key component in not only selecting an organization for their children but also the door to volunteering for parents. Respondents indicated that safety was a concern when selecting a program for their children, therefore, programs should include a screening process and appropriate risk management training. It needs to be conveyed in program literature that these procedures are included. It is important to find a balance of fun, hands-on, experiential activities. The program must keep the interest of the youth in order for the parents to devote time in supporting their child's involvement.

Youth need to have a sense of ownership of the program. Respondents said they wanted a program in which their children could be with others and develop their independence. The club or group environment makes a difference. Youth need an opportunity to hold an office, to experience leadership and followership, and to learn to make group decisions. Parents need to know that youth have a voice in determining the program.

*Relationships and Support*

Participants said it was important to know they would have the support of others in their volunteer role; that the responsibility for youth success was shared by families

and club leadership. Training, support, and resources are needed to recruit parents to become actively involved in working alongside their children.

In order for more parents to see themselves in an integral volunteer role, it is important that events such as volunteer leader trainings, leader luncheons, committee work, leaders' councils, training workshops and related events be revisited so that the name and focus of the group is welcoming to parent volunteer participation. Parents as well as club leaders need to be involved in these activities as they can foster relationships between those in club leadership roles and those in parent volunteer roles. There is a need to adapt language that recognizes the role of parents as volunteers even though they may not be enrolled or see themselves as volunteer leaders.

*Organization, Structure, and Communication*
Respondents indicated an expectation that information would be readily available in a timely fashion in order for them to effectively carry out their volunteer role. It is important that volunteers be involved in development of an annual calendar of events, and they need to know not only when and where events will take place, but who among them is involved in providing leadership and support to each event. Time is a precious commodity. Volunteers need to know not only what will be done at a training session or other activity but also *why* they are doing it. They want to see a connection between a fun activity and the learning or benefit which is behind it.

When prospective volunteers meet with staff for orientation they need to know what is expected of them and what they can expect from staff. A volunteer handbook and policy manual should be readily available resources so that individuals know where to go if they have a question. A mentoring model is a valuable tool in connecting new volunteers with more experienced volunteers. A Web site has become a must in today's society, providing an instant link to information, training, resources, and online discussion groups. It is imperative that information is current and reflects the involvement of parents as volunteers.

*Doing Things as a Family*
Respondents indicated that it was important to choose a youth organization that was a good fit for their family. A family-oriented, community club approach which encourages the family to learn together is helpful in addressing this need. Respondents indicated a need to be with youth as they learn in order for them to feel a part of what their children are learning and to determine the best ways to support their children's involvement. Activities such as family night, family camp, or family community service activities can serve to enhance the connection between youth and parent.

*Concept of Volunteering*
Many respondents, although identified as having children in the program but not enrolled as volunteers, were actually volunteering their time to support their children. There may be a hesitancy to formalize the role of volunteer through the enrollment process. Formal enrollment may imply to parents that they are now expected to take on a larger role without help from others. Key volunteers should be equipped with resources

for not only recruiting parents but recognizing them for their involvement; to communicate that as supportive parents, they are integral volunteers.

## Conclusion

Having a child in the program is a strong motivation for parents to volunteer. Parents look for a program which offers a safe, fun, learning environment, and one which is organized and welcoming to family involvement. Once these elements are found, parents are more apt to volunteer their time in support of their child's involvement.

Prospective volunteers need to feel a sense of shared responsibility within the program setting. They need to feel their involvement is appreciated, and to know there is ongoing support and communication between fellow volunteers and staff. At all levels of involvement, it is important for volunteers to know they can call upon others in support of their volunteer roles. While it is not feasible that findings from the present study represent the diversity of parent volunteer roles in all youth organizations, the findings may provide additional basis for future studies to be conducted to see if common themes emerge across different unique populations.

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Dilemmas of Voluntary (Private) Educational organizations in India

ABSTRACT
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Objectives:

The objectives of this paper are to analyze the problems of growth and difficulties faced by the Voluntary (Private) Educational organization in India.  These organizations especially at the university level, face critical choices for continuing or survival of their organizations due to failing support for their funding from various sources.

Methodology:

The data for this paper were collected through discussion with administration officials and faculty during my many visits to India.  The data were extracted from various reports and correspondence between The University and The University Grant Commission (UGC) and The State Governments.


Findings are discussed in the historical context of the growth of these universities from a period of pre-independence (1945) to present 2008.

India has a lot  of Voluntary (Private) Educational Organizations and are coexisting with State Government  universities . Voluntary Organizations were setup in Pre-Independence India whose  main goals  were  to provide literacy to the Indian masses in rural , tribal,  and urban areas  through Adult Educational Programs in Community development, health care and sanitation, agriculture, religion and culture of India.  These organizations had also had  an unwritten goal of organizing people into a political movements to fight imperialism and the British rule in India.

These educational organizations were provided financial support by the big businesses and donations from people to carry out  their tasks for  the uplift of the masses through Adult Educational programs.  These programs were mostly staffed by volunteers and paid organizers.  Over a period of time after India achieved its independence from the British Rule in 1947, these voluntary Educational Organization started formal educational programs by establishing elementary, middle and high schools.  Some of these educational organizations also established  institutions of higher education, such as colleges and universities.  These institutions were funded in part by the state and central governments in addition to the funds received by them from private donations.

These Voluntary Educational organizations have  faced a lot of criticism since 1970.  Political criticism was directed against them that these institutions favored the leading political parties such as

All India Congress led by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaher Lal  Nehru and therefore advocated a certain political ideology and by implication had lost their value as a non-partisan institution.  Government funds for supporting these institutions were blocked by the opposition Political parties and at the same time funding from Private donations also dried up.

The students needs also changed from marching in Protest movements to achieving professional degrees for getting jobs in government bureaucracy and public and Private business organizations. These universities faced a dilemma of their survival:  Either to develop professional degree programs at undergraduate and graduate level or to close their doors.

In addition to the increase in deficit in the universities budgets, faculty salaries have increase three times and the students tuition has not been allowed to increase.  These universities are now faced with few options:

1. Eliminate or cut some degree and non-degree programs.
2. Cut faculty and staff and hire contract faculty
3. Strengthen the distance education  programs
4. Strengthen adult education programs in rural and tribal areas
5. Modernize the existing academic programs into a semester scheme and
6. **Persuade the faculty to cooperate in rearranging the  existing programs  into a semester scheme**
7. Reorganize the existing academic departments into new interdisciplinary departments and change the degree requirements.

The paper deals with these problems in detail.

# COUTORTURE:  THE USE OF FASHION AS A WEAPON OF INFLUENCE AND POWER

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## Introduction

Aimed at the "chick flick" crowd, *The Devil Wears Prada* catered to 20 something year old women who were fans of the "chick lit" novel of the same name and, of course, fans of fashion.  The film tells the story of young, culturally conscious Andrea "Andy" Sachs, who dreams of writing for *The New Yorker*, but takes a job at a fashion magazine as an assistant to an incredibly demanding and unforgiving editor.  Despite having been the editor of her school's newspaper Andy has had a hard time finding employment.  The movie opens with her plowing out of bed for an interview with one of the most respected publishing houses in the business, Elias-Clark.  It is here that she meets the central character and her future boss, Miranda Priestly.  Andy is about to get the job "a million girls would kill for," (Caracciolo Jr. and Frankel, 2006) but has lukewarm feelings about it.  The rest of the film follows Priestly's and Andy's boss/employee relationship and the hoops Preistly forces Andy to jump through.

Adapted from the novel with which it shares a name (Weisberger, 2003), *The Devil Wears Prada* is set in the fashion industry, making the costume decisions in this particular film

especially important.  Noted fashion stylist and industry personality Patricia Field is responsible

for the fashion choices used in the film.  Field uses her considerable talent to weave brilliantly

subtle cues into the story, adding to the audience's understanding of the plot and characters.

The character Miranda Priestly, blatantly based on legendary "*Vogue*" editor Anna

Wintour, reigns as the queen of the fashion world in *The Devil Wears Prada*.  As the editor in

chief of prestigious *Runway* magazine her opinion, as stated in the film, is the "only one that

matters" (Caracciolo Jr. and Frankel, 2006).  Priestly undergoes a staggering twenty-six costume

changes throughout the film, including an almost two minute long montage of her chic wardrobe.

Priestly's costumes throughout the film, presented in Table 1, are able to convey her

considerable influence in the fashion industry and exemplifies the importance of appearance as a

means of communication, power, prestige and social distance.  The purpose of this paper is to

examine Priestly's character to show how fashion can accomplish this feat.


**Character Analysis**

*The Devil Wears Prada* looks at Priestly from the viewpoint of an overworked employee.

She is cold and brusque; both feared and admired by her staff at *Runway*.  Her most scathing

moments aren't even spoken, but communicated through icy glares and dismissing glances, made

all the more powerful by her impeccable sense of style.  It is obvious to the audience that Priestly

garnishes much of her power and is able to create a social distance through her fashion choices.

For instance, on Andy's first day of work Priestly gives her a list of tasks to complete, but calls

her back as she turns to exit.  Priestly slowly and deliberately looks the girl from head to,

pointedly stopping at her clunky shoes and only says the trademark phrase that has replaced all

periods in her vocabulary:  "that's all" (Caracciolo and Frankel, 2006).  In contrast to Priestly's

own red velvet, spiked heels (Table 1, Scene 1), it is easy to see that Priestly regards Andy to be rather incompetent and devoid of credibility within the fashion industry.

Adding to the influence that inherently comes with her position, Priestly uses style and silhouette to further achieve power and dissuade her staff from questioning her motives or decisions (Table 1, e.g., Scenes 1 and 2). On normal workdays Preistly rapidly fires off orders in a voice so serenely melodious her underlings are often left reeling under the weight of her outrageous demands and insults – her demeanor is overwhelmingly unyielding. She demands perfection from her staff, which is no less than she demands of herself. She never displays sympathy for anyone and the audience gets the sense that no one ever sympathized with *her*, so why should she give an inch? She is willing to do anything to secure her place as editor-in-chief and to ensure *Runway's* overall success. Stylist, Field, selects the appropriate ensembles to give credence to Priestly's behaviors, enabling the character to command a position of status among her peers and the general public.

In preparing for the role, Priestly's portrayer, Meryl Streep, said she studied not women, but men with immense power at their disposal. It has often been said about the role of Miranda Priestly that if she had been a man the devil moniker would not exist at all, she would simply someone who was brilliant at their job. This example of difference in role expectations between genders is not unique to this character or film. At early ages children are socialized and conditioned to behave in specific ways according to gender, and society judges us against these gender appropriate responses (Storm, 1987). Priestly's character maintains femininity through manner and appearance while commanding equality in a man's world.

Priestly is an incredible specimen of the modern career driven woman. Everything she is and does is for the good of *Runway*, with little regard for anything else. Many of the designers,

models, and photographers that regularly contribute to the magazine are talents she found and nurtured herself.  She has sacrificed family, happiness and most of her humanity in pursuit of what she believes to be the ideal existence for the magazine.

The film, does, however allow Priestly to have a few moments of humanity.  Meryl Streep's portrayal, combined with these moments, saves the character from simply being a one-dimensional villainess with an endless amount of couture at her disposal.  She clearly loves her husband and children and is struggling to find a balance where she can have both her family and career.  In one of the last scenes Priestly, upset by her divorce, is seen clad in just a shabby grey robe, reading glasses and a bare face (Table 1, Scene 23).  Andy is the only person who witnesses this brief lapse of control.  Priestly's usual flawlessly made-up face is naked, showing that she's a woman just like any other with successes and failures – and anxieties as the result of thinking about those failures.  The grey robe suggests that Miranda has reached a grey area in her life where she has to think about the choices she has made in the name of her career.  In addition to causing family problems her path to success has ended the careers of others' in the industry.

There are so many adornment related details that stand out about Priestly but her gold-rimmed Versace sunglasses are constant throughout the film and lend themselves to creating Priestly's signature "look," and in a sense cementing her relevance (Table 1, Multiple Scenes).  In addition to her choice of a signature accessory, another power symbol is her hair style (Table 1, Multiple Scenes).  Steel grey, almost white, and cut in a highly stylized bob, Priestly's hair speaks volumes about the lady herself.  She leads in an industry that is obsessed with and thrives on youth and her hair is a symbol of the fact that  she has managed to remain powerful despite being employed in an industry that favors youth.

Another constant in Miranda's wardrobe is the use of solid, neutral colors – especially black (Table 1, Scenes 1-3, 6, 7, 11, 13, 15, 19, 22, 25 and 26).  Black is often referred to as the most chic of colors.  It is always appropriate, goes with everything and has a slimming effect on the body.  Additionally, in western culture black is a color that can have dark or sinister connotations (Storm, 1987).  In the universe in which *The Devil Wears Prada* is set, it makes perfect sense for the most powerful woman to use the oldest fashion trick in the book to her advantage.  Priestly uses black to maintain the sleek control and coolness for which she is so famous all the while adding believability to the title of the film.

Priestly's fashion choices convey her own importance, mainly by breaking many of the fashion "rules" – for example she often mixes browns and blacks, wears gold and silver jewelry at the same time, and ever so un-politically correctly flaunts a bevy of fur coats (Caracciolo and Frankel, 2006).  The coats are not so much outerwear as they are statements.  Her choices in jewelry always run towards delicately made pieces which form a strict dichotomy because of her own hard edged nature (Table 1, Scene 2, 4 14, 20).  Still, the ensembles she wears are really able to convey her state of mind.  On the day that she goes to preview a designer's newest collection she is wearing neutral colors with just a hint of red and a classic khaki Burberry trench coat (Table 1, Scene 15).  This outfit is made up of a simple white button down shirt and tailored pants with a red belt – so simple, yet so effective.  Considering she was viewing a collection, her outfit was able to convey not only her professionalism but her personality – straightforward, hard but with an edge (the red belt).

Oddly enough the next scene (16) takes place in her home the very same day, presumably later on in the evening after work, but she has changed clothes.  The new ensemble is another suit, a champagne jacket with a brown pencil skirt – a much softer message than her earlier look.

During this scene she is apologetic because her work has once again trumped her responsibility to her husband (she was forced to stand him up for dinner because of her work demands) but she's had time to change clothes.

In general Priestly's wardrobe is very tailored, every dress looks made to measure on her body and all of her silhouettes are classic, vintage shapes that have been flattering to women for decades. Priestly tends to avoid any clothing with excessive or flowing fabrics, except when she's at work. It is in the *Runway* offices where she lets her guard down, where she is in her element – it is notable that her office attire looks way more comfortable than the aforementioned outfit she wore at home. It's her personal relationships on which she needs to work; the job, to her, is effortless. She even dismisses a hurricane as a minor nuisance, wearing creams and ivory during this scene (Table 1, Scene 12). The hurricane clearly doesn't stand a chance.

Another notable fact about Priestly's adornment is that the occasional animal print seeps into her wardrobe, invariably in the scenes where she is at her most vicious (Table 1, Scene 6, 7, 21). At the beginning of her wardrobe montage she is seen carelessly flinging a snakeskin purse onto Andy's desk along with her fur coat du jour (Table 1, Scene 7). This becomes a routine; she is seen coming in to work every day throwing her coat and purse onto Andy's desk, ostensibly to be hung. The day she wears her leopard print blouse under the tiger striped fur coat is the day she forces Andy to take the other assistant, Emily's, place on her trip to Paris Fashion Week. She also throws her coat onto Emily's desk that day, after a ten second long stare down with Andy, whose work ethic has elevated her to Priestly's favorite. While attending the Valentino Haute Couture show in Paris she wears a zebra print fur coat as if to taunt the "big cats" who may dare to wage an attack (Table 1, Scene 22).

**Conclusion**

The role of Miranda Priestly garnered Meryl Streep yet another Oscar nod and the film itself gained one for Patricia Field for Achievement in Costume Design. Throughout the film Priestly's fashion choices do not evolve so much as they tell a story about a woman who already is what she wants to be. Carefully considered costume choices give the character the ability to communicate the power and prestige Priestly has earned through her career, and serves to create a social distance between Priestly and her subordinates. Though upset by her divorce she cuts her losses and keeps on with her life, or rather her career. She is not unfeeling and emotionless; she just refuses to be encumbered by them. The smile she gives towards the end of the movie at seeing her now former-assistant Andy suggests that she understands all of what is good and evil in the world. She's chosen her path, but it's left up to us to wonder which one. After all, if we were all a part of the *Runway* universe all we would see was a magazine editor who sits on the board of various charities, promotes her own assistants through the ranks of the magazine, finds and fosters new talent, and does her job to perfection. We last see Priestly frown at catching herself smiling and imploring her driver to, "go" (Caracciolo and Frankel, 2006).

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**Table 1: Costume Changes by Scene for the Character Miranda Priestly in the Motion**

**Picture *The Devil Wears Prada***

| Scene | Scene Description | Ensemble |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Coming in to work/Interviewing Andy | Belted black fur coat, red velvet spiked heels, gold-rimmed Versace sunglasses (remain a constant), gold hoop earrings. Belted eggplant off-shoulder blouse, black pencil skirt, oversized silver bag |
| 2 | Fashion editorial run-through, Andy's first day of work | Black leather coat, black and grey striped oversized baguette purse, belted black dress, gold cardigan, black stiletto pumps, multiple (delicate) gold necklaces, thin gold hoop earrings |
| 3 | (Montage) | Black belted fur coat |
| 4 | (Montage) | Red fur coat, black bag, rust skirt suit w/ black orchid pin |
| 5 | (Montage) | Navy skirt suit with brown fur coat |
| 6 | (Montage) | Black suit with leopard coat |
| 7 | (Montage) | Black wrap shirt with charcoal pencil skirt, leopard coat, snakeskin purse |
| 8 | (Montage) | Magenta wool coat |
| 9 | (Montage) | Royal blue jacket over white oxford with cerulean coat, black velvet bag with forest green leather trim and gold embellishments |
| 10 | (Montage) | Green Floral blouse |
| 11 | Evening at the office before leaving for Miami. | Champagne bolero jacket over black shift dress and black pumps |
| 12 | Trying to get back to NYC from Miami – during a Hurricane | Khaki sheath dress belted with brown and gold leather belt under cream jacket with wide collar. Gold hoop earrings, ivory bangles inlaid in gold, brown high heels |
| 13 | Berating Andy for not getting flight back to NYC (catalyst scene to Andy's makeover) | Delicate gold necklaces, gold hoop/chandelier earrings. Black long sleeved dress with dark brown belt with silver buckle, black velvet pumps |
| 14 | Coming into the office after Andy's makeover | Purple coat, Grey skirt suit over velvet green shell, charcoal pumps, thin gold hoop earrings |
| 15 | Previewing a designer's collection, calls Andy by her name ("Andrea") for the first time instead of "Emily" | White oxford under black jacket, black slacks. Red belt. Bejeweled necklace, gold hoop earrings, Burberry trench |
| 16 | Arguing with husband | Champagne suit jacket over brown pencil skirt |
| 17 | In the office, day after Andy sees her arguing with her husband | Ivory cardigan, tapered at waist, draped over low cut white blouse, silver hoop earrings, stone necklace, black pencil skirt, black pumps. *First time she wears silver jewelry in the movie |

**Table 1: Costume Changes by Scene for the Character Miranda Priestly in the Motion**

**Picture** *The Devil Wears Prada,* **continued**

| Scene | Scene Description | Ensemble |
|---|---|---|
| 18 | Meeting with her editors | Pinstriped suit over olive/gold shell, gold necklaces with stud earrings, gigantic |
| 19 | MET Ball | Black Valentino evening gown with sheer black wrap. Gold chandelier earrings |
| 20 | At home while Andrea delivers mockup of Runway magazine, telling Andy she'll be going to Paris instead of Emily | Brown wrap sweater, eyeglasses, thin gold earrings |
| 21 | Coming into the office and forcing Andy to tell Emily she can't go to Paris | Leopard print blouse with tiger striped fur coat brown and grey handbag, light brown pencil skirt, oversized brown leather belt, gold earrings |
| 22 | Valentino show at Paris Fashion Week | Black v-cut suit with a Zebra print coat, silver hoop earrings |
| 23 | Going over dinner party plans with Andy in Parisian hotel room – upset about impending divorce | Worn in grey robe, black rimmed eyeglasses, no makeup. |
| 24 | Meeting with Elias -Clark CEO | White oxford under tailored paisley jacket in browns and golds. |
| 25 | Attending reception in Paris honoring her work | Black and grey fur wrap with black cocktail dress with a vintage Christian Dior "New Look" silhouette. Rosette/disc earrings. Black leather gloves. |
| 26 | Leaving Elias -Clark building at the end of the movie | Forest green fur coat over belted black dress with orange scarf tied into a bow around neck, gold hoop earrings, brown leather gloves |

10

# The Role of Religion and Spirituality in the Mediation: Consideration of a Faith-based or Spiritual-based Approach

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Abstract

This article advocates greater exploration and incorporation of spirituality or religion in the mediation process. As religious or spiritual values constitute an element of one's culture which inevitably forms a lens through which one interprets the world, the authors suggest a greater acceptance of exploring and acknowledging the power of addressing one's religious/spiritual makeup. Giving parties the freedom to express spiritual or religious values may help to uncover underlying issues of conflict.  The authors present an agenda for mediation research and practice for the 21$^{st}$ century and consider several examples in this paper to encourage model development. The ideas expressed in this discussion serve as a working faith-based or spiritual-based mediation model. Specifically, the following discussion presents potentially valuable elements for an alternative approach to mediation which incorporates either religion or spirituality.

# WEEP FOR HER: REQUIEM FOR THE U.S.S. INDIANAPOLIS

By

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# WEEP FOR HER:  REQUIEM FOR THE U.S.S. *INDIANAPOLIS*[1]

The heavy cruiser *U.S.S Indianapolis*, once Admiral Raymond A. Spruance's flagship, is remembered less for her tragic sinking and more for the horrific events that followed during the four days after her sinking, before the survivors were rescued.  Roughly 800-900 members of the *Indianapolis'* 1,196 man crew survived the torpedo attack.  But only 316 lived to tell the tale.

Part of the mortality rate is explainable.  Some crew members, badly burned in the torpedo attack, succumbed to four days in north Pacific salt water under the broiling sun.  Other crew members went insane from lack of fresh water, and either died of dehydration or committed suicide.

But the real culprit was neither sun nor salt water.  The bloody dead and wounded became the dinner bell for hungry sharks for miles around.

At first the sharks feasted on the newly dead; then they chowed down on the living.  The rescuers, in fact, fired at the sharks to keep them from making dessert out of any survivors still awaiting rescue. By the time the last survivor, Captain Charles Butler McVay III,

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stepped on the deck of the destroyer U.S.S. *Ringness,* the sharks had eaten 500-600 survivors, the largest shark attack in recorded history.[2]

The *U.S.S. Indianapolis* had become forever associated with sharks.  Stephen Spielberg cemented this association in 1975 in his movie *Jaws*[3]*,* during which a 25 ton great white shark terrorizes Amity, a small island resort town.  Amity's police chief, a young oceanographer, and a hard-bit shark hunter team up to kill the shark. But the shark has different ideas; they're going to be his dinner. The hunted becomes the hunter as the shark attacks the pursuing fishing boat.

During a lull in the action the three hunters are eating and talking, when the professional shark hunter (played by Robert Shaw) eloquently relates his experience on the *U.S.S. Indianapolis.*  He spoke of going over the side with 900 other men, of the shark attack, and of his fears about being killed while waiting for rescue.  It's a stunning moment, cut short by "Jaws'" next "feeding" attack.

Since 1975, the shark feeding frenzy dominated the stories about events surrounding the *U.S.S. Indianapolis'* demise.  Thus, the *U.S.S. Indianapolis* joined the flotsam of history.

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[2] Raymond B. Lech, *All the Drowned Sailors,* (New York: Stein & Day Publishers, 1982), 153,155. Hereafter cited as Lech.

[3] Stephen Spielberg, *Jaws,* Zanuck/Brown Productions, 1975.

It's become clear that the torpedo and ensuing shark attack could have been avoided entirely.  But since the shark attack obscured events surrounding the torpedo attack, questions remain:

1. Why did these attacks occur?

2. Why did it take four days to rescue the survivors?

3. Who was at fault?  Why?

It's time to sail past the dorsal fins.

## BACKGROUND

There was nothing in the *U.S.S. Indianapolis'* history or war record to suggest she would sink and go down in naval history as the U.S. Navy's greatest disaster.  According to author Thomas Helm, the *Indianapolis* was the first "peacetime warship to be built in the United States since the London Treaty of 1929."[4]  She was launched on May 15, 1931, and commissioned on November 15, 1932.  By February 1942 the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* was in the vanguard of ships fighting the Japanese navy in the Pacific theater.  In 1944 she became the flag ship of Admiral Raymond A. Spruance, and on November 18, 1944 Charles Butler McVay III became her 10th and last Captain.[5]  McVay, a third generation Navy man, ran the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* efficiently and

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[4] Thomas Helm, *Ordeal By Sea, (*Binghamton, N.Y.: Vail-Ballou Press, Inc., 1963), 3.  Hereafter cited as Helm.
[5] Helm, 4, 8.

fairly.  Although a somewhat distant man, McVay possessed a sense of fairness and was respected by officers and enlisted men alike.  He was no Captain Bligh or Captain Queeg.[6]  By all accounts this was a "happy" ship: if not the "good ship Lollypop," the Indianapolis had few, if any disgruntled crew members.

But some on board worried.  Admiral Spruance noticed the *Indianapolis'* armaments made her equally heavy above and below decks, sometimes making it difficult for the ship to maneuver.  He noticed this shortly before the Indianapolis fought at Okinawa.  "Should the *Indianapolis* ever take a torpedo hit in the right place," Spruance noted, "she would capsize and sink in short order."[7]

Ensign Harlan Twible, the last officer to board the *U.S.S. Indianapolis* before her ill-fated final voyage, had misgivings.  According to Helm, Twible "did not know how to explain it even to himself, but somehow he felt things were not quite right with this ship… (And) he simply could not shake a sense that the ship would never return."  Twible never mentioned his worries to his shipmates, but he included them in a letter to his two brothers, adding no matter

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[6] Captains Queeg and Bligh were victims of mutiny.  Queeg is a fictional character from the novel and 1954 movie *the Caine Mutiny*; Bligh was real.  He was so tyrannical that his crew mutinied and cast him at sea in a long boat.  Bligh was, however, an excellent sailor returned to England.  Descendants of the mutiny on the H.M.S. Bounty still live on Pitcairn Island in the South Pacific.
[7] Helm, 10.

what happened he would return.[8]   The ensign was right on both

counts.

Dan Kurzman[9] adds another story.  On July 16th Dr. Haynes

signed for a radio message from Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King.  The

message read "Indianapolis under orders of Commander-in-Chief and

must not be diverted from its mission for any reason."[10]  Upon reading

King's message Haynes wondered what was the Indianapolis hauling?

While the crew was curious about their cargo, they joked that it was

whiskey for the brass at Tinian and kiddingly plotted to burrow into the

cargo's compartment and help themselves to some of the supposed

'treasure.[11] But this message made it clear that the secret cargo was

something stronger than Jack Daniels.  It was something more

important, and far more serious.  At this point, just prior to the

Indianapolis' leaving, a "sudden ominous rumor" ran through the ship.

"Three fortune tellers, it was said, had predicted that the vessel was

embarking on a journey that would end in disaster."[12]

The U.S.S. *Indianapolis'* final voyage played a pivotal role in

ending World War II.  She sailed from San Francisco on July 16, 1945

to Tinian Air Base in the Philippines, arriving July 26, 1945.  Once at

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[8] Helm, 10.
[9] Dan Kurzman, *Fatal Voyage: The Sinking of the U.S.S. Indianapolis*, (New York: Athenuem, 1990). Hereafter cited as Kurzman.
[10] Kurzman, 21.
[11] Helm, 15.
[12] Kurzman, 21.

Tinian, the uranium and the inner workings of an atomic bomb were unloaded and quickly transferred to the *Enola Gay*, a B-29 bomber. one bomb would be dropped over Hiroshima by that B-29 on August 6th; plus a second over Nagasaki on August 9th.  The awesome destruction caused by those bombs demoralized the Japanese, and they announced their surrender on August 14th.

The U.S.S. *Indianapolis* arrived at Tinian in record time, traveling 500 miles a day[13].  She broke the speed record for the voyage between San Francisco and Honolulu, arriving at Pearl Harbor in 74.5 hours.[14]  The remainder of the trip was uneventful.

There was no reason to tarry at Tinian.  The bomb's parts, her marine escort, and the nuclear scientists had all been unloaded or disembarked, and McVay was ordered to set sail, first for Guam, then for Leyte.  Captain Oliver Naquin ordered him to sail along the usual route, Convoy Route Peddie, and in reply to McVeigh's question Naquin told the Captain there were no Japanese submarines in the area. McVay's request for a destroyer escort was denied.  Why waste an escort when there weren't any submarines to fend off?

McVay also asked if he should tack, "tack" being the naval term for evasive zigzag.   It was believed more difficult for submarines

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[13] Helm 16.
[14] Lech, 6.

torpedoes to hit a ship moving in a zigzag pattern, as torpedoes during World War II could only move in one direction. McVay's orders read 'Tack at your discretion.'[15]

The U.S.S. *Indianapolis* set sail for Leyte on July 28, 1945 at 9:10 AM. It looked to be an uneventful voyage. Because the ship sailed at 28-29 knots going from San Francisco to Tinian, her required speed was reduced to 15.7 knots, which meant the *Indianapolis* would arrive at the Leyte on July 31st.[16]

What Captain McVay and the crew of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* didn't know was they were not alone on Convoy Route Peddie. Lieutenant Commander Mochitsura Hashimoto of the Imperial Japanese Navy set sail for Convoy Route Peddie in an I-58 submarine, one of the last four-six submarines[17] remaining in the Imperial Japanese Navy from Kure, Japan, on July 16th—the same day the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* left San Francisco for Tinian[18]. Lieutenant Commander Hashimoto considered himself to be unworthy because he had disappointed the Japanese Emperor. Since the war began, he

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[15] Lech, 21.

[16] Lech, 21.

[17] Richard F. Newcomb with an Introduction and Afterward by Peter Maas, *Abandon Ship! The Sago of the U.S.S. Indianapolis, the Navy's Greatest Sea Disaster,* (New York: Harper Collins, 1958 & 2001). Newcomb believes four submarines remained, 10. Hereafter cited as Newcomb or Maas; Doug Stanton, *In Harm's Way*: *The Sinking of the U.S.S. Indianapolis and the Extraordinary Story of its Survivors*, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2001). Stanton believed six Japanese submarines remained, 79; Hereafter cited as Stanton.

[18] Newcomb, 10; Stanton, 79.

failed to sink any enemy ships; this even though his was the only Japanese I-58 submarine to survive the battle at Okinawa. He was so desperate for a kill that he even erected a Shinto shrine on the I-58, and prayed daily for the chance to sink an American ship.

The gods appeared to be on Hashimoto's side. The I-58, part of the Tamon Submarine group, received a change of orders. According to Lech, "During World War II, the submarine fleet of the Japanese Empire had two basic missions: (a) reconnaissance, and (b) supplying their distant island garrisons." However, Lech continued, "The Tamon Group was unique…in that they had orders to perform only one task, sink ships.[19] It was the waning days of the war, and the Japanese were making a last-ditch effort to stave off their impending defeat. "Anything," Lech concluded, "that could fly (or float) and kill invaders were ordered to do so".[20]

So Lieutenant Commander Hashimoto and his crew lurked, submerged, in the middle of Convoy Route Peddie, waiting for an enemy ship. At 11:00 PM, July 29th, the I-58's navigator cited the U.S.S. *Indianapolis*. The submarine, which had been surfacing, quickly re-submerged, and by 11:09 Hashimoto ordered six torpedoes armed and ready. Two *Keitans*, torpedoes driven by humans, undersea equivalent to *kamikaze's*, were also placed on alert. The Lieutenant Commander ultimately ordered them to stand down. No need, he reasoned to waste human life.

It took Hashimoto roughly 55 minutes to identify the enemy ship and ascertain she wasn't a destroyer hunting for his I-58. Once

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[19] Lech, 13.
[20] Lech, 13.

certain, the Lieutenant Commander maneuvered the submarine so that the torpedoes would hit the *Indianapolis* broadside, and ordered the firing of six torpedoes at three second intervals.[21]  According to Stanton, Hashimoto gave the order to fire at 12:04 AM, July 30th. Helm states the torpedoes struck at 12:01.[22]  Whatever the time, two torpedoes squarely hit the Indianapolis' on the bow side, knocking out all electrical power.[23] Fire roared below decks and in the engine rooms.  But since there was no water pressure, the fire hoses proved useless.[24]

The radiomen succeeded in sending multiple SOS calls,[25] but time ran out.  The U.S.S. *Indianapolis* sunk 12-15 minutes,[26] after the time the torpedoes struck her bow.  In comparison, the H.M.S. *Lusitania* sunk in 18 minutes.  Helm hauntingly described the scene:

The crashing and banging of objects tearing loose blended in a hideous discordant symphony with the cries of men trapped inside or still hanging to the lifelines on her stern as the *Indianapolis* slipped more swiftly beneath the waves.  Then came the shout:  *There she goes!* Every man turned to watch in awe as faster and faster and deeper and deeper the *Indianapolis* dropped, accompanied by great belches of steam and smoke and strange hissing and sucking noises. Then there was nothing save a vanishing wisp of smoke and a few big bubbles.[27]

How many men were actually killed by the torpedo attack, and how many died from exposure and sharks?  According to Lech:

No one will ever know precisely how many men survived the sinking, but based upon the thousands of pages of recently declassified documents, a conservative number would be 800 (and

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[21] Stanton, 100-101.
[22] Helm, 46.
[23] Helm, 49.
[24] Helm, 63.
[25] Lech, 63-64.
[26] Helm, 134; Lech, 51.
[27] Helm, 99.

could have been closer to 900).  Therefore, approximately 400 men went down with the *Indianapolis...*Because the midnight watch had just changed, many men were awake at the time Hashimoto's torpedoes hit, and this permitted a majority of the crew to escape...There was still time for the Navy to get these men out of the water.[28]

At first the survivors had reason to hope for a quick rescue. They had faith the Navy had received their SOS calls; a search would begin when they did not dock at Leyte; planes were flying overhead, someone would spot them.  All the survivors had to do was stick together and help each other.[29]

But by the second day lack of water started to craze some of the sailors.  Rumors had started to spread that there were Japanese infiltrators among the survivors, and fights broke out.[30]  By the third day more men became insane for lack of water.  One sailor convinced all around him that he had just returned from the *Indianapolis,* and all was well.  Helm recounted this hallucination:

They said we were sailing over real deep water," the crazed sailor shouted. "Don't believe it!  Indy is just a few feet down and the cooks are hard at work in the galley.  There's plenty of food and fresh water and the skipper is down there getting ready to bring the ship back to the surface."[31]

Then came the sharks, some likely as large as 20 feet.  The first shark was spotted at 1:30 AM on July 30th.  Quartermaster 1st Class Robert Gause estimated the shark to be roughly 12 feet long.[32]  A "monstrous" shark kept swimming under the raft that held Captain McVay.  That fish plagued them until they were rescued.

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[28] Lech, 65.
[29] Helm, 128.
[30] Helm, 141; Lech, 122.
[31] Helm, 150.
[32] Lech, 80.

Once the dead sailors had all been eaten, the sharks started to attack the living.  Lech recounted:

At dawn, a sailor in a life jacket was seen bent over with his face in the water.  Thinking him asleep, a shipmate swam over to waken the man.  On attempting to rouse him, the body flipped over, and from the waste down there was nothing.  He had been sawed clean in half by a shark.[33]

Three additional frightening examples:  Joseph Dronet, Seaman Second Class, wasn't lucky enough to be in a raft.  He was one of a group of survivors hanging on to a large net.  Dronet saw sharks swim in and retreat, as if they were tormenting prey.  He remembered a class on survival in the water in which the instructor warned them not to thrash around if a shark is nearby.  Dronet lay on his back and didn't move anytime sharks approached.  Some came close to him, swimming so close that he could feel the water from the swimming sharks swirl underneath him, but none attacked.  However, "He and many of the others watched three of the men in the group around the net caught in rapid succession by the rapacious jaws and dragged screaming beneath the surface."[34]

The shark attacks continued after the rescue had begun.  One of the B-29s circling above the survivors dropped a small life boat for them.  George Horvath was swimming toward the boat and approximately 100 yards away when he spotted a large shark, and knew that this monster was coming for him.  Horvath had seen his buddies killed by sharks and prayed that he wouldn't become another victim with a lifeboat only 100 yards away.  Fortunately, the shark was in no hurry.  Saying, "I bet I can outswim you," Horvath raced for the

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[33] Lech, 130.
[34] Helm, 141.

boat and was helped aboard by officers Kirkland and Carter.  The shark surfaced, then disappeared.[35]

The survivors' rescue came by chance.  Lieutenant Wilbur C. Gwinn took off in his Ventura for a routine patrol, and while attempting to fix an antenna spotted the survivors.  After ascertaining they were allies he radioed for help.  The PBYs came first, and then the destroyers *Doyle, Register, Ringness, Ralph Talbot, Madison and Dufilho* picked up the survivors.[36]

Some had trouble believing help had finally arrived.  Medical Officer Dr. Lewis Leavitt Haynes had trouble convincing one sailor that help was finally at hand.  This sailor had been disappointed one too many times. Finally, Haynes convinced him and he was helped aboard the *Doyle.*[37]

The danger was over for the surviving crew; for Captain Charles Butler McVay III a new ordeal was just beginning.

McVay was court-martialed and found guilty of endangering his ship by not tacking.  An attempt was made to find the Captain guilty of failure to give the order "Abandon Ship" early enough, but McVay was found not guilty of that charge.  As punishment he suffered a "loss of 100 numbers in his temporary grade of Captain and to lose one hundred numbers in his permanent grade of Commander" (Lech, 194).

All related documents were classified, and it was 30 years before much of the story of the sinking of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* was made public.  Secretary of Defense James Forrestal suspended McVay's sentence so he could continue in the Navy.  But he also withdrew all

[35] Helm, 175.
[36] Helm, 199.
[37] Helm, 186.

other Letters of Reprimand affecting the other naval officers.  Lech lamented,

In the end, no other officers in the Navy were censured for their role in the tragedy and only Captain McVay continued to live with the stigma.  In the eye of the general public he was held responsible for the sinking of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis*.[38]

McVay's trouble didn't end with the court-martial.  He was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral, but he was assigned a desk job, in New Orleans, from which he retired in 1949.[39]

Personal tragedy followed.  In 1961 his beloved wife Louise died of cancer.  McVay then married his high school sweetheart Vivian Smith, and moved to her home in Litchfield, Conn.  At first there was travel and excitement, but the relationship soured.  Vivian looked down on McVay, thinking him "only a sailor."[40]  She treated him harshly, humiliating him publically.  He did his best to adjust, but it seemed a sterile life. McVay spent much of his time in the butler's pantry talking to the housekeeper, Florence Regosia.[41]

Then the Admiral's beloved grandson Mark died of a brain tumor at only nine years old.  McVay was crushed.[42]  But the last straw came in the form of a nasty letter from a family who had lost a son to the sharks.  He told his stepson, Winthrop Smith Jr. "I can't take this."

On November 6, 1968 Admiral Charles Butler McVay shot himself in the head on the front lawn with his Labrador Chance by his side.  According to Kurzman, he died a few hours later, was cremated, and his ashes were scattered over the Gulf of Mexico.  Vivian Smith

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[38] Lech, 203.
[39] Lech 205.
[40] Kurzman, 278.
[41] Kurzman, 279.
[42] Kurzman, 279.

attempted to cover up the suicide, but to no avail. A few weeks later she changed her name back from McVay to Smith. It seems McVay became a delayed victim of the shark attack.[43]

## QUESTIONS SURROUNDING THE SINKING

Was Captain Charles Butler McVay III solely responsible for the sinking of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis*? was he responsible at all? The sole charge against him was endangering his ship by failing to tack. But that charge only raises more questions: Was McVay disobeying orders by not tacking? Was tacking appropriate given the weather conditions on July 29th? Would tacking have foiled the I-58's torpedo attack; and, most importantly, was McVay disregarding his briefing information received at Tinian and Guam?

The answer to each of the abovementioned questions is a resounding "No!" Captain McVay's standing orders were: "that commanding officers are at all times responsible for the safe navigation of their ships" and that the cruiser would "zigzag at the discretion of the commanding officer.[44] Routing Officer Lieutenant Joseph Waldron later commented, "It was acceptable form and general policy to indicate zigzag at the discretion of the commanding officer—no routing officer attempts to tell the captain of a combatant ship what he should do while at sea."[45] McVay disobeyed no order simply because there was no order to disobey.

In hearings to exonerate McVay held in 1999, the Vice Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Donald L. Piling, walked a legalistic tight rope when he stated that McVay's failure to tack made the *Indianapolis*

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[43] Kurzman, 281.

[44] Lech, 21.

[45] Waldron as quoted in Lech, 21.

more vulnerable to attack, rather than actually causing the sinking of that heavy cruiser.  At that point Senator Bob Smith (R) of New Hampshire "asked the obvious question.  Suppose McVay hadn't zigzagged and the *Indianapolis* arrive safely at Leyte. Would he still have been court-martialed?"[46]  Piling equivocated again, stating that the outcome "couldn't be known." [47]

Was tacking appropriate given the weather conditions close to midnight, July 29th?  Here again, the answer is "no!"  Tacking is considered appropriate only "during periods of good visibility"[48], and visibility was poor on the evening of July 29th.

Captain McVay, later describing the weather conditions, recalled, "It was a confused sea, with long swells, long, deep swells, light wind, and a dark night.  It was apparently overcast…It was very dark, the visibility was well below average."[49]  Ensign Twible and Lieutenant (jg) Leland Jack Clinton had the watch in "Sky Aft."[50]  "Heavy clouds scudded across the moon.  It was what the boys called a "peekaboo night"; right now Twible couldn't see his hand in front of his face…[51] "—let alone the periscope of the I-58 or the outline of that submarine as she nearly surfaced.  Tacking under these circumstances would have been ill-advised.

According to Helm,

The solid cloud cover which had persisted all afternoon was now becoming ragged, but visibility was poor and it showed no signs of improving.  Shortly after he went on duty, Lieutenant (j.g.) Charles B.

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[46] Senator Bob Smith as quoted in Maas, 287.
[47] Maas, 287.
[48] Helm 23.
[49] Lech, 35.
[50] Helm, 42.
[51] Stanton, 99.

McKissick talked with the Captain and as the two looked at the sky McVay told the OOD that he could secure from zigzagging and resume the base course.[52]

Hence McVay followed naval procedure explicitly when he ordered the *Indianapolis* to cease tacking and resume a straight course. The weather conditions made tacking impractical and dangerous. By resuming a straight course, at 17-20 knots it seemed logical the *Indianapolis* would outrun any enemy in the area.[53] Besides, "McVay's decision was also supported by the intelligence report, which reassured him that his route along the Peddie corridor was clear of enemy traffic."[54] It also ought to be noted that, "The officer of the deck, in charge of the eight–to-midnight watch, was to respond to any change in their situation. If the weather and visibility improved, he was to resume zigzagging and notify the captain immediately."[55] No violation of naval procedure here!

Would tacking have foiled the I-58's torpedo attack? No! Captain McVay, according to Helm:

As a topflight naval officer... would not take issue with the Navy Department concerning the honest value of the practice of zigzagging. (But) There were many junior officers and experienced sailors aboard who were strongly opposed to the practice because it put a burden on everyone aboard as the helmsman was forever swinging the ship first to starboard and then to port. With each turn the ship was forced to lean sharply away from the angle she had just assumed. Such maneuvers might have been applicable back when the Navy was younger and fire control was mostly a matter of human sight. But with radar and modern range-finding equipment, the enemy ship had only to study the zigzag pattern electronically for a few minutes and then get the range.[56]

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[52] Helm, 25.
[53] Lech, 35.
[54] Stanton, 86.
[55] Stanton, 86.
[56] Helm, 23-24.

At best tacking would have only delayed a torpedo attack. Lech explains why:

Most submarine officers," Lech asserted, "do not feel zigzagging to be an extremely effective torpedo deterrent anyway, and a ship that is not zigzagging can sometimes create more problems for the submarine than one that is. Captain Glynn Donaho, who sank 200,000 tons of Japanese shipping as skipper of the *Flying Fish* and *Barracuda*, felt that with his modern fire-control equipment, high-speed torpedoes, and a well-trained crew, the zigzagging of his target never affected the results. In fact, Donaho admitted that 'I have personally found that a target not zigzagging would have confused me.' The time the zigzag maneuver can be effective is when the target changes course (either zigs or zags) *after* the torpedoes are fired. But if luck isn't with the ship, she may find she has changed course into the path of the underwater missiles. By zigzagging, what the master of a target has accomplished at best is to extend the life of his ship for another few minutes. In the meantime, the submarine commander would be reloading his tubes, getting the timing of the target's zigzag pattern down, and setting up for another salvo and, hopefully, the final kill.[57]

The condition of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* also must be taken into account. She was 14 years old at the time of the torpedo attack, and her engines and equipment had been stressed by the sustained speed of her voyage from San Francisco to Tinian. Further, as Admiral Spruance noted, the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* carried nearly equal weights above and below decks, making maneuvering difficult.[58]

Given the waves and lack of visibility, continuing to tack on the evening of July 29th would have most likely resulted in the *Indianapolis* rolling on her side and sinking under her own weight. In effect, she was the nautical equivalent of an ill-fated stegosaurus who failed to run fast enough to escape the hungry tyrannosaurus rex. Nothing would save the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* from the I-58's torpedoes, but

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[57] Lech 33.
[58] Helm, 10.

McVay's failure to tack may have saved her from capsizing, a ship's version of suicide.  If that had occurred McVay may have faced court martial for endangering his ship by tacking in inclement weather.

The command officers at McVay's court martial failed to take into account the mindset or abilities of Lieutenant Commander Mochitsura Hashimoto.  In what appears to be blatant racism, the judges seemed to believe the torpedoes were lucky shots that would not have hit if the *Indianapolis* had been tacking.

In fact, Hashimoto took great care in executing the torpedo attack, because he believed his and his crew's honor hung in the balance.  The Lieutenant Commander craved, almost obsessed over the fact that his I-58 had not made a single kill.  Hashimoto believed he had let the Japanese Emperor down.  He needed, desperately, to sink an American ship to uphold his and his crew's honor.[59]

Once the *Indianapolis* had been sighted and ascertained to be an enemy ship, Hashimoto took close to an hour to prepare the attack, during which time he stayed calm despite the *Keitans* loudly demanding the opportunity to die for the Emperor.  The Lieutenant Commander made some errors; mistaking the *Indianapolis* for a battleship, believing she was going 20 knots when, in reality she had slowed to 17.  But when he ordered the torpedoes fired 2, possibly 3 hit the *Indianapolis'* bow broadside, mortally wounding her.[60]

When Lieutenant Commander Hashimoto came to Washington D.C. to testify at McVay's court martial, he was asked if tacking would have made any difference.  Hashimoto replied "no."  At the most it would have taken him a few more calculations and three to five more

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[59] Kurzman, 65-66.
[60] Kurzman, 65-66.

minutes to sink the *Indianapolis*.[61]  Further, Hashimoto insisted the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* actually *was* doing some "minor zigzagging." That's how, the Lieutenant Commander asserted, he was able to gauge the size of the heavy cruiser.[62]  This testimony should have exonerated McVay.  If the Captain *was* tacking, the charge had no merit.

But tacking, whether major or minor, made no difference. Since no one aboard the heavy cruiser knew the I-58 was lurking below, the only factor that might have changed was the time of sinking--12:30-12:45 AM instead of 12:13 or 12:19 AM.  It was Hashimoto's obsessive desperation that doomed the U.S.S. *Indianapolis*, not McVay's decision to cease tacking, or tack with minor motions.

Was McVay disregarding the briefing information he received at Tinian and Guam?  Was the Captain a latter-day version of J. Bruce Ishmay, the White Star Line President who urged the R.M.S. *Titanic's* Captain Smith to race through an iceberg laden sea route with disastrous results? In the words of Senator Howard Baker (R) Tennessee, referring to President Richard M. Nixon's role in the cover-up surrounding the Watergate break-in in 1972, "What did he know and when did he know it?"

Captain McVay knew nothing about any submarine activity along Convoy Route Peddie because no one informed him about the possibility of submarines along that route.  Nor did anyone inform the Captain of the change in the Tamon group's assignment, which ordered them to sink as many enemy submarines as they could.  As has been shown, no one impressed upon the Captain any need to

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[61] Kurzman, 241-242.
[62] Kurzman, 241-242.

evade Japanese submarines.  Lastly, McVay's request for a destroyer escort was denied because there was no danger from Japanese submarines.

But Naval Intelligence in Washington D.C., Fleet Admiral Ernest King and the Marianas Command knew:

- There were four Japanese submarines operating in the Philippine Sea with an I-58 cruising Convoy Route Peddie

- The Tamon group orders were changed from reconnaissance to sinking American ships

- A Japanese *Kaiten* had sunk the U.S.S. *Underhill* while escorting a convoy of smaller vessels from Okinawa to Leyte. One hundred and nine men were killed in that action

When McVay went to see Commodore James B. Carter to verify sailing instructions, he asked about conditions in the Philippines Sea. Carter gave out no information.  His reason: "It wasn't normal for captains to request that of me.  He was only in my office a very short time; and that intelligence was provided by the port director at the time the ship was routed, as a normal procedure."[63]

McVay had no idea he was sailing the *Indianapolis* into harm's way, just the opposite.  "I got no impression up there [Carter's office] at that time of any unusual conditions in the area—I will say that."[64] McVay then went to the Routing Officer quarters, and requested the route and a destroyer escort.  Convoy Route Peddie was the only route available.  An attempt had been made to find alternate routes.  But Admiral King refused to sign the order.  McVay had no choice in the matter.  Lieutenant Joseph Waldron phoned in the Captain's request for a destroyer escort to Captain Oliver Naquin.  The request was

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[63] Carter as quoted in Lech, 16.
[64] McVay as quoted in Lech, 16.

denied because of a policy stating that ships "below a certain degree of latitude" didn't need an escort.[65]  But the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* carried no sonar equipment.  It had no way of detecting enemy submarines.  An escort would have warned McVay of the I-58's presence, and immediately picked up survivors.

Nonetheless, McVay felt more comfortable.  "There was no mention made of any untoward incidents in the area through which I was to pass.  I definitely got the idea from CinCPac Headquarters and Port Director, Guam, that it was a routine voyage."[66]

However, "In secret document," Lech pointed out, "the United States Navy admitted that:

Captain McVay was informed that there was nothing out of the ordinary in the area which he was about to traverse" and he "was given no information from any source with regard to unusual submarine activities in the area, the westward of Guam or in the Philippine Sea."  Furthermore, the Navy secretly admitted that "Captain McVay was not informed of the presence of four enemy submarines operating in the Western Pacific with offensive orders, nor was he informed of the sinking of U.S.S. *Underhill* by an enemy submarine to the westward of Guam on July 24th."  [67]

Lech pointed out the intelligence McVay received "wasn't worth the paper it was printed on."[68]

Captain Naquin knew about the Japanese submarine danger, as well as the sinking of the *Underhill*, but he sat on the information.  To make matters worse, the *Indianapolis* would pass from one command to another.  But the messages confirming her passage and arrival times were not sent properly.  [Admiral Lynde] McCormick, Marianas

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[65] Lech, 18-20.
[66] McVay as quoted in Lech, 21.
[67] Lech, 22-23.
[68] Lech, 23.

Command "knew she was coming and when she was due but couldn't figure out why; [Admiral Jesse] Oldendorf knew why, but not when." [69] That left the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* out of two jurisdictions, making it possible for her to get lost on the radar, with McVay sailing straight into the I-58's path.

There has been some question whether or not the radio room was able to send an S.O.S. Lack of a distress call, some believe, was one of the reasons no one knew the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* was missing. Helm noted that a radio signal may have been sent, but it was garbled, hence ignored. [70] Lech disagreed. The radio transmitters were working and they transmitted the repeated SOS, reason for the SOS, and the *Indianapolis'* location. [71]

At least three ships received the signal. None responded. The Coast Guard Cutter, *Bibb,* the U.S.S. *Pawnee,* the U.S.S. *Hyperion* and the cruiser *Salt Lake City* each received the SOS signal but didn't act upon it. For reasons unknown, the Captain of the *Salt Lake City* even attempted to suppress the information. Furthermore, a message was intercepted by the American command from the I-58 to its command announcing the sinking of an American ship, but it was ignored. [72] No one in the American command investigated any of these messages, which passed while the men of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* were struggling to survive without water, under a broiling sun, fending off sharks.

Why didn't either the Marianas command or the Leyte command investigate why the *Indianapolis* didn't arrive at Leyte? On July 31st Commodore Carter ordered that arrivals of combatant ships should not

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[69] Lech, 27.
[70] Helm, 56.
[71] Lech 64.
[72] Lech 68, 75-79.

be reported. That was taken to mean that non-arrivals of ships should also not be reported. No one paid attention to the fact the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* was seriously overdue. Later, Admiral King was quick to blame Admiral Chester Nimitz for the policy in this (10CL-45) letter. Then, he accused Lieutenant Stuart B. Gibson of negligence. Gibson fought back, believing that the letter also applied to non-arrivals.[73]

One more day and most likely all of the survivors of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* would have gone insane from lack of water, or become lunch for sharks that no longer cared if their food was dead or alive.

Now that they all felt the end was near, God seemed very close. Father Conway prayed with the sailors, moving from one group to another. The priest wasn't a very strong man, however, and eventually he had to be held up by others. Haynes was the last man to support the now delirious and thrashing young priest, listening to him pray in Latin, until he lapsed into a coma and died in the doctor's arms. Saying a short prayer of his own, commander Haynes released Father Conway and watched him silently drift away.

Before entering their fourth day the water, Radioman 3rd Class Ralph Rogers wondered, as many of his surviving shipmates did, why there was no one looking for them. They were due in Tuesday morning and now Wednesday night was creeping up on them, and still they hadn't been found. Where were the rescue ships?[74]

McVay and his men had done what they could. SOS's were sent of which at least four were received. Messages from the Japanese had been intercepted; the non-arrival of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* was noted. But the Navy took no action until Lieutenant (jg) Gwinn, by chance, sighted the survivors.

Initially, Letters of Reprimand and Admonition were sent to Commodore Norman Gillette, acting commander of the Philippines, and

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[73] Lech 87-89.
[74] Lech 126-127.

Captain Alfred Granum, Lieutenant Gibson and Lieutenant Commander Sancho.  But Secretary Forrestal withdrew the letters, and expunged their files, leaving only Captain McVay to shoulder the blame.

## CONCLUSION

Who was really to blame?  As early as 1945 many knew it wasn't McVay.  Thomas J. McElligott, today a retired attorney was a midshipman in 1945, scheduled to be part of the U.S. invasion of Japan planned for November 1945.  McElligott recalled the talk among sailors and officers after the sinking centered on the route.  "We couldn't figure out why they sent the Indianapolis on Convoy Route Peddie.  It was narrow and difficult to defend." he said, adding, "We felt McVay got a raw deal."[75]  Harlan Twible later wrote:

Before leaving Guam on our fateful journey that July night, our navigator was briefed by a routing officer from the port director's office.  I still remember Commander Janney making a joke in the wardroom as we were having dinner about the fact that we didn't need destroyer escorts.  We didn't need anything because Naval Intelligence told us we didn't have enemies out there. We were going to sail in safe waters...

What a difference it would have made to all of our people that died if the captain knew about those enemies lurking out there.  And the port director knew it.  The *Underhill* had been sunk a couple of days before.  They had broken the code.  They didn't have to tell us about breaking the code, but they should have told us about our enemies who were in our path.  What a difference it would have made if the captain's request for a destroyer escort had been granted.  Can you imagine us having to stay in those waters for five night and four days?...

The real tragedy for the captain and the survivors was the fact that the captain was the low man on the totem pole...Someone had to be found guilty.  Our captain was the chosen man...[76]

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[75] Thomas J. McElligott, Interview, 5-7-09
[76] Maas, 288.

McVay posthumously has received some measure of justice, thanks to Hunter Scott, an 11 year old boy.  In 1996, while in sixth grade, Scott saw *Jaws* and became inspired him to do a history fair project on the U.S.S. *Indianapolis*.  His dedication led to Congressional hearings, and on October 12, 2000 Congress passed a Sense of the Congress resolution exonerating McVay and recommended awarding of the Navy Unit Commendation to the crew of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis*. According to Research Nurse Elaine Shestokas, President Clinton issued McVay a posthumous pardon.  But the Navy still has not done either.[77]

Who was responsible for the U.S.S. *Indianapolis'* fate?  Some, most notably Rear Admiral Samuel Eliot Morrison, blame it on stupidity.  Stupid people and stupid actions often result in evil consequences. But, the supposed stupidity extends to a few people: Admiral King, Admiral McCormick, Commodore Carter and Captain Naquin; the latter three in the Marianas Command.  Admiral King, not Captain McVay bears the blame for the sinking.  He was, however, aided in this by the Marianas Command.

Why does King deserve the blame?  He blocked the selection of a safer route, and repeatedly maneuvered to place the blame on McVay.[78]    The Vice Admiral of the Fleet also had motive.  He never forgot a slight or bad fortune.  Maas noted that King had been reprimanded by McVay's grandfather, and the Admiral always carried a grudge.  Getting McVay blamed for the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* disaster proved to be a great way to get even.[79]

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[77] Maas,  284-292-3.
[78] Maas, 293-294.
[79] Maas, 293-294.

The three remaining officers headed and served on the Marianas command.  They withheld critical information and wrote the memo that made it possible for the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* to disappear for three days.  It's highly unlikely they did this by mistake.  Each knew the import of good intelligence.

McCormick's, Naquin's and Carter's actions were deliberate, not stupid.  If they had simply been that stupid, the "Honorable Emperor" may have invaded New York, and could have made the White House his summer palace.

That still leaves two questions unanswered: why was the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* deliberately placed in harm's way? Why was McVay made the scapegoat?  The facts seem to point to one answer.

The U.S.S. *Indianapolis* was not meant to return.  She was placed deliberately in harm's way; SOS's were not answered.  It was hoped she'd sink with all hands lost.  But fate, in the guise of Lieutenant Gwinn and Lieutenant Marks intervened, and even the most fiendish plans cannot triumph over human courage.

However, would anyone want to destroy the heavy cruiser? America had been at war since 1941, and the war in the Pacific became increasingly bloody.  Everyone was becoming fatigued, and it was feared, according to McElligott, that an invasion may cost up to 1,000,000 lives.  The atomic bomb could end the long struggle without risking an invasion.

But suppose the secret got out?  It was alleged that no one on board the ship knew it was carrying the uranium and bomb parts.  But Captain McVay may well have known, and Dr. Haynes surmised there was something very big and important aboard the *Indianapolis*.  How

much longer before someone surmised something uncomfortably close to the truth, and speculated about it at a bar or other public place? What if they were overheard and their conversations were relayed to the Japanese? The chance to end the war quickly would be ruined. What were 1,196 lives when compared with 500,000 to 1,000,000?

No one planned on the shark attack or on the crew's chance discovery. But once rescued, reasons had to be given, and this truth was too sensitive to see the light of day. So McVay stood trial on a meaningless charge, and the crew never received the citation it deserved. But the Navy protected its ""honor."

A very inconvenient truth: war, all war, dehumanizes. Lives become meaningless; every human virtue becomes subordinate to winning. Sharks swim, make little sharks and eat. Humans are blessed with the ability to love, think and make choices. What was our excuse?

What can we learn?

First, Captain Charles Butler McVay III was wronged. It's close to 64 years since the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* sunk. Now is the time to right that wrong; for the Navy to exonerate McVay and cite the *Indianapolis'* crew for the bravery they displayed during their ordeal. The U.S. Navy will emerge far nobler for restoring robbed honor than they do resembling the French army in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair.

Second it's time to learn that even "just wars" such as World War II have the power to dehumanize. Peace may be difficult to achieve, but the process of striving for peace may make us better humans and this world a better place for our children and grand children.

This paper concludes on a personal note.  In late January, 2006 I attended a meeting at the Union League Club in Chicago, a semi-private club that has become a meeting place for many progressive causes.  After my meeting adjourned, I headed for checkroom when I noticed a man in front of me who was wearing a naval hat with gold insignias on the bill that usually signify someone with the rank of Captain or above.  But it was the back of the hat that caught my attention.  U.S.S*. Indianapolis* was emblazoned in gold on the back, and I knew that gentleman had survived hell.

He retrieved his coat, turned momentarily facing me.  I looked at him and said, "Sir, I salute you for your courage."  He smiled kindly, as if he was glad someone remembered, and walked on.

None of us can make the pain go away.  Some of those survivors still relive July 30-August 3, 1945 in their dreams.  But we can right a wrong, and maybe that will make those survivors who still yet live sleep a little more soundly.  Maybe their nightmares will finally end.

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# THE LEGACY OF FATEFUL FRIENDSHIP: DR. RICHARD MEILING, *FELDMARSHAL* HERMANN GOERING, CYANIDE AND REDICULE

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# THE LEGACY OF FATEFUL FRIENDSHIP: DR. RICHARD MEILING, *FELDMARSHAL* HERMANN GOERING, CYANIDE AND REDICULE

## INTRODUCTION[1]

Friendship has many faces.  Some friendships nurture; others grow from common interests or passions.  Some friendships even blossom into love.  But some friendships are doomed, regardless of the character or personalities of the people involved in them; star-crossed because of the times or the background in which they occur.[2] Those friendships place the parties involved in untenable positions, usually haunting them long after the friendship has ended.

Such was the friendship that grew between a U.S. Army doctor and the second in command in the Third Reich.  The doctor was Lt. Col. Richard Meiling and the Third Reich Official was Reich Marshal Hermann Wilhelm Goering.  Neither man profited from their friendship; both suffered because of it.  It's nearly 25 years since Meiling died, and 63 years since Goering committed suicide; yet the friendship between these two men still raises questions:

1. Was Goering a secret member of the allies?
2. Was Meiling a Nazi?
3. What does their friendship reveal about war and its' legacy?

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[1] My thanks to the Skokie Public Library for helping me find pictures of Hermann Goering; Allan B. Ross for editing this work; Jay Steinberg for suggesting additional sources.

[2] Stories of star-crossed love and doomed friendship occur throughout music and literature.  Some examples include: William Shakespeare, *Romeo & Juliet*, c 1591-1595; The medieval tale, *Tristan & Isolt;* Henry Purcell, *Dido & Anneas,* 1689*:* Terrance Young, *Mayerling,* 1968*;* George Ray Hill, *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid,* 1969*;* Leonard Bernstein, Arthur Laurents, Stephen Sondheim , *West Side Story,* 1957; Sydney Pollack, *They Shoot Horses Don't They?,* 1969 ; John Steinbeck, *Of Mice & Men,* 1957.

4. Does this friendship provide lessons for the future?

Enough time has elapsed that examination of Meiling's and Goering's association shouldn't raise fear and horror. To the contrary there's a lesson to be learned here--and it's never too late to learn.

## BACKGROUND

Dr. Richard Meiling was born in 1908 in Springfield, Ohio, a small town 40 miles east of Columbus. His brother Lester described Meiling's childhood as "ordinary." Meiling played, had friends, held boyhood jobs, enjoyed pets, and liked sports as well as music. Once he painted the local cemetery fence when said fence needed a painting. Lester Meiling and his wife recalled that Meiling always brought their daughters presents whenever the Meiling's visited.

Meiling also had a penchant for making friends with the rich and famous. For example, he knew ice figure skater and later movie star, Sonya Hennje. He also knew Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and Nixon. He retired as Medical Vice President of Ohio State University. He also was friends with Senator Robert Taft.

As for his politics, Meiling was a Taft conservative. That didn't preclude him from working with Democrats, but he preferred government to be frugal, hierarchical and limited. Nevertheless Democratic President Harry S. Truman promoted Meiling to the rank of Brigadier General; Democratic President John F. Kennedy gave him an additional star.

Meiling was a staunch anti-Communist who believed in the Truman Doctrine, the anti-Communist doctrine which asserted Communists never come to power peacefully, and only expand their grasp by force. That's why the doctor avidly supported anti-Communist activities, including the War in Viet Nam.

Hermann Goering was 16 years older than Meiling. Born in 1893 at the Marienbad Sanitarium, his mother became the mistress of Ritter Hermann von Epenstein, a newly-ennobled Austrian doctor at the sanitarium, whose father was Jewish[3]. Von Epenstein possessed the power to mesmerize, and Goering fell under his spell. The young doctor from Berlin becoming enamored by Goering's mother[4], Goering's family took up residence at one of von Epenstein's castles, and von Epenstein became God-father to all of them.

Goering was sent to boarding school in Ansbach in 1904, and there learned of the unofficial anti-Semitism that ran through the undercurrent in German and Austrian life. After being punished severely for praising his "Jewish" God-Father, Goering ran away from the school, returning home.

Nonetheless in 1910 Goering entered the military academy at Karlsruhe, graduating *Magna Cum Laude*. From there he went to Lichterfelde Officer Candidate's school, becoming a lieutenant by the beginning of World War I. By 1916, Goering had become a fighter

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[3] Leonard Mosley, *The Reich Marshal: A Biography of Hermann Goering*, (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1974, 2). Hereafter cited as Mosley.
[4] Mosley, 5-6.

pilot in Baron Von Richthofen's (better known at "The Red Baron"[5],) flying squadron, "the Flying Circus." By the end of the war, Goering held the black baton of command. When the war ended Goering ordered the planes of the Flying Circus scuttled rather than handing the planes over to the Allies[6].

The rest of the story is public knowledge. Goering met Hitler, and became mesmerized by him. After being seriously wounded in the Munich Beer Hall Putsch in 1923, he became seriously addicted to morphine and also became very heavy. Nonetheless, he rose to become the number 2 man in the National Socialists, Commander of the *Luftwaffe* (German air force), and one of the few men upon whom the Fuehrer relied.

It's possible that Goering wasn't eager to enter World War II[7]. Nevertheless he followed Hitler to the end, appearing unrepentant at the Nuremberg Trials. There he was found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging. But Goering cheated the hangman by swallowing cyanide, and committed suicide on October 15, 1946. Like all the Nazis who were sentenced to death and condemned to hang at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, Goering was cremated at a nearby concentration camp crematorium; his ashes washed down a sewer.[8]

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[5] Mosley, 28.
[6] Mosley, 43-44.
[7] Mosley, xi.
[8] *Secrets of the Nazi War Criminals.*

# BASIS FOR FRIENDSHIP:  GOERING'S AND MEILING'S PERSONALITIES

How did Meiling and Goering become friends?    Both men were staunchly loyal to their respective leaders and countries.  As a physician, Dr. Meiling had sworn the Hippocratic Oath "to do no harm." Goering loved and excelled at the military, and often gave rants promoting Nazi doctrine.  What was the basis for a friendship under these circumstances?

Goering's and Meiling's political views form too narrow a prism to define either man.  There were stronger commonalities that drew them together.

Neither man bowed to convention.  During Dr. Meiling's tenure at Ohio State University as Assistant Dean, Dean and Vice President for Medical Services, Dr. Meiling judged people as he saw them.  Political correctness didn't always enter the equation.  Hence, Dr. Meiling hired some former Nazis at Ohio State[9]

Once Goering decided you were his friend, he remained loyal to you. Von Epenstein's Jewish background didn't matter to Goering. "Hermann Goering did not allow the fact that his hero belonged to a race despised by so many of his fellow Germans to color his attitude toward him at any time during his lifetime."[10] According to Professor

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[9] The Chicago Jewish Newspaper, *The Sentinel*, during the late 1980s-early 1990s that some of the doctors portrayed in the medical school's stained glass windows were Nazis rather than unwitting Germans.
[10] Mosley,  8.

Hans Thirring, "Once he (Goering) had chosen his hero, he would stand by him through thick and thin."[11]

Was Goering anti-Semitic?  Here again, the answer is complicated. Goering railed against the Jews, and there was never a valuable piece of art or jewelry that he wouldn't steal, but he loathed the S.S., and their savage treatment of human-beings.

For example, Goering protested against *Krystallnacht*, stating that it was a waste of money and property.  His protest overlooked the plight of Jews whose synagogues were burned, shops smashed, and property taken.  It may have only been a monetary argument, but at least it was a protest.   As such it revealed some independence.  The Reich Marshal understood that any defense of the Jews on moral grounds would have been useless.

Another example of Goering's independence and character is the story of Max Lorenz, a leading Wagnerian tenor.  Lorenz, a Christian, had married Lotte a Jewish woman, and was hiding both her and her mother in his home at the Bayreuth Festival.  The S.S. planned to arrest Lotte and her mother in 1943, while Lorenz was singing in a performance.  But Lotte saw the capture coming and called Goering's sister.  The sister told them to stay near the phone, and that something would transpire within 10 minutes.  The S.S. came, and the phone rang.  After a terse conversation they left the Lorenz' house, *sans* Lotte and her mother.  Two days later an order came from

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[11] Professor Hans Thirring, as quoted in Mosley, 8.

Goering which stated that Lorenz' wife and mother were not to be harmed.[12]  Both escaped the war unscathed.

Finally, there were certain orders that Hermann Goering refused to follow.  One of these was Hitler's orders for the Luftwaffe to bomb every man, woman, child and building in Russia.  Goering refused, and his relationship with Hitler soured.[13]

Meiling, on the other hand was a member of a team that selected bombing targets which he believed would shorten the War.  The American bombs killed civilians on more than one occasion.

Neither Dr. Meiling nor Reich-Marshal Goering was one dimensional.  Both possessed multi-faceted personalities...and those diverse facets formed the basis for their friendship.

## COMMONALITIES

Goering and Meiling were members of opposing sides.  But their views of war were remarkably similar.  Neither believed it a war crime to fire at a soldier who was firing on them.  Both believed it was necessary to sustain their side, even if it meant bombing a civilian population to demoralize them or destroy their food supplies.  But neither approved the bombing of defenseless civilians without good reason.

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[12] Eric Schulz and Claus Wischmann, *Wagner's Mastersinger—Hitler's Siegfried*, Medici Arts, Band 6.
[13] Mosley 227-228.

Neither man admired Communism.  They agreed that this was a dangerous philosophy and that "Uncle Joe" Stalin had to be watched. Communism stifled creativity and individualism.

Both men enjoyed hunting, fishing, and riding.  Each also enjoyed Wagnerian opera, classical music, art, jewelry, gourmet food, and wine.  Before the war, Meiling and Goering enjoyed flying and liked talking about airplanes. Meiling spoke and read German; Goering spoke excellent English and French.  Both men were charming and dogmatic by turns.  The points in common overshadowed the fact they were working for two governments on a collision course.

## FRIENDSHIP A L'ESPIONAGE

How did Dr. Meiling's espionage activities come to light?  In 1995, when I began doing research on Dr. Meiling, his widow, Mrs. Meiling asked me to interview Meiling's older brother, Lester who lived in Springfield Ohio.  I set out, armed with my tape recorder and directions on how to get to Springfield from Columbus.  After a few wrong turns, I found their house, introduced myself and proceeded with the interview.

At first it was exasperating.  Dr. Meiling had an ordinary childhood that was undistinguished from any other childhoods of people born before World War I.  His life seemed the Ohio version of "Leave it to Beaver."[14]

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[14] Opening scenes of Leave it to Beaver were filmed in the early 1960s used my home town, Skokie IL as their setting. .

Out of the blue Lester Meiling said his brother was a spy.  I ignored the comment at first, thinking it to be rambling.  We chatted a few more minutes, and Lester repeated that Meiling was a spy.  At that point I knew he believed his brother to be a spy, so I knew I had to either verify the comment or disqualify it.

Ensuing interviews made it clear that something was happening in Germany while Meiling was a medical student studying as Maximilien University, University of Munich that had nothing to do with medicine.  Goering personally showed Meiling the Luftwaffe; Goering used Meiling's medical thesis in his Four Year Plan.  But no one could positively say for certain that Meiling was spying.  A friendship existed between the two men.  But proof positive that Meiling was spying for the America eluded me… until the phone rang early one October afternoon and Rob McCormick was on the line.

I was tired, and not all that interested in doing an interview at that moment.  But I listened patiently to the praise for Dr. Meiling.  Then Mr. McCormick started talking about himself.

McCormick spoke of being a courier for the State Department, and there were couriers and "couriers."  Suddenly, I was wide awake.  "Was Dr. Meiling also involved in this project," I asked.  The answer came back affirmative.  I had the proof I needed.  According to McCormick, Dr. Meiling was to get to know high ranking Nazi's and find out whatever he could.

According to Dr. Charles Pavey, Meiling met Goering when their horses either collided or came close to doing so.  From that encounter their

friendship blossomed. Goering, according to Pavey and McCormick, was just as eager to cultivate Meiling as Meiling was to cultivate Goering. It may well have been Goering's intent to show the capitalist world Germany's more cultured face, in the hope that America would join the Axis rather than the Allies.

Meiling and Goering certainly agreed about the Communists, as well as all the other things mentioned above. All went well until Nazi intelligence found out Meiling's activities.

Fortunately Meiling was warned about his impending arrest. Who warned him? This can't be ascertained for sure, but there were rivalries between Goering and several other Nazi leaders. Goering may have gotten wind of Meiling's impending danger, and urged him to leave Germany.[15]

By the beginning of World War II, Meiling was a Major in the Army Air Corps; by war's end, a Lieutenant Colonel. During the war, Meiling helped select bombing targets, and, according to Hart Paige, Archivist for the Ohio Medical Society, Meiling may have been involved in the bombings of Hamburg and Frankfurt.[16]

After the war, Meiling was at Ashcan, a prisoner of war camp for Nazi officers when he next saw Hermann Goering. Goering was grossly overweight, wearing a sky-blue field marshal's uniform, and possessing a case containing drugs.

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[15] Interview with Lester Meiling, August 1995; Rob McCormick, March 1996.
[16] Judith-Rae Ross, *Dr. Meiling and the Unanswered Question*, Given at the World War II Conference, Sienna College, May 1996, 4. Source hereafter cited as Ross.

They had several conversations, at Goering's insistence by a fountain so as not to be overheard.  Meiling asked Goering how he could go along with the Nazi atrocities.  Goering disowned the atrocities, but added "I am a German."[17]

Meiling also asked Goering about the Holocaust.  Goering steered away from that question, pointing out that the Jews were removed from the European mainstream, or out of sight out of mind.[18]   Meiling couldn't handle that answer.  It placed him in a box:  He couldn't forgive Goering for placing the Holocaust on his mind's back burner; but how could he judge Goering to be a war criminal?

Meiling had a chance to join the prosecution at the Nuremberg trial, but refused.  Goering's answer may have led to that refusal.  How could Meiling judge someone for fighting in a war?  If the Nazis had triumphed, likely as not they would be regarded Meiling as a war criminal.  So, Meiling refused to serve on the Nuremberg jury, and it seemed likely that Meiling and Goering didn't meet other again.

But I recalled that Dr. Meiling's grandson, a former student of mine had told me that his grandfather had been Nuremberg in an unofficial capacity to keep the prisoners somewhat more comfortable.  Dr. Meiling may not have returned to the U.S. until 1947.  If that's true there may be more to the story of Dr. Richard Meiling and Reich Marshal Hermann Wilhelm Goering than meets the eye.

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[17] Ross,  4.
[18] Ross, 5.

While at Ashcan Goering defended his belief in country when he told Meiling, "I am a German."[19]  His attitude hardened during the trial, and Goering acted unrepentant.[20]  But the sentence, death by hanging, unnerved the Reich Marshal.  Hanging was a humiliating death, not worthy of an officer.  Goering asked for and was denied a firing squad.  Denied a respectable execution, he used cyanide to commit suicide.

It's always been an intriguing question of who gave the cyanide to Goering.  Mosley believes Goering always had it, and hid it until needed.  A retired OSS officer claims he gave the cyanide to Goering, cyanide being standard issue to OSS members.  A prison guard also claims to have given Goering the poison.

But neither these statements, nor the belief that Emmy Goering passed the pill to her husband through a French kiss make a lot of sense.  If the pill dissolved at all, wouldn't Emmy have died?  If Goering hid the pill, would not the guards have discovered it?  How effectively can one hide a pill given the constant cell and body searches?  Finally, there's no evidence that Goering expected to be sentenced to death by hanging.[21]

As to the claims of two gentlemen who state they delivered the pill, neither has much reason to be believed, other than circumstantial evidence.[22]  How would they have had the chance to get to know Goering well enough to help him?  Why would they have helped a

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[19] See note # 16.

[20] Jeffrey C. Hogue, *Secrets of the Nazi War Criminals*, United American Video, 1988.

[21] Mosley, 356-357.

[22] http://www.fpp.co.UK/Goering/Spectator/01023.html;
http://www.lenimports.com/hermanngoering_death.html.

despised enemy combatant escape the war crimes tribunal's judgment?  The varying claims, actually, remind one of the scenes in the movie *Spartacus* in which the slaves have been defeated and Romans ask which one of the prisoners is Spartacus?  Every man on the field replies, "I am Spartacus," except for Spartacus himself.

One logical option remains: If Dr. Richard Meiling was at Nuremberg, As a Lieutenant Colonel and physician Meiling would have been able to procure the necessary cyanide and deliver it without causing undo suspicion.  Meiling understood the implications of the death by hanging sentence passed down by the court.  He doubtless remembered that Goering saved his life by warning him to leave Germany, possibly even arranging passage.

Since nothing could save Goering, delivering the cyanide would allow Goering control over the last act of his life.  It's a sad act of friendship, but an act of friendship nonetheless.  Meiling kept a picture of Goering in his possession when he returned to the U.S.

There's real irony in Goering's suicide.  By taking the cyanide Goering suffered the same fate as millions of Jews in the concentration camps.  Like them Goering died of cyanide poisoning, was cremated and his ashes washed into the sewer.[23]

Although my case is also circumstantial, it seems logical because it takes into account the pre-war friendship between Meiling and Goering, their agreement on what constituted a war crime, and their disagreements about how one should act when war crimes occur.

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[23] Hogue, *Secrets of the Nazi War Criminals*; Mosley, 358.

In 1996 I concluded my paper with the comments that both men could not be lifelong friends because of the times.  Here were two men thrown into adversarial positions trying to understand and perhaps, help each other.[24]

## DOOMED FRIENDSHIP'S LEGACY

The legacy of their friendship haunted Goering and Meiling for the rest of their lives.  The saying, "A man is judged by the company he keeps" was all too true for these two friends.

Reich Marshal Goering seems to have made a fatal error in judgment wherein he believed the Meiling's hatred of Communism was typical of all Americans, and for that reason that America would embrace National Socialism.

Most Americans did despise Communism, but they also despised war.  The America First movement, which was quite popular until the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, originated at Yale University, not from some forerunner of Joe the Plumber.  The intellectuals of the late 1930s believed war was needless, and that America should not get involved in Europe's problems.  Meiling recounted the strength of this sentiment in his Air Force memoire.  In the chapters leading up to war, Meiling pointed out that no less an American hero than Charles Lindbergh fell under suspicion for saying that war was coming.

According to Mrs. Elizabeth Meiling, one of the first things Goering asked Meiling in somewhat accusatory tones was 'why didn't you join

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[24] Ross, 7.

us?' Mosley asserted that one of Goering's ploys was to become friendly with Europeans and Americans to convince them they had nothing to fear and everything to gain by supporting the Third Reich.[25] It must have hurt deeply that the people Goering tried to charm and convince about the rightness of his cause reviled him as a Nazi war criminal. Goering died somewhat consoled that he had the final word on his fate, but underneath the consolation a broken heart ceased to beat.

For Dr. Meiling it was a long, painful process from which he was never free. His association with Goering didn't dissolve into history. As Assistant to the Secretary of Defense in 1949, Meiling attempted to revise the armed forces medical services by streamlining them into one organization. Despite the merits of attempt, it earned him the ire of all the branches of the service and spread to the Congress. Representative Edith Rogers asked point blank during one hearing, "Do we have another Goering in the making?" The medical services didn't merge, and Meiling resigned from the Department of Defense.

After returning to Ohio, Meiling joined the medical faculty of Ohio State University as Associate Dean. He was promoted to Dean in 1961, and Medical Vice President from 1970-1974. After retiring in 1974, he consulted and traveled until his sudden death in 1984.

As the War in Viet Nam intensified after 1964, Meiling sided with the Johnson administration. Communism had to be stopped, lest it spread all over Southeast Asia. But the students at Ohio State saw things

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[25] Mosley, xi.

differently, viewing the war as stupid, wasteful and bloody. The nation—and Ohio State University-- split in two over that war.

Meiling clamped down on discipline. The students responded, nicknaming the medical school Fort Meiling. Worse was to come. In 1970, National Guardsmen opened fire on students at Kent State University, killing four students in the process. Ohio's Governor James Rhodes was a close friend of Dr. Meiling's, and the image of Meiling as a stone-faced martinet grew, becoming increasingly untenable. Meiling retired in 1974.

Times had changed. Dr. Meiling's associations and strong beliefs in anti-Communist causes made him look like an imitation Nazi/American general in the Age of Aquarius. He was never able to shake that image of the martinet. Accusations flew, and in later years, Meiling complained about the patently unfair accusations that followed him. He expressed his weariness of it in talks with his brother and in letters. This all returns to Lester who told me that all his brother, Dr. Richard Lewis Meiling wanted was to be a hero.[26] Usually bravery, strength of belief and conviction, plus a war are enough to guarantee one a place in history as a hero. But it didn't turn out that way for Dr. Meiling! David Lore, then a reporter on the *Columbus Dispatch,* described him as one of the "second echelon" actors in World War II.[27]

The friendship between Meiling and Goering cost both men dearly. In Goering's case it resulted in an error in judgment that was to prove fatal; in Meiling's it cost him his dream…and both men may well have died broken-hearted as a result.

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[26] Interview with Lester Meiling, August 1995.
[27] Lore as quoted in Ross, 1.

## CONCLUSION

The attempts to condemn Meiling as some sort of neo Nazi were without substance.  Meiling lived and died an American patriot.

Goering is harder to peg.  He was a Nazi, and he turned a blind eye to the suffering of millions.  But had he headed the Third Reich it's likely that the Holocaust never would have occurred.  He wasn't a blood thirsty war criminal.  Those honors belong to Martin Bormann and Adolf Eichmann, among others.

This haunted friendship illustrated the ugliness of war.  What kind of world calls "kindness" the delivery of poison or the decision not to sit in judgment?  World War II had to be fought.  As a Jew, I know that too well.  But let's not glorify World War II because of the many acts of bravery which occurred on the battlefield.  For every one of these millions of acts of inhumanity occurred in the streets of conquered areas...and humanity lost its soul, only to retrieve it in the ashes of the crematoriums.  The friendship between Dr. Richard Meiling and Reich Marshal Hermann Goering was just one more of the millions of World War II's casualties.

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**Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences**
**8th Annual, Honolulu, Hawaii. June 4 – 7, 2009**

**Title:** Divorce and Tourism

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**Abstract**

The rate of divorce associated with tourism development has been given little attention in the literature. This study explores the relationship between the rate of tourist arrivals and the rate of divorce while controlling for the rates of unemployment and gross domestic product per capita. Results from 48 European nations indicated a significant association between the rate of tourist arrivals and the rate of divorce. The contribution of this study is increase the importance of tourists as cultural change agents affecting the rate of divorce.

Key words: Tourism, Divorce, Cultural

## INTRODUCTION

The cultural and economic impact of tourism on the lives of local residents has been assessed for many years (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Inskeep, 1991). When tourists arrive at a country for visits, they generate revenues (Gee, Makens, & Choy, 1997). Therefore, hotel owners increase investments in new infrastructure (Inskeep, 1991). As a consequence of increasing revenues, gross domestic product per capita (GDP per capita) increases. In additon, when the rate of tourist arrivals increases, more job opportunities are offered, resulting in a decrease in the rate of unemployment (Sheldon & Var, 1984). Besides the positive impacts of tourism development, the behavior of tourists has been reported to affect communities and organizations (Ap & Crompton, 1998). In 1997, Gee and his colleages reported that tourists have altered family structure so that rates of divorce increase. Kalmijn, De Graaf, & Poortman (2004), De Rose (1992), and Goode (1993) reported that rates of divorce increase when women who traditionally were homemakers in European nations shifted to liberal norms. Such a cultural determinant of divorce associated with the rate of tourist arrivals has been little reported in the literature. The purpose of this study is thus to determine if there is an association between the rate of tourist arrivals and the rate of divorce, controlling for the rates of unemployment by gender and GDP per capita.

Roche (1992) reported that when tourism generates more employment, these jobs are usually very simple and do not require advanced skills. Married women choose to apply for these jobs in order to increase their family income (Roche, 1992). In Yang and Lester's (1988) study, the employment rate of married women was associated with higher

rates of divorce since a working married woman encounters a wider variety of men than a housewife which increases her chances of finding an alternate mate.

McCain (1990) proposed the model of 'impulse-filtering' that has implications for better understanding the relationship between the rate of divorce and the behavior of tourists. An 'impulse' is a sudden strong need to do something without stopping to think about the results, whereas a 'filter' is a block to stop acting on an impulse. The basic assumption in McCain's (1990) model is that when an 'impulse' (e.g., divorce) is generated in the mind, a 'filter' (e.g., social and cultural values, customs, or traditions) will be selected with maximum power or ability to lessen the impact of this 'impulse' on the individual's behavior. From this perspective, foreign tourist arrivals in a country modify or change the local, regional, or national social and cultural values, traditions, and customs which weakens the population 'filters' necessary to confront and lessen the divorce 'impulse'. Therefore, certain 'filters' will predict some 'impulses'. McCain (1990) posited,

"The individual realizes that the decision between incompossible values must be made, and the individual then chooses one value over the other - supressing one filter so that impulses consistent with the other filter, but not with the one suppressed, are nevertheless acted upon" (p.128 ).

**METHOD**

Forty-eight European nations were chosen as the sample for the study because tourism in Europe has been developed for a long time and the nations of Europe are associated with considerable culturural diversity. Data for the 2000 to 2003 were collected from the United Nations Common Database (2007). The rate of tourist arrivals

is total international tourist arrivals per 1000 resident population. The rate of divorce is
total divorces per 1000 resident population. The rate of male unemployment is total male
unemployments per 1000 male resident population. The rate of female unemployment is
total female unemployments per 1000 female resident population. The GDP per capita is
the mean value of the products and services produced per person within a given country
in a year. Enhancing the forecast funtion of the model for the rate of divorce, hierarchical
multiple regression analyses were conducted, in which all of the dependent variable and
independent variables were transformed into z scores to deal with multicollinearity
(Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

## RESULTS

The average rates of divorce over the four-year period from 2000 to 2003 in 48
European nations were significantly associated with their average rates of tourist arrivals
($r = .32,\ p < .05$) controlling three standardized variables: the male and female average
rates of unemployment and the average GDP per capita. In the first step of hierarchical
multiple regression analyses, three predictors (rates of male unemployment, rates of
female unemployment, and GDP per capita) were added. This model was not statistically
significant, $F(3, 44) = 2.21, p > .05$, and $R^2$ change $= .13$. Rates of tourist arrivals were
entered in the second step. Addition of this predictor significantly increased the fit of the
model to the data, $F(1, 43) = 4.89, p < .05$, and $R^2$ change $= .09$. As shown in table 1,
rates of tourist arrivals had significant effects on rates of divorce ($\beta = .31, p < .05$). As a
result, rates of tourist arrivals can predict rates of divorce.

## DISCUSSION

The prediction of rates of divorce based on rates of tourist arrivals is consistent with the reports of Gee, Makens, & Choy (1997). It could be argued when women who traditionally stayed at home secure employment in the tourism industry, that a significant cultural change has occurred which might be associated with rates of divorce in some important way (Kalmijn, De Graaf, & Poortman, 2004; White, 1990). The contribution of this study is increase the importance of tourists as cultural change agents affecting the rate of divorce. This finding is consistent with the research of Gee and his colleagues (1997) which also found tourism to be associated with rates of divorce. The present study has three major limitations: 1) it is based on only four years of data, 2) it employs only European countries in the sample, and 3) it is based upon female employment as a cultural factor. Future research should expand cross-cultural comparisons between rates of tourist arrivals and women's education, ethnicity, religion, parental divorce, and presence of children among other countries in a longitudinal study.

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Table 1

Regression Analysis Investigating Hierarchy Effects: Divorce Rates as Dependent Variable.

|  | Cummulative | | |
| Step and source | $R^2$ | $\Delta R^2$ | $\beta$ |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1. Economic variables | .11 | .11 | |
| Male Unemployment | | | .32 |
| Female Unemployment | | | -.59 |
| GDP per capita | | | -.05 |
| 2. Tourist arrivals | .20* | .09* | .32* |

*$p < .05$

# IMPULSIVE SHOPPING BEHAVIOR IN YOUNG ADULT MEN: A RESEARCH PROPOSAL

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## Literature Synopsis and Purpose

Dating back less than 50 years, the study of consumer behavior is in its infancy compared to the history of most disciplines. Moreover, a significant percentage of this research has occurred during the last decade. Consequently, relative to many other areas of study, there have been few attempts to evaluate consumer research critically focusing on the male gender. Past efforts have concentrated primarily on summarizing and synthesizing findings into proposition inventories. With notable exceptions, these critical evaluations have been confined to particular aspects of consumer behavior such as cognitive dissonance, brand loyalty, and the diffusion of innovations. These summaries and evaluations have been useful, but many important issues have not been explored. However, impulsive consumer buying behavior is a widely recognized phenomenon, accounting for nearly 80% of all purchases in certain product categories that expand consumers' impulsive purchasing opportunities (Kacen and Lee, 2002). It has also been suggested that purchases of new products result more from impulse purchasing than from prior planning (Kacen and Lee, 2002). Impulsive buying, as defined by Kacen and Lee (2002), is "a

sudden, compelling, hedonically complex purchasing behavior in which the rapidity of the impulse purchase decision process precludes thoughtful, deliberate consideration of all information and choice alternatives" (p. 163). Little progress has been made in integrating the rational with the hedonic is an incompatibility in vocabulary. Typically, the rational side has been modeled formally while the hedonic side has been described more qualitatively. I do not intend to provide a complete model of the interplay between cognition and emotion. My interests here are narrower and my efforts more modest. I plan to propose a model to explain impulsive consumer purchasing decisions made by the male gender in the context of the sporting-good industry. There is little consumer research knowledge from which to grasp, yet there is a labyrinth of proposed models, which attempt to explain the complexities of impulsive consumer behavior and the general trait of impulsiveness that is an inherent part of our human nature.

Hoch and Loewenstein (1991) propose that the dominant paradigm used to describe consumer behavior is the rational choice model (p. 492). Hoch and Loewenstein also assert that, "consumers decide whether to make a purchase, and which purchase to make, by weighing the costs and benefits of alternatives" (p. 492). Consumers are also seen as dispassionate information processors, evaluating alternatives in a bounded rational fashion and effortlessly implementing decisions; however, a more complete understanding of consumer behavior must recognize that people are influenced both by long-term rational concerns and by more short-term emotional factors (Hoch and Lowenstein, 1991).

Several aspects of the "model problem" have been discussed, and the issue is raised here of what type of model best suits the structure of the problem at hand. A comprehensive literature review reveals that a very small percentage of consumer research has used a comprehensive, integrative model (e.g., Kollat, Engel and Blackwell, 1970; Punj and Stewart, 1983; Puri, 1996).

Therefore, the purpose of this project will be to develop and test a model of the impulsive tendencies of male shoppers in regard to setting and information seeking.

**Proposed Research Questions**

This prospectus will not only supplement other critical evaluations, but will deal with complementary and equally important issues involved in a research tradition or strategy of inquiry. With significant holes in the present research which lacks all knowledge of men as impulsive buyers this research will present . Within the scope of this study a model will be developed to identify and analyze the correlation between the impulsive tendencies of the male gender in a designated consumer setting and in correlation with the degree of information seeking. This research will answer three basic questions: 1) What is the correlation between impulsive tendencies of the male gender in a designated consumer setting? 2) What impact does information seeking have on men's purchasing decisions? 3) How do men formulate or justify impulse purchases and is there significant consumer regret after a given impulse buy has been enacted?

**Proposed Methodology**

The goal of this study is to develop a model for measuring the impulsive tendencies of the male gender in a designated consumer setting and in correlation with the degree of information seeking. In general, consumers are characterized as buying impulsively from a number of product categories.

During the course of this study, male shoppers at specialty sporting-good stores in the cities of Hattiesburg, MS and Jackson, MS will be given a survey regarding a present or potential

purchase. The consumers will be asked to answer a series of questions, focusing on aspects of the present or potential purchase made by the individual and the motive behind the purchase. The individual will be asked to consider if they have/had done any planning, information seeking, prior to purchasing the product at hand. Consumers will also be asked a series of questions regarding impulse purchases, and if they would consider the purchase at hand to be on impulse, asking them to differentiate between bounded, rational (reflective) and purely hedonic (impulsive) choices. In addition, a convenience sample will be taken in which males ages 18 to 25 (the age group being studied) will be asked to complete the survey in order to establish validity and clarity, noting whether or not there is a conscious flow of communication on the basis of the general study at hand.

Each of the consumer's answers will be examined and classified in one of four categories as: 1) an active information seekers, having made a planned purchase of a product to fulfill an existing need 2) an active information seeker having discarded all rational alternatives purchasing a product based purely on the fulfillment of short-term emotional factors 3) an inactive information seeker having made a rational decision to purchase with no prior knowledge of the implications of the purchase of the product 4) an inactive information seeker having made a purely impulsive purchase due to some external stimulus of arousal. Finally, consumer regret analysis will be used to access each individual's purchase and create a reflective/impulsive model for the consumer behavior of the male gender within a designated consumer setting.

In order to complete this study on time, a protocol must be met establishing the survey as a valid tool of analysis of the questions to be answered by the study. The goal is to have the survey ready for submission for approval by March 2009 in hope that data collection can begin by May 2009. The actual field research will be conducted from the May to July. The

categorization and analysis of the data will take place in August and September 2009, with the

development and completion of the reflective/impulsive consumer behavior model anticipated in

October 2009.

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*Alzheimer's Disease, Design and Wittgenstein:*
**Using Environmental Interventions to Create Meaning and Increase Cognitive Function**

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In the treatment of Alzheimer's disease, a number of studies are suggesting new, innovative treatments that make use of the physical environment. Troxel (2005) discusses the advantages of utilizing outdoor spaces. Perritt et al. (2005) focus their research on the advantages that can be gained from using contrasting carpet textures and patterns to influence walking times and stability. Calkins (2005) discusses sensory techniques that can be used to help individuals with advanced Alzheimer's disease, a group that is often overlooked or considered incapable of benefiting from any environmental interventions.

Despite these promising interventions, Elizabeth Brawley cautions in "Creating Caring Spaces" that health care design must be motivated by rigorous research and not guided solely by isolated anecdotal accounts (2005, p. 263). Yet, a noted problem is that it can be very challenging for researchers to design experiments that will test or "isolate the impact of any single feature for research purposes" given the complex networks that must be established to care for this population. However, these investigations must continue, despite the challenges they present for researchers, since there is a growing need.

The Alzheimer's Association states that "currently an estimated 5.3 million Americans of all ages have Alzheimer's disease" and that "every 70 seconds someone in America develops Alzheimer's disease" (2009, p. 30). Sierpina et al. state that currently in the United States roughly four million individuals have been diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease and "this number is expected to double within two decades and reach 16 million by 2050" (2005, p.636). Given these statistics, one might argue that every viable treatment option should be explored to its fullest in order to meet the needs of this growing population. Since much attention is already devoted to pharmacological

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interventions, this paper will explore some of the potential non-pharmacological treatments. In particular, what are some of these treatments and how should they be implemented to result in maximal effectiveness?

In section 1, I will provide a brief summary of what two recent review articles state about the efficacy of non-pharmacological treatments for Alzheimer's disease. While one review (Sierpina et al., 2005) notes the effectiveness of individual treatments, the other (Caltagirone et al., 2005) states that these positive effects are enhanced further if multiple non-pharmacological treatments are used together. With these promising results in mind, in section 2, I will discuss what Saperstein et al. (2004) describe as the potential problems that can arise if providers do not utilize a design space in the way that it was intended. In short, they claim that potential therapeutic benefits are lost if environmental designers ignore programmatic concerns and if providers ignore design concerns. In effect they argue that there is often times a disconnect between current theory and practice. To remedy this problem, the authors encourage the two groups to collaborate so that the patients will reap the benefits of well-designed spaces that facilitate programmatic needs. Next, I discuss John Zeisel's (2005) related critique of environmentally designed spaces for Alzheimer's care. Zeisel argues that much progress has been made on the design front, but that staff and providers do not understand the ways in which they must help residents utilize the space so that the therapeutic benefits are realized. While I agree with Zeisel's general assessment of the situation, I do find his suggestions to staff and providers to be rather vague. Given this lack of specificity, I question whether his recommendations can truly bring about the outcomes he envisions, since they can be interpreted in multiple ways. In other words, the recommendations are

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not stated in a way that can guide clinical interventions and programmatic design. Given this problem I identify with Zeisel's argument, I will use the Later Wittgenstein's analysis of meaning, in section three, as a way to clarify, extend and strengthen Zeisel's suggestions. Finally, in section 4, I will argue that utilizing Wittgenstein's analysis of meaning provides a theoretical basis that will help providers see the desired connections between theory and practice. Let's now consider the extent to which non-pharmacological treatments are helpful in fighting Alzheimer's disease.

### Section 1: Combinations of Non-pharmacological Treatments

Caltagirone et al's (2005) review article on "Guidelines for Treatment of Alzheimer's Disease" discusses the effectiveness of particular non-pharmacological interventions as well as studies involving combined non-pharmacological intervention. Based on their review of the research that was available before February 28, 2005, Caltagirone et al. note that:

> The use of non-pharmacological treatments in patients with dementia has become widespread, although the efficacy of such treatments is more difficult to assess than that of pharmacological interventions because of inherent difficulties in definitions, standardization, application, and comparison of active treatments with placebo. (2005, pp. 10-11).

Caltagirone et al. state that non-pharmacological interventions are used to improve "cognitive status and behaviour" but that the "most important clinical objective is the improvement of functional status" (2005, p.11). After reviewing the literature, they made recommendations based on the effectiveness of the various treatments. If a treatment resulted in a notable improvement in cognitive status and helped control BPSD (behavioural and psychological symptoms of dementia), then Caltagirone et al.

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recommended that the treatment should be adopted as a standard practice. There had to

be significant evidence of efficacy for Caltagirone et al. to make this assessment.

In some cases, the individual treatments, *when used alone*, did not result in

sufficient evidence of efficacy (e.g., music therapy, reminiscence therapy, memory

training). Consequently, these treatments were noted as practical options, but could not

be recommended as standard practices given the evidence. Interestingly, when music

therapy, reminiscence therapy, and memory training *were combined* with exercise

programs and reality orientation therapy, patients received the greatest benefits.

Caltagirone et al. characterize these combined non-pharmacological interventions as

resulting in "positive effects on cognitive status and mood" and it is for this reason that

they should be adopted as standard guidelines for treating Alzheimer's disease (2005,

p.12).

Sierpina et al. (2005) also note that non-pharmacological approaches should be

used as part of a holistic treatment plan to care for Alzheimer's patients. They

specifically mention designing regulated multimodal environments, engaging patients in

creative expression, and providing recreational opportunities (Sierpina et al., 2005,

p.640). Thus, both review articles note that non-pharmacological treatments can have a

positive impact on patients. Further non-pharmacological interventions that show

promise, but require further investigation are Reiki (Crawford et al., 2006) and exercise

programs (Rolland et al., 2007; Williams& Tappen, 2008).

**Section 2: Philosophical Challenges to Implementing these Design Changes**

In "Missed Opportunities: The Disconnect Between Physical Design and

Programming and Operations," Saperstein et al. maintain that it is not enough to build

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residential facilities with therapeutic design features, if these spaces are not properly

utilized (2004, p.325). They report that a growing number of facilities are having

expensive renovations in order to create environments that will benefit individuals with

Alzheimer's disease. Yet, they argue that the purported benefits are significantly reduced

or entirely negated if the spaces are not used in the way that they were intended. Given

this, Saperstein et al. explain common problem areas that demonstrate a disconnect

"between physical design and facility programming and operational support" (p. 325).

Most importantly, they claim that this incorrect usage prevents the design features from

delivering the positive therapeutic impact that these features were designed to provide.

Let's consider two examples of the design features they identify as being underused or

misused: the kitchen and wayfinding. After examining the intended use behind the design

feature, we will consider why the expected therapeutic impact is compromised.

**Design Feature #1: Hearth Inspired Kitchens**

After reviewing the literature, Saperstein et al. note that the demand for residential

kitchens is increasing because this design feature is associated with a number of benefits,

which are viewed as especially helpful for the treatment of patients with Alzheimer's

disease. For instance, a kitchen can help provide a home-like atmosphere that creates a

space where increased social interaction and communication can occur (p.325).

Moreover, kitchens provide opportunities for residents to participate "in familiar and

meaningful activities, maintaining their sense of competence and productiveness"

(p.325). They maintain that these benefits can be achieved in multiple ways, such as

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cooking easy recipes in small groups or simply using the area to come together and have morning coffee.

Yet, when Saperstein et al. visited a number of facilities touting these "home-like" kitchens, they found that none of the kitchens were integrated into the programming. In some cases, the kitchens were used only for staff members, while residents knew that they were not allowed in those areas. At other facilities, the kitchens were used only during the holidays for cooking, because the staff members stated that overseeing cooking activities was too time consuming. In still other cases, staff members performed cooking demonstrations in front of residents, but these displays did not enable the residents to participate in the preparation of the food (i.e., taking part in using the kitchen). In still other facilities, the kitchens were not used at all and the administrators were considering converting the space into more activity space. In all of these instances, the kitchens were not being used in the way that they were designed to be used. Consequently, the residents were not experiencing the therapeutic benefits of having a kitchen on the premises, since they were not given the opportunity to use it.

When asked why these kitchens were not being used in the way that they were designed to be used, a number of obstacles were outlined by administrators and staff. First, since many of the kitchens were connected to the living space, staff members noted that it was problematic when kitchen-related activities occurred when other residents were using the living room. Since the living room could accommodate more people, the living room related activities were considered to be a higher priority. Consequently, the kitchen related activities would occur infrequently, if at all (2004, p. 326).

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Saperstein et al. suggest that programs focus their efforts on creating activities in which the kitchen could be used on a more consistent basis. For instance, instead of putting together cooking activities that require extensive preparation, more simplistic uses could be adopted, such as having the residents get together in the mornings for coffee (p. 326). Saperstein et al. further explain that residents would be encouraged to make simple decisions, such as whether to add milk or sugar to their coffee. In these cases, they would be able to select a mug from a cabinet, get the milk out of the refrigerator, and (in some cases) perform simple clean-up duties when they are finished. Those residents who are unable to perform these tasks on their own would be assisted by a staff member. Thus, the amount of support provided would be determined by the specific needs of the individual, but in all cases typical kitchen activities would be experienced.

Saperstein et al. conclude by stating the following about the facilities that they visited that had kitchens as a primary design feature:

> These kitchens provide important lessons. The most significant (with implications for all imagery) is that these kitchens were theoretically designed to evoke connection to the past, to increase comfort and familiarity in the facility's environment, and to maintain residents' skills. Yet our observations did not support these conclusions. We hypothesize that visual access alone to kitchens has no or at best, limited meaning for residents. It may be that unless objects and places are actively engaged in cognitively impaired person's lives, and frequently reinforced, those objects lose their meaning. Visual cues without routine engagement may not be strong enough to persevere in giving meaning. In design we often speak of rooms as cuing residents to their function, Yet if the visual cues are there and the function is absent, it is likely that cues will disintegrate. We would suggest it is the involvement with kitchen activities that is evocative and connecting (p.326).

Saperstein et al. claim that providers often think that if they want to have their facility appear "home like" then they need to have a kitchen. Moreover, the literature states

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that kitchens are needed so providers assume that kitchens are a necessity. The problem is that unless the kitchen is built and is incorporated into the programming (e.g., residents use it often and in meaningful ways), then building a kitchen appears to be a waste of space. However, this does not mean that kitchens should no longer be built. Instead, Saperstein et al. maintain that designers and providers should work together to develop kitchens that will support the programmatic needs of the specific facility, since "creating a space that is actively used (i.e., programmed) to evoke the imagery and memories of good times spent around the kitchen table is invaluable" (Saperstein et al., 2004, p.330).

**Design Feature # 2: Wayfinding**

While administrators and staff members recognized the importance of wayfinding strategies, Saperstein et al. characterize the specific strategies they implemented as "disappointing" (2004, p.327). Given the wide-acceptance of Namazi's 1990 research concerning the importance of displaying personal cues in front of bedroom doors, Saperstein et al. report that most of the facilities had a space designated outside the door to hold personal photographs or meaningful artifacts (p.327). Yet, they critiqued these facilities for not taking additional measures to improve orientation "at other levels of the environment" especially since "a number of the facilities had near-identical clusters that residents (and visitors) needed to navigate to and through on a daily basis" (2004, p.328). Most of these facilities attempted to differentiate these varying clusters by using color as the central wayfinding technique. For instance, a facility might be comprised of three adjoining clusters. Each cluster has the exact

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same lay out (e.g., kitchen, living room, bedrooms, etc) and the exact same furniture.

The only obvious difference between the clusters is that the first cluster is decorated

in shades of pink, the second cluster is decorated in shades of yellow, and the final

cluster is decorated in shades of green. The problem with using pastel colors, or

colors that are close in hue, is that they are too difficult for individuals with poor

eyesight to differentiate (Saperstein et al., 2004, p.328). Given this, Saperstein et al.

note that darker, contrasting colors would have helped to solve this problem.

In one facility, they note that staff members confused residents further when they

were instructed by administrators to refer to the various clusters alphabetically,

instead of using the colors as a cue. Despite this, a number of the residents did refer to

the areas according to their colors (e.g., I live in the blue wing). Thus, this example

demonstrates that even though staff members were using a counterintuitive means of

referring to the clusters, the residents were able to adapt naturally to using the color

cues as a means of identification.

In many cases, administrators were aware that wayfinding would be easier for

residents if they choose primary and contrasting color schemes for their facilities, but

these same individuals were afraid that the "middle-aged children of residents...might

not find the facility attractive" (p.328). In one case, a facility that was decorated using

primary colors was renovated with neutral designs once it was bought by new

management. Therefore, a deliberate tradeoff occurred where the cognitive function

of residents often was sacrificed in the name of maintaining aesthetics for family

members.

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Saperstein et al. conclude that "despite the lack of creative cueing devices, the ones that existed were neither called to the attention of residents nor reinforced" (p.328). Moreover, only one facility used auditory, tactile, or olfactory cues in addition to visual cues. Therefore, it seems that in the facilities studied, wayfinding techniques were not employed to the extent that they could have been.

After discussing why staff members and administrators find these newly designed spaces to be at odds with programming, Saperstein et al. recommend that designers collaborate with providers to create spaces that will have both beneficial design features and be used to support programming (p.325). They state that:

It requires enormous amounts of dedication, training, and reinforcement to change attitudes and old operational patterns and to adopt and implement new philosophies of care that are more responsive to caring for persons with dementia" (p.329).

Yet, Saperstein et al. assert that the benefits to the residents will more than make up for the considerable amount of effort that must be put forth to educate staff and create new programming options.

In "Environment, Neuroscience, and Alzheimer's Disease," John Zeisel makes a related point concerning the vital role that providers play in helping residents obtain the intended therapeutic benefits from a well-designed space. After visiting assisted living facilities for Alzheimer's patients in the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States, Zeisel noted that many of the facilities incorporated the design guidelines that have been prescribed over the past twenty years (e.g., home-like spaces, including gardens, kitchens, living rooms, etc.). Yet he claims that these same

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facilities were far from ideal since "something intangible and significant was clearly missing" (p.274).

After further reflection on these visits, Zeisel argues that the providers at these various facilities did not demonstrate "a holistic understanding of how to integrate the separate elements of design guidelines to achieve the underlying purpose of the guidelines" (p.274). Essentially, he is claiming that even when all of the spatial design elements of a home-like setting are in place, a problem results if the providers/staff are not utilizing these various rooms in a manner that would invoke "a cohesive and extended family home setting that helps residents understand where they live" (p.274).

Zeisel stresses that the providers at these various facilities were "loving, kind and empathetic" when caring for their residents (p.275). However, he claims that the providers were unaware of the important role that they needed to perform in order to help the residents reap the therapeutic benefits from the design of the facility. Yet, I contend that Zeisel does not adequately detail what the providers are failing to do, other than to say that they need to hold daily activities (he invokes the French term, *animation*, used to denote "running activities") in order to make the spaces come to life. While he does states that the providers need to engage the residents in more activities and need to have a better understanding of why the facility was designed to invoke a "home-like" setting. He further acknowledges that providers lack a holistic understanding of how the design of the facility is supposed to be used to help the residents, Yet, he does not adequately specify 1) what theoretical analysis is missing (i.e., what do providers not understand about the design), and 2) what kinds

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of activities need to be performed. He simply implies that a disconnect is occurring between design theory and clinical practice. Specifically, the assumption is that staff/providers don't understand clearly why the facility was designed in the way that it was designed and this lack of understanding has resulted in the omission or misuse of certain practices, or programs that are preventing the residents from reaping the therapeutic benefits that the facility was designed to promote.

Moreover, Zeisel implies that if providers simply schedule daily activities, then the "lifeless" spaces will come alive. Yet, he does not specify what types of activities should be scheduled; Zeisel only states that staff should perform activities with "caring involvement and genuine feeling." Thus, the problem is that even if providers grant the force of Zeisel's critique (i.e., admit that something seems to be missing and a holistic understanding of the facility is not understood by staff), these same providers are not given specific instructions on how to change things so that patients can get the most out of the facility's design. Instead, they are encouraged to use "coordinated treatments," "use the environment as a tool" and "develop an awareness of the links between environment, behavior/communication/activities and medications." While all of these general recommendations make perfect sense, they are not explained in enough detail; put another way, the "how" and "why" are missing. For instance, how does one use the environment as a tool and why is this so important? Moreover, why will using the environment as a tool help residents experience a better quality of life? In addition, what theoretical points do providers need to grasp so that their daily practices and programming efforts will be more successful? It is this missing analysis that I will provide in the next section. This

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analysis will be consistent with Zeisel's vague recommendations, but will serve as a first step to informing providers of the specific "how" and "why" that is missing from his account. Therefore, I will extend and strengthen Zeisel's account.

**Section 3: Using Wittgenstein to Explain Why "Something Is Missing"**

In this section, I will use Wittgenstein's analysis of language from the Philosophical Investigations to clarify Zeisel's critique of what is missing from these facilities as well as prescribe programming options that will help remedy the problem Zeisel isolates. My goal is to use the later Wittgenstein's analysis of meaning in order to make explicit the hidden assumptions in Zeisel's argument. Specifically, by applying Wittgenstein's analysis of meaning to Zeisel's original suggestions, I will be able to flesh out and extend Zeisel's critique in a manner that will be more helpful to the practitioners, staff, and providers who are working with Alzheimer's patients. This is because the emerging theoretical analysis will clarify why certain programming decisions will be more helpful to residents than others will. In short, I will develop Zeisel's argument so that a theoretical analysis emerges that can be shared with providers so that they have a better understanding of what is being recommended. Finally, I will demonstrate that my resulting theoretical analysis will be more helpful in enabling individuals to use theory to inform their practices than Zeisel's original, vague suggestions.

In the Philosophical Investigations, Philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein argues that the meaning of a word is determined by the way in which a community of speakers uses it in a language (passage 23, p. 10). In particular, Wittgenstein coins the phrase "language-game" in order to convey that "the *speaking* of language is part of an

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activity, or of a form of life" (passage 23, p.10). He then provides multiple examples of some of the many activities that can be performed through language (e.g., singing, reporting, commanding, etc) in order to stress the diversity of activities that language facilitates. Consequently, on this view, the meaning of a word is not fixed indefinitely, but can change as communities of speakers decide to use it differing ways. To illustrate this point, Wittgenstein compares language to "an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, and of houses with additions from various periods; and this surrounded by a multitude of boroughs with straight regular streets and uniform houses" (passage 18, p. 7).

This imagery of an ancient city is designed to help the reader see the ever-changing nature of language. Some linguistic expressions come into vogue and are represented by the new neighborhoods in the city; other linguistic expressions are at the core of our linguistic patterns and are represented by the more-established neighborhoods in the city. However, there are no "givens" so what might seem like an expression that will endure for centuries to come could be replaced by a different expression if the community of speakers decides to use their words in a different way. Similarly, the connotations of words can also change over time. For instance, describing oneself as a "house wife" in the 1950's was considered not only socially acceptable, but very positive. Yet, to describe oneself as a "house wife" in 2000 would most likely be met by some with a number of negative connotations, while describing oneself as a "stay at home mom" might be viewed as more positive. However, the term "house wife" took on quite different connotations after the reality-based show "The Real Housewives of Orange County" aired on Bravo. Thus, the

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changes made in certain expressions also reflect the current values of a community of speakers. In effect, the meanings shift as the values shift within a society, or a group within a particular society. In some cases, these shifts occur quickly and in other cases, these shifts are almost impossible to detect. Yet, in each case meanings are learned and acquired through use, where use is defined as an activity that is performed in a certain context (i.e., form of life). In short, words have certain meanings and these meanings are derived from taking part in activities.

**Section 4: Applying Wittgenstein's Account of Meaning**

Yet, how can the above theoretical analysis be used to shed light on what Zeisel means when he states that providers should offer "coordinated treatments," "use the environment as a tool" and "develop an awareness of the links between environment, behavior/communication/activities and medications" for the Alzheimer's patients who are under their care?

A facility can be designed perfectly to simulate a home-like environment, but it will not feel like home unless the spaces serve the same function that they would serve in an actual home. Why? I argue that what is implied here is that it is through using the rooms in a certain way that the rooms begin to acquire meanings for the residents. Moreover, the residents are being encouraged to draw from their previous experiences with these types of spaces (i.e., pull from their life-long associations of what it means to cook in a kitchen, work in a garden, etc.). For instance, if we want patients to associate the kitchen with the smell of coffee, the making of fresh food, and to view the space as a central place for having conversations with friends, then the actual space in the facility needs to be used in this manner. If the activities that are

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normally associated with a kitchen are not performed in it, then the space will not acquire the meaning of a kitchen for the residents. In short, if the designed space is used as a kitchen, then it will be a kitchen and the residents will attach kitchen-related meanings to the space. Consequently, all of the positive connotations attached with being in a kitchen will also apply (e.g., memories from childhood, the smell of baked bread, etc) if the residents are able to interact in the space to the extent that they are able (i.e., take part in simple cooking classes, picking out a danish to have with their morning coffee, etc). By taking part in activities that patients have associated with a kitchen for their entire lives, the space will take on additional importance as their previous kitchen-based meanings are reinforced through daily use. Thus, I maintain that Zeisel's request to have more activities makes more sense if we keep Wittgenstein's analysis of meaning formation in mind (i.e., meaning is strengthened through use). In this case, the meanings a person has associated with certain spaces in the home can be strengthened, if activities are planned that will enable residents to use the spaces in ways that help to reinforce these previous connections.

Given this need to reinforce common usage-based meanings, I would argue that for every room in a facility, the providers should consider the shared meanings that can be tapped into by formulating programs that explicitly enhance memory making. One way that this can be achieved is to 1) reflect upon the various activities that are normally associated with a particular space, 2) isolate the typical multimodal representations (e.g., olfactory, tactile, visual, etc.) that can occur within the space, and 3)consider the sociocultural rules that normally govern this space. By paying attention to these cues, providers will become more aware of what distinguishes one

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type of space from another for residents(i.e., specifics that clarify function and use). Once these connections are made explicit, then providers can attempt to develop activities and programs that will further strengthen these connections. As providers become more aware of the important ways in which these theoretical points can inform practice, they will be able to make significant changes in their programmatic efforts so that their patients will be able to reap the original therapeutic benefits suggested by the design.

Since spaces commonly found in homes can have certain associations, especially within a particular cultural setting, let's consider how providers might design an activity to take advantage of the meanings that are associated with a garden.

The Garden

On a sunny spring day, providers can take residents into the facility's garden area to participate in activities that commonly occur in a garden (e.g., planting, bird watching, etc.). Those residents with more advanced stages of AD can simply sit in the sun. Other residents can take part in a common Springtime activity: the task of planting flowers and vegetables. Residents also can discuss the various plants and vegetables that they have grown in the past.

The point of this activity is to foster the development of meanings associated with a garden area. These meanings come alive when the residents: 1) engage in activities that are associated with or help define this kind of space (e.g., fill a pot with potting soil, covering the flower's roots, and watering it), 2) use multimodal representations to enhance meaning making (e.g., the smell of the flowers, the feel of the potting soil, the sound of the birds, etc), and 3) become aware of some of the sociocultural rules

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that can govern such spaces (e.g., don't pull up the flowers that you just planted).

Once the planting activity is finished, the residents can then take part in watering the plants every few days while watching the flowers and vegetables grow. In this way, the garden is being used by the residents in the way that it was intended by the designers and further meaning making is occurring because of this habitual use. Moreover, the staff/providers can formulate other activities that can help strengthen these associations while still keeping the residents safe and engaged. For instance, the garden-related activities might vary depending upon the season (e.g., residents might try to find colorful leaves on a fall day).

In scenarios such as this, the providers will be aware of the need to develop appropriate activities that will 1) enable the residents to participate directly in the space in a manner that highlights its sociocultural function, and 2) strengthen common meanings that are associated with using spaces of a certain kind by reinforcing multimodal representations and culturally determined rules. Thus, this extended analysis provides further insight into how to develop what would count as a memory cueing environment as well as providing direction to the staff concerning what types of coordinated treatments might be beneficial.

In fact, based on this analysis, we can imagine a facility that would progress through three distinct stages of development, which are defined as follows:
In stage one, providers will begin to recognize the link between meaning and use within a space. They will begin to educate themselves and their staff members on the theoretical points that motivate design considerations. In stage two, providers will use this knowledge base to make programmatic changes, so that the function or use of a

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space reinforces the time-honored meanings that residents would attach to it. This will entail getting residents involved in activities to the extent that they can be involved. Moreover, these activities are carefully selected to reinforce the common meanings, multimodal representations and cultural rules that individuals already associate with certain spaces. In stage three, providers will transcend examples of simplistic use so that the activities performed in the room become grounded in well-established forms of life. In this third stage, we would see a true synthesis of design theory and clinical practice. Moreover, these considerations would drive the programming of the entire facility, and examples of the connections would be found in almost every room.

In conclusion, I have provided the "how" and "why" that was missing from Zeisel's suggestions by applying the Later Wittgenstein's notion of meaning as use. By supplying this missing analysis, I have offered more insight into how providers should begin to rethink their programming efforts. Specifically, this analysis helps to shed light on how theory can inform practice. These preliminary comments are explained further through the three stage progression illustrated above. While these comments are admittedly preliminary, they offer a more detailed and prescriptive account of what practitioners need to do to ground their programmatic efforts in "meaning making" theory.

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