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Gentrification and Socioeconomic Impacts of Neighborhood Integration and Diversification in Atlanta, Georgia

Ebenezer O. Aka, Jr.
Morehouse College

Introduction

Gentrification can be defined as the upward change in land use to middle and upper income residential (Keating, 2003). In the simplest form it can be explained as the upgrading of devalued or deteriorated urban property by the middle class or affluent people. It can also be thought of as "reversed neighborhood" (Freeman, 2008). Gentrification is a common issue in urbanized nations around the world. The presences of gentrification begin to become common in the United States around the mid 1970s. There are many factors that feed into the existence of gentrification. And there are numerous social and economic consequences of gentrification. Often times referred to as a double-edged sword, gentrification sets off a chain of both positive and negative effects. It is seemingly impossible to completely eradicate the negative effects of gentrification. However, it is possible to minimize the negative effects that gentrification presents. The question is, can gentrification lead to a long-term stable or greater volatility due to conflicts arising from the socioeconomic differences between whites, blacks, and other minorities in Atlanta.

Purpose of Study

This paper focuses on the socioeconomic effects of gentrification in five Atlanta neighborhoods. The five neighborhoods are in an area of Atlanta known as Intown-South. The neighborhoods include Summerhill, Grant Park, East Atlanta, Edgewood, and East Lake (see Map 1, Map 2, Map 3, Map 4, Map 5, and Map 6). These neighborhoods span eastward from Atlanta's Interstate 75/85 Connector. Each neighborhood is in close proximity to downtown Atlanta and is easily accessible to interstates 75/85 and or 20. These neighborhoods exist in different City Council Districts and different Neighborhood Planning Units. Each of these neighborhoods shares similar socioeconomic characteristics. These neighborhoods were chosen based on recent inter-metropolitan migration trends in Atlanta. Each of these areas has been or is becoming of immense popularity with persons moving into Atlanta's in-town neighborhoods.

Methodology of the Study

Using the aforementioned neighborhoods as a point of reference, this paper seeks to provide recommendations on ways to minimize the negative effects of gentrification in Atlanta. In order to provide recommendations, we will analyze the political, economic, and social factors that feed into gentrification- using secondary research components as a catalyst. To determine the occurrence of gentrification and its effects, there will be a longitudinal analysis on variables of race, age, educational attainment, income, housing values and rent cost.

Theoretical Framework for the Study of Gentrification

As stated in the introduction, gentrification may simply be defined as the upgrading of devalued urban property. But as one elects to go deeper into understanding gentrification, it broadens to encompass much more. Gentrification is not easily explained in a few sentences. We can begin to understand gentrification more thoroughly by dispelling one major inaccuracy associated with it. That inaccuracy being that gentrification is brought on only by wealthy individuals moving from suburbs or exurbs into blighted

areas of the central city. Bruce London and John Palen, two sociology professors, believe that this misconception is brought on by the root word of gentrification – gentry means upper or ruling class. While it is true that gentrification is the result of higher income groups moving into central city neighborhoods, these persons are often time only marginally middle class and often times relocate from other areas of the city proper (Keating, 2003). They also use their own labor to increase the value of the homes they purchase. "Newcomers are attracted to revitalizing areas because house prices are moderate compared" (London and Palen, 1984, p.7).

Despite the inaccuracy associated with only wealthy persons moving into the central city from the suburbs and exurbs, it is true that an influx of higher-income groups into an area increase property values and thus induces gentrification. This is true because higher-income helps fix up dilapidated houses, and because businesses follow consumers who have purchasing power. And as businesses invest in depressed areas, the residential and commercial property values increase. This increase in area property values is the double-edged sword that people refer to when they are speaking of gentrification. "Some observers see in this process the coming end of the urban crisis; others stress the increasing impoverishment of the displaced" (London and Palen, 1984, p. 14).

From higher property values, there are great economic benefits for the local neighborhood as well as the municipality, county and state. However, these economic benefits flow from taxation- this means that citizens pay an increased price in the cost of living for improving an area. As property values rise, so do property taxes. And as conspicuous consumption increases in new found popular enclaves, so do sales tax revenues. In Atlanta, 50% of property taxes go to the Atlanta Board of Education; the remaining portion is divided between the City of Atlanta, Fulton County, and the State of Georgia. The property taxes and sales taxes that are divided up amongst the city, county and state, serve as general revenue. They are used to provide services such as police protection, sanitation, and highway maintenance. So as property taxes and sales tax revenues increase, the education provided in local public schools improves, the provision of public services becomes greater, and the overall quality of life is improved.

Despite all of the positive effects that result from gentrification, there are negative effects that result as well. Displacement is probably the most notorious of all. "Displacement most frequently, refers to the forced involuntary dislocation of needy households (i.e., the poor, black, ethnic minorities, and the aged)" (London and Palen, 1984, p.12). As property taxes begin to rise, many long-term homeowners are unable to keep up with increasing property tax rates. In the process, commercial and residential landlords often increase rent to continue earning a profit on their investment property. Landlords also increase rent prices because they know renovations to the surrounding area will increase the attractiveness of their property. Those seeking conspicuous consumption will be willing to pay a higher price for the services and amenities that the property provides. Displaced residence often times find it difficult to find sufficient housing at a price relative to what they were paying before being displaced. In many gentrified areas it may be quite normal to see high-priced condominiums and fancy boutiques replace older dwellings, and "mom and pop" corner stores. Eventually, a neighborhoods entire demographic profile changes. The indigenous sociological community is destroyed and replaced by another. What is perhaps the one of the most disheartening effects of gentrification is that people who once owned gracious homes in the gentrified area- which may have needed a little maintenance- can often time not even conceive of buying back into the area once it had been totally restructured.

Georgia Institute of Technology Professor, Larry Keating, suggest that Gentrification in Atlanta has six key characteristics. In Keating's paper, "Resurgent Gentrification: Politics and Policy in Atlanta," Keating refers to Atlanta's current trends in gentrification as being more extensive, less dependent on unique architecture, state sponsored, having reversed racial tension, greater volatility, and affecting racial composition of the electorate. Gentrification is referred to as being more extensive because more housing units are being affected as more neighborhoods experience gentrification. It is because past occurrences of gentrification in Atlanta were based on historical preservation efforts that Keating adds that current gentrification is less dependant on unique architecture. People are moving into in-town neighborhoods because of its close proximity to the central business district and other amenities. Racial transition is a characteristic of gentrification in Atlanta because many persons moving into predominately black in-town

neighborhoods are white. The social and economic differences between blacks and whites create conflict. The conflict that arises is what accounts for the greater volatility. It is because public subsidies are being drastically reduced, that Keating sites gentrification as being state-sponsored. Also, the black population of Atlanta has declined from 67 percent in 1990, to 61.1 percent in 2000, while the white population has increased form 31 percent to 34 percent. These small shifts can shift political power by changing the racial composition of the electorate (Toon, 2003).

Political, Economic, and Social Factors of Gentrification

Political Factors

The political factors that feed into gentrification stem from the policies and actions of governing authorities. One major political factor includes a decrease in the amount of federal funds given to municipalities throughout the United States. During the 1980s, the Regan administration drastically reduced the amount of money given to cities to sponsor redistributive activities such as affordable housing-the availability of affordable housing greatly affects gentrification and displacement. As cities face increasing difficulty in the equitable distribution of scarce resources, policy makers must often times choose between opportunities for economic development or redistributing resources to provide affordable housing. "City policy makers establish economic development and affordable housing policies in their communities. They also help determine the level of local resources to devote to each policy" (Baslo, 2000, p.318). Both economic and social policy areas bare great affects on the well being of municipalities. Economic development initiatives work to improve the city's fiscal problems and employment woes. Policies aimed at housing concerns ensure that there is a sufficient supply of adequate and affordable housing. In the face of inter-jurisdictional competition, policy makers will often times direct their attention to economic development issues – diverting attention away from redistributive affordable housing initiatives. Public choice argues that policy makers will likely be more sensitive to the desire of constituents that demand greater public services.

> Predictions about the policy choice of local officials are based on an extension of public choice theory. The mobility of residence and their desire for favorable service-to-tax ratio motivates local decision makers to adopt developmental rather that redistributive policies. The potential for residence to move out of a jurisdiction results in local policies that provide the best benefit to cost to the above average income resident…This rational, economic decision criterion across cities leads to intercity competition as local decision makers seek to attract and retain residence (Baslo, 2000, p.17).

Some government sponsored programs and initiatives may be inadvertently linked to gentrification. As development initiatives, the City of Atlanta has sponsored tax abatement programs. The development initiatives have been instrumental in helping to attract new businesses and residence to the city and increasing the city's tax base. But the increased attractiveness of the city has also added to the rise in the cost of housing-having an adverse affect on the affordable housing market.

The Urban Enterprise Zone (UEZ) Program is one of Atlanta's most noted tax abatement programs. It was designed to relieve distressed areas of the city by offering tax incentives for private development and investment. "During the first five years of UEZ designation, property owners are eligible for 100 percent tax abatements. During the sixth and seventh years of designation, the tax abatement is reduced by 80 percent, followed by 60 percent during the eight year, and 40 percent during the ninth year, and 20 percent during the tenth year. Housing and Residential/ Commercial UEZs have played a significant role in helping to increase property values. The following chart shows the impact that Housing and Residential/Commercial UEZs have had on housing prices in three Atlanta neighborhoods. The figures are based on census tract data collected before UEZ designation, and after the expiration of UEZ designation (see Figure 1). In these three areas, UEZ designation has been beneficial. There have been 423 new or rehabilitated units, and the median home values and rent prices have increased significantly. The Affordable Provisions Compliance requires that twenty percent of the dwellings be reserved as affordable housing units. Unfortunately, the city's method for determining who is eligible for affordable housing is ineffective. "Housing is affordable in the City of Atlanta if it is accessible to individuals and

families who qualify as Extremely Low Income Families or Very Low Income Families according to HUD definitions of Area Median Income" (City of Atlanta Task Force, 2001). Because Atlanta bases its definition of affordable housing on the Area Median Income, extremely low income, and very low income households that live within the city limits are at a disadvantage. "…the median household income in the city of Atlanta for 2000 was approximately $35,000.00. The median household income for the metro Atlanta area was $63,000.00" (City of Atlanta, *Comprehensive Development Plan, 2000*).

In addition to present day political factors linked to gentrification, historical political actions have has a bearing on the phenomenon as well. Housing subsidized after World War II helped to systematically move white citizens, as well as investment capital, out of the inner cities, and into the suburbs. "The FHA was a major source of home financing from its inception in 1930s through the 1950s, when it financed 60 percent of all home purchases, virtually all of which were in suburban communities" (Squires, 1996). Years later, anti discrimination laws - such as the 1968 Federal Fair Housing Act and the 1974 Fair Credit Opportunity Act – made it possible for the black middle class to move out of the inner cities, and into the suburbs with their white counterparts. The mass exodus of the white middle-class, followed by the mass exodus of the black middle-class, lead to poverty concentration in central city neighborhoods. Poverty concentration in turn lead to the deterioration of inner-city neighborhoods.

Economic Factors

The economic factors of gentrification appear to be inherently linked to politics. In studying how economic forces have contributed to gentrification, there is a strong emphasis placed on intentional neglect of inner-city neighborhoods by powerful land-based interest groups. "This implication is that powerful interest groups follow a policy of neglect of inner-city neighborhoods until such time as they become aware that policy change could yield tremendous profits. Then policies change accordingly, with little regard for the powerless inner-city residences who will be displaced from their homes" (London and Palen, 1984). Stakeholders in the local real estate market have massive earning potential in distressed areas. Neil Smith's rent gap theory substantiates this ideology. The rent gap is the difference in property values in depressed areas before renovations and after renovations. When the rent gap is large enough, investment money is pumped into dilapidated areas. According to Smith, the government amplifies this effect through various zoning, financing, and fiscal practices" (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001).

Another economic factor, which contributes to gentrification, is the imbalance between job growth and the housing supply. As the number of jobs in a city grows greater, the demand for housing grows greater. As the demand for housing grows greater, the cost of housing grows greater – this is a simple example of supply and demand. A survey, conducted by social scientist Sybil McWilliams, showed that one of the top reasons people move into Atlanta's inner-city neighborhoods, is to be close to their place of employment. Other reasons include closeness to downtown and the low cost of housing (McConnell, 1980).

Social Factor

In studying the social motives that fuel gentrification, one is seeking to find out what are the non-economic and non-political forces, which inspire higher income groups to move into inner-city neighborhoods. The search for cultural diversity is recognized as on of the key factors that inspires and increases the migration of upper-income groups to inner-city neighborhoods. Irvin Allen, a sociology professor at the University of Connecticut, claims that the heterogeneous city sponsors cultural advantages for both single persons and families with children. The higher-income, highly-educated adults that are moving into inner-city neighborhoods are able to emerge themselves in pro-urbanism – gaining acceptance of alternative lifestyles, different ethnic and racial groups, and taking responsibility for social injustices. Children raised in diverse ethnic and cultural environments have a greater understanding and tolerance of cultures that do not reflect their own (London and Palen, 1984). The complex social environment of the central city serves as an impetus for urban migration. Also, persons who gentrify are noted in many instances as being on a quest for individualism. With self expressionism being an important part of American culture, many find the heterogeneous central city to be a welcoming place.

Low-income and minority groups have been vulnerable to the effects of gentrification primarily because they lack the knowledge necessary to recognize the phenomenon in its wake, and they lack the

unity needed to confront it. The breakdown in community ties is a driving force in the political and economic ignorance of inner-city residence. It disables residence from coming together and rectifying issues within their own community. Breakdown of community ties results from the poverty and crime that plagues the inner-city neighborhood. "This type of neighborhood has low voter turn out and weak community organizations. There is little connection between residence that live in fear of crimes such as muggings, rapes, drug-related violence, and burglary" (Grotidiner, 1994).

Gentrification in the City of Atlanta

To effectively gauge the occurrence and impact of gentrification in Atlanta's Summerhill, Grant Park, East Atlanta, East Lake, and Edgewood neighborhoods, there are six variables that will be analyzed. The variables include, race, age, educational attainment, income, housing values, and rent prices. Many experts believe that these six variables are the essential indicators of gentrification. Variables on each neighborhood are based on U.S. Census Bureau census tract information. There are census tract maps for each neighborhood located at the end of the paper.

The change in the racial composition of a neighborhood is a major indicator of gentrification. Only black and white residents are used in this paper because in each of the five neighborhoods, blacks and whites totals at minimum 90% of the population. From 1990 to 2000 four of the five neighborhoods have seen dramatic shifts in the number of black and white residence. Four of the five neighborhoods have experienced a dramatic decrease in the number of black residence. The total number of black residence decreased from 23,435 in 1990 to 16,019 in 2000. In ten years the black population dropped by 7,416 – a 32% decrease (see Table 1). The only neighborhood to increase its black population was Summerhill.

Population Change in the Five Neighborhoods

While the black population declined in four of the neighborhoods, the white population increased in all five neighborhoods. The total white population increased from 2,331 in 1990 to 3,092 in 2000- a 34% increase. Although the white population is relatively small compared to the black population, the percent changes show that the white population is growing. With a 208% change and an 1160% change taking place in Summerhill and Edgewood respectively, these two neighborhoods had astonishing growth. The following are graphical representations of black and white population changes from 1990 to 2000 (see Figure 2).

The senior citizen population is recognized in this paper as a person 65 years or older. It is important to recognize the change in the senior citizen population because they are one of the primary groups affected by gentrification. Many senior citizens live on a fixed income – receiving monthly social security and retirement checks as their only source of income. Unlike the working population, they are unable to get overtime pay or yearly salary increases. As the cost of living rises in their neighborhoods, many cannot keep up. In each of these five neighborhoods, the senior citizen population has decreased. From 1990 to 2000, the number of senior citizen residence has decreased from 2,944 to 1,845. With a decrease of 16%, Edgewood suffered the smallest loss of senior citizens, while East Lake suffered the largest loss of the senior citizen population with 57%Educational AttainmentHigher levels of educational attainment are indicative of gentrification as well. Each of the five neighborhoods in this paper has had an increase in the number of residents holding degrees in excess of a high school diploma. The following pie charts are a ten-year comparison on educational attainment in the combined five neighborhoods (see Table 2). In 1990 55% of the persons 25 years and over did not have least a high school diploma in these five neighborhoods. In 2000, the percentage of persons without at least a high school diploma dropped by 17%. The percentage of persons holding only a high school diploma remained the same at 29%. There was a small 1% increase in the number of persons holding an Associate Degree. The percentage of Bachelor Degrees present among neighborhood residents more than doubled – jumping form 9% in 1990, to 19% in 2000. Only 3% of residents held graduate and/or professional degrees in 1990, while 9% of residents held graduate and/or professional degrees in 2000 (see Figure 3)

Income

Just as the levels of educational attainment have increased in each of the five neighborhoods, so have the yearly income amounts per individual. In 1990 the combined median income for the five neighborhoods was $84,821. In 2000 the combined median income for the five neighborhoods was $157,849. – a total increase of 86%. In each individual neighborhood, there was no one instance where the median income decreased. The smallest increase in the median income per individual occurred in Grant Park. The median income in this neighborhood was $24,560 in 1990 and $39,167 in 2000. East Lake had the largest increase in median income per individual. The income jumped from a measly $13,494 in 1990, to $36,887 in 2000 (see Table 3).

Housing Cost

The change in the cost of housing has been significant in each of these five neighborhoods. In 1990, the median home value for the combined five neighborhoods was $48,200. In 2000, the median home value for the combined neighborhoods was $116,700. With an increase of $43,500, Edgewood had the smallest change in median home values, while Grant Park had the largest change in median home values with a $126,400 increase. Just as the median home values increased significantly, so did the median gross rent prices. In 1990, the median gross rent price for the combined five neighborhoods was $374. In 2000, the median gross rent price for the combined five neighborhoods was $530 (see Figure 4).

Effects of Gentrification

Analyzing each variable independently makes the presence of gentrification evident. When all of the variables are analyzed together, there is a greater understanding of how the neighborhood is being restructured. Each neighborhood is seeing an influx of white residents, while loosing segments of the black and senior citizen populations. There are a greater number of more educated individuals inhabiting the neighborhoods – bringing with them higher incomes. Just as the income of neighborhood residents has increased, so has the cost of housing and rental prices. This economic and social restructuring which is occurring in each of the neighborhoods brings with it lower crime rates, higher tax revenues, ascetics, poverty de-concentration, social motivation, and overall civic improvement. Unfortunately, the problem in neighborhood restructuring boils down to a matter of displacement and racial discord. We can account for the higher-educated individuals, with higher salaries that are moving into these five neighborhoods, but what is happening to the elderly, and those with little education and small yearly incomes. The only trace of these people is in a negative percent change. Racial discord can be seen as a spillover from the white flight era. Some black residents blame the state of inner-city urban America on the past actions of whites. They see the influx of middle-income whites back into the central city, not as a source of good, but as a “take over.”

Policy Recommendations and Suggestions

Recommendations and suggestions focus on how to minimize the negative effects of gentrification, how to create and preserve a stable community, and how to promote the idea that gentrification is not marketed for the whites only but for everybody.

- There must be political and legal will to make the above statement to happen [may be pressed by, say, community development corporations (CDCs), etc.].
- Make housing available for low income people to avoid the high volatility of those individuals.
- Strengthening and preserving affordable housing more social housing through community development block grant (CDBG) money.
- Bring resources into the neighborhoods e.g., good schools, good services, etc.
- The assurance that most public subsidies reach the low income families, especially in education, skill development, job training, and job opportunities. Added here also are some of the recommendations formulated by the City of Atlanta GentrificationTask Force (2001) which include:

- Provide counseling to low income homeowners on the short term and long term consequences of neighborhood gentrification. It is advised that gentrification counseling should be coupled with loan counseling.
- Adopt a one-for-one replacement housing policy providing that for each unit of affordable housing owned by the Atlanta Housing Authority (AHA) that is subject to demolition, one new unit of affordable hosing will be created and owned by the Atlanta Housing Authority.
- Adopt as City policy a definition of Affordable Housing as being housing units that are accessible to individuals and families at or below 50% of Area Median Income.
- Provide that utilization of housing enterprise zone tax abatement subsidies incorporates an obligation for the development of at least 33% of Affordable Housing Units.
- Increase the basic homestead exemption for owner-occupied elderly and low-income residents.
- Modify the existing zoning ordinance to create presumptions in favor of rezoning applications and zoning variances that contain an Affordable Housing component.
- Increase federal resources to cities.

Each of these recommendations correlates to the political, economic, and/or social factors of gentrification discussed in this paper.

Conclusion

Gentrification is unquestionably a double-edged sword. The benefits of gentrification make it a welcomed occurrence. The detriments of gentrification make it a dreaded phenomenon. Results in Atlanta show: an influx of white residents, decrease in black and senior citizen populations, more educated individuals with their higher incomes, and higher housing and rental prices in the five studied neighborhoods of Summerhill, Grant Park, East Atlanta, Edgewood, and East Lake. Government officials, civic leaders, neighborhood organization, real estate investors, homeowners and renters must collaborate to minimize the negative effects of gentrification. The low-income and minority groups which are most affected by gentrification must not only become cognizant of political and economic decisions that impact their lives, they must speak out against injustices which will have adverse effects on their well being. In short, there is no cure for gentrification, only treatment.

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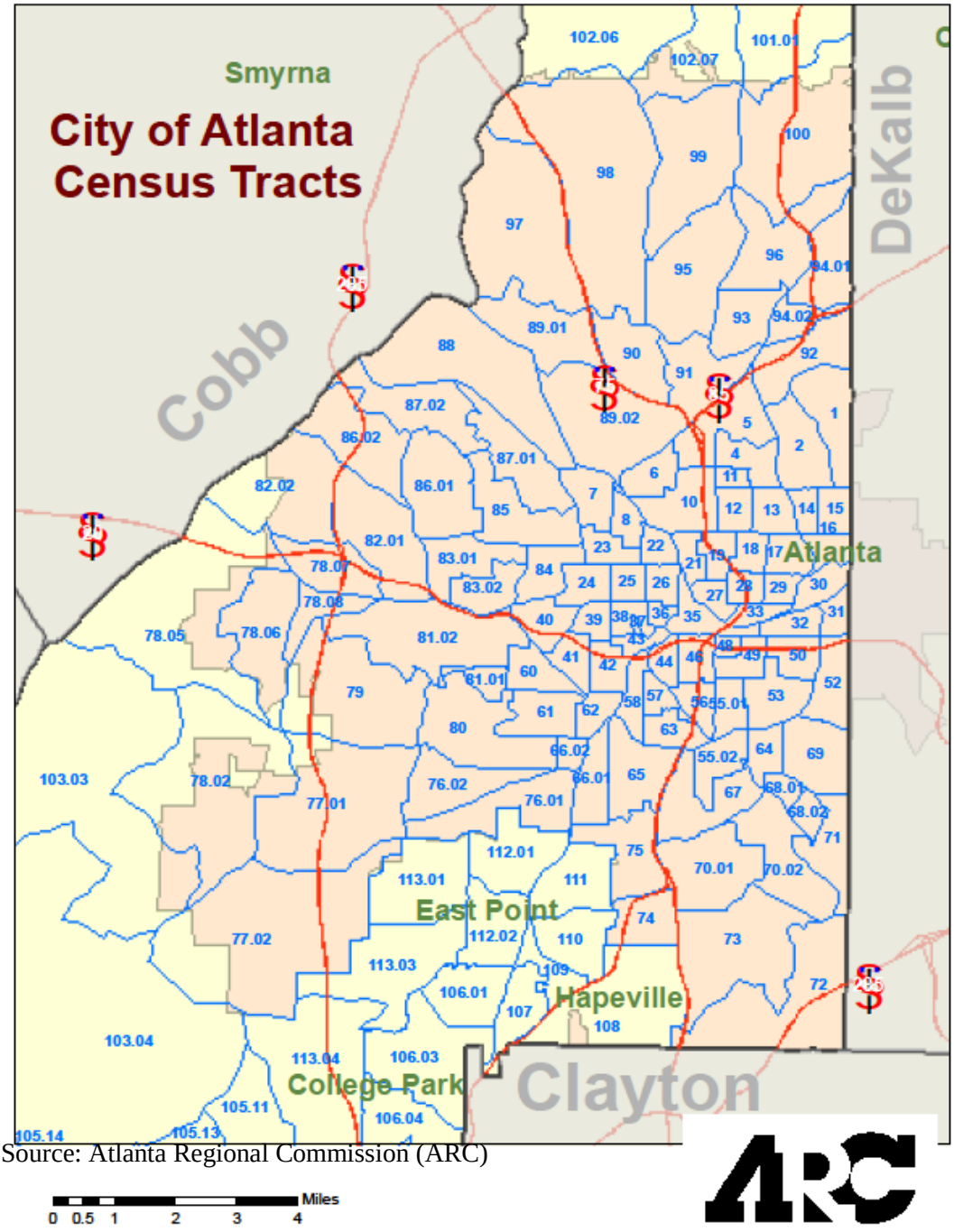
Map 1: Atlanta Census Tracts

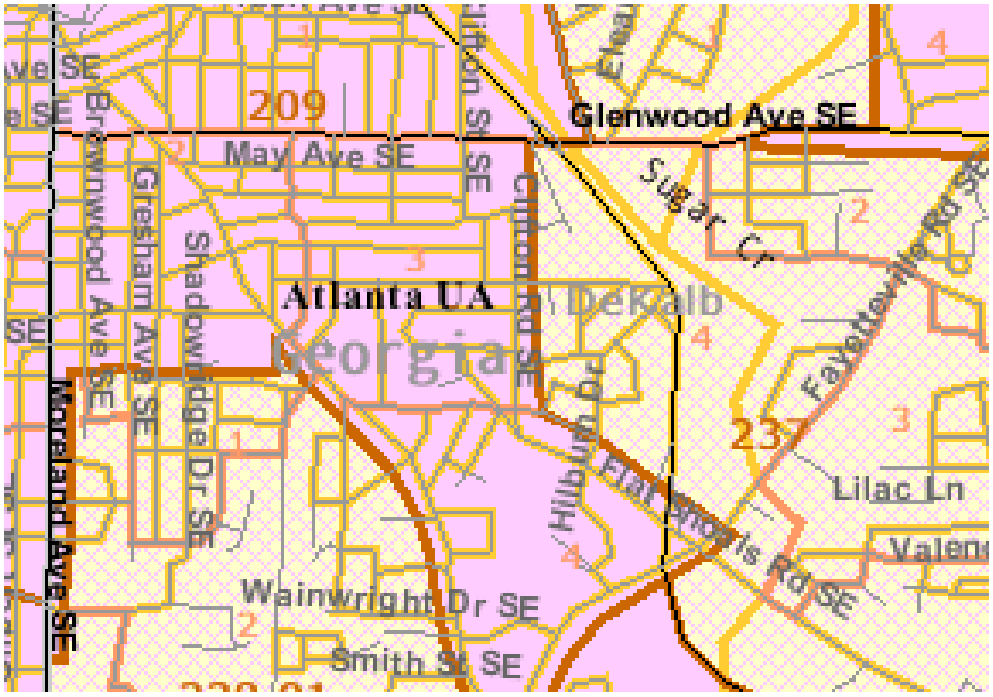


Source: Atlanta Regional Commission (ARC)

Map 2: Summerhill (Census Tract 490)

Map 3: Grant Park (Census Tract 50)

Map 4: East Atlanta (Census Tract 209)



Map 5: Edgewood (Census Tract 205)

Map 6: East Lake (Census Tract 202.02)

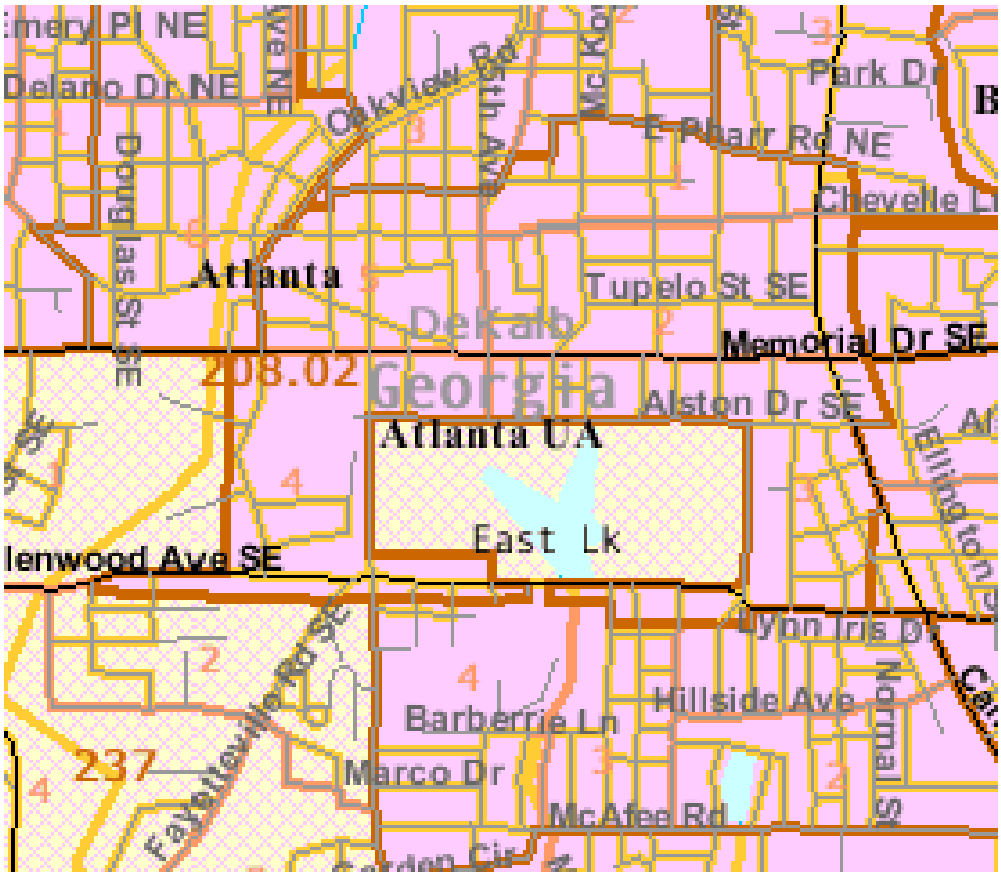
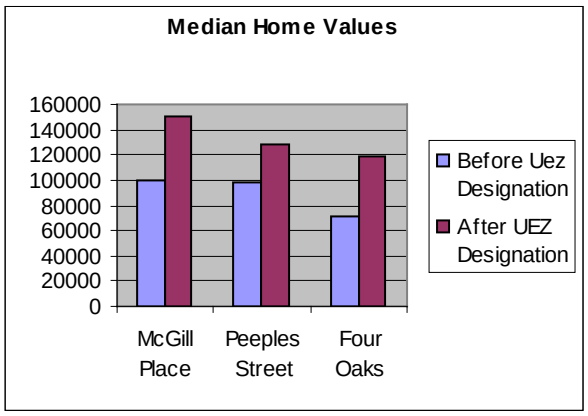


Figure 1: Median Home Values and Median Gross Rent in Atlanta Urban Enterprise Zones



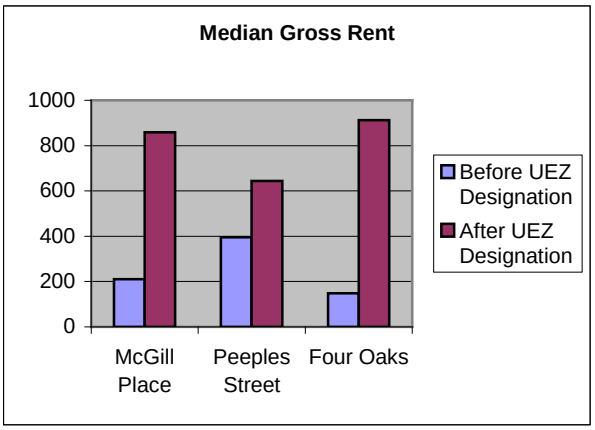


Figure 2: Population Change in the Five Atlanta Neighborhoods: 1990-2000

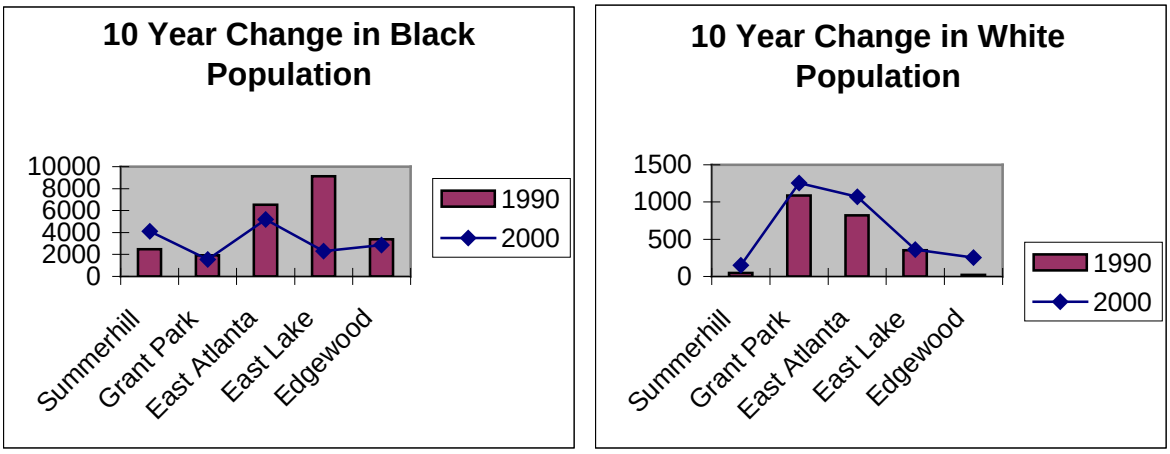


Figure 3: Educational Attainments in the Five Atlanta Neighborhoods: 1990 and 2000.

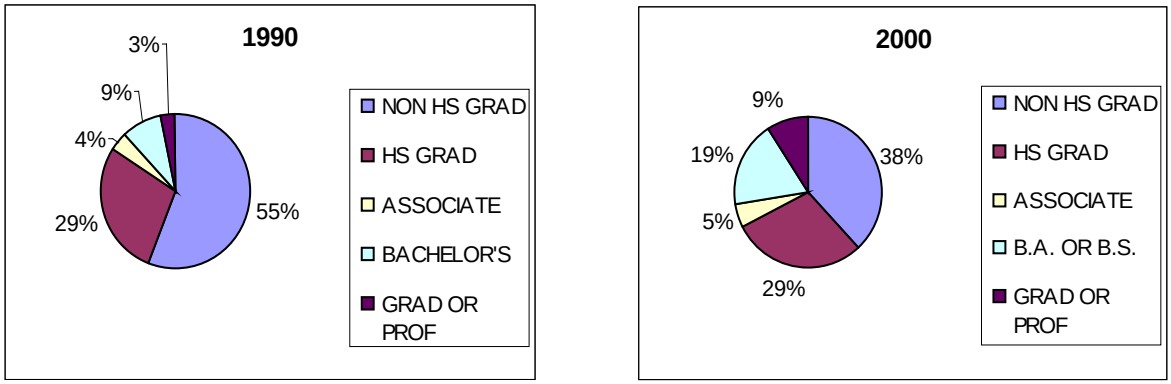


Figure 4: Median Home and Rental Values in the Five Atlanta Neighborhoods in 1990 and 2000

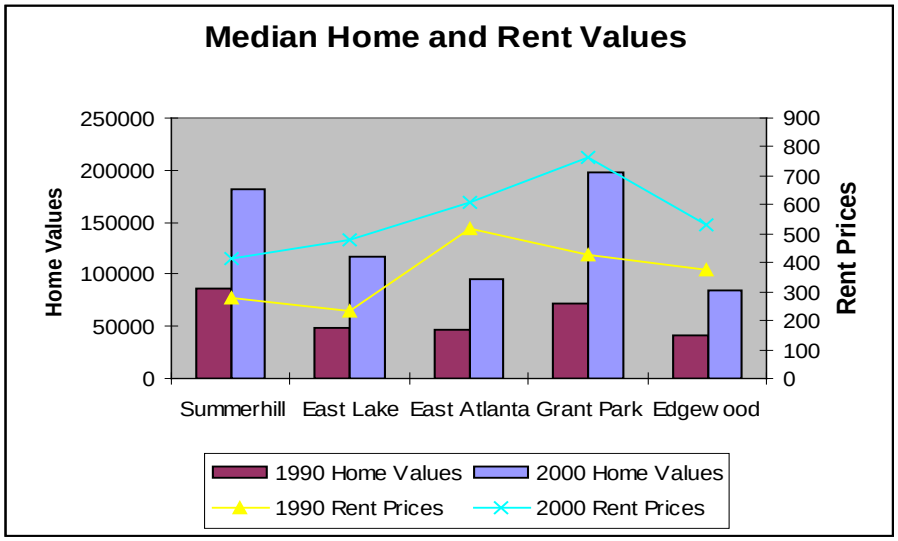


Table 1: Racial Composition in the Five Atlanta Neighborhoods in 1990 and 2000

Neighborhood	Census Tract	Black Population		Percent Change	White Population		Percent Change
		1990	**2000**		**1990**	**2000**	
Summerhill	49	2479	4112	65.87%	49	151	208%
Grant Park	50	1927	1511	-21.59%	1089	1255	15%
East Atlanta	209	6532	5202	-20.36%	821	1072	31%
East Lake	208.02	9118	2296	-75%	352	362	3%
Edgewood	205	3379	2858	-15%	20	252	1160%
Total		**23435**	**16019**	**-32%**	**2331**	**3092**	**34%**

Table 2: Senior Citizens (65 years+) in the Five Atlanta Neighborhoods in 1990 and 2000

Neighborhood	Census Tract	1990	2000	Percent Change
Summerhill	49	235	159	-32%
Grant Park	50	328	219	-33%
East Atlanta	209	763	559	-27%
East Lake	208.02	1101	473	-57%
Edgewood	205	517	435	-16%
Total		**2944**	**1845**	**-37%**

Table 3: Median Incomes in the Five Atlanta Neighborhoods: 1990-2000

Neighborhood	1990	2000	Percent change
Summerhill	$11,223	$19,018	69%
Grant Park	$24,811	$39,167	58%
East Atlanta	$20,560	$34,630	68%
East Lake	$13,494	$36,887	173%
Edgewood	$14,663	$28,147	92%
Total	$84,821	$157,849	86%

Education Majors' Text Book Reading Habits: How Much are they Reading?

Cecile M. Arquette
Bradley University

As a teacher educator I am concerned with the disinterest my students have toward reading. Teachers need to read, not only to keep current in both professional and children's literature, but also to serve as role models for their students to encourage their reading (Cohen, 1999; Herda & Ramos, 2001; Von Sprecken & Krashen, 1998). I became interested in investigating my students' reading habits not only because of the aforementioned need for teachers to be readers, but because my students often admit to me that they do not read their assignments. Even without this admission, it was evident during class discussions on assigned materials, or activities that revolved around ideas presented in the text, that the majority of my students were not reading or did not read very deeply, as they rarely are able to discuss assigned reading content with clarity.

I wanted to find out from students themselves why they do not read, and to investigate what might motivate them to read more. The sample for this study included 288 students in 17 classes in the teacher education department of a medium sized private university in the Midwest. Discussions with instructors of courses in which a higher percentage of students read their assignments, students' motivational statements from the survey, and a review of past investigations into this issue by practitioners in other disciplines led me develop strategies to motivate reading in my own classes. While the survey included questions on recreational reading habits, this paper focuses on the academic reading portion of the survey, because of the important information my students are missing by not reading their assignments thoroughly.

Review of Related Literature

The problem of disregard for reading assignments among undergraduates is not a new phenomenon. Burchfield and Sappington (2000) found student reading compliance of assigned material declined over a sixteen-year period, from 1981 through 1997. Ten years later, Clump and Doll (2007) found reading rates of both undergraduates and graduate students to be low, (54.21% across all classes of Forensic Psychology, n 193), which was similar to the compliance rate reported by Culmp, Bauer, and Bradley in 2004. Even with evidence of an increasing disinclination to read, others have found students view textbooks as being "an important element of their courses" (Besser, Stone & Nan, 1999, p. 16). Why this decline if students feel their texts are important? It could be students are now expecting their teachers to provide exactly the information they need to know when reading their texts. In their study of 423 psychology majors, Clump et al., (2004) found 61.66 percent of respondents "felt that the instructor should tell them exactly what was important in the reading" (p. 231). I have also found this to be the case with my own students, when they ask questions such as "what should I read in the chapter?" not only before quizzes, but when a chapter is assigned to be read to prepare students for class discussion.

Reading level or ability does not seem to be the reason for non-reading, as university students' reading levels are generally appropriate for college material (Goodwin, 1996; Kibby, 1993). Others have found similar rates of non-reading (Bradley, 2007), even in advanced elective courses, where presumably students are at reading level high enough to have moved through less demanding courses successfully. A possible explanation could be the shift in the 'culture of reading' or how and what people are reading. With increasing amounts of electronic information being consumed via websites and text messaging,

students certainly *are* reading. But the non-linear nature of the Internet, with embedded links that move the reader from one site to another or to other pages within a website, is quite different from the format of a printed text (McPherson, 2005). Web pages often have shorter chunks of information displayed on each page, with bright layouts and animations to attract attention. Perhaps by extension, the reading of these small, abbreviated texts has changed the types of daily of reading of many students. Tierney et al., (1997) found students say they are more interested in the content when reading, viewing and listening, occur at the same time, as is found in the content of many internet pages. In my survey, students reported high levels of reading online. Of those who answered question 11, frequency of use of the Internet for information, (216 out of the 288, or 75 % of respondents), 97% of those 216 students said they used this resource at least once a week. Furthermore, 81% of them consult the interned daily or several times a day for information.

In addition, there is a growing trend in school districts and classrooms to use paperless sources of printed information and even non-print technologies to teach content. Some, like the Milwaukee Public Schools, are investing millions in digital resources to replace traditional textbooks (Richards, 2006). Others are taking advantage of the technology of podcasts, where students prepare their own audio programs on many topics and post them on the web. As one teacher said, "They think it's cool walking around with an iPod, listening to the stuff that they're supposed to be reading" (Meola, 2007).

Perhaps another reason for university students' dislike of reading textbooks is the result of the increasingly common use of these different text and information forms. Students may not understand how to read the textbook format, and simply give up when confronted by the more cognitively demanding task of reading the dense, linear format found in textbooks.

How much should students read at the university level?

Colleges and universities generally have learning centers where students can get help learning how to study, read, and write at the college level. Such information is also readily accessible on campus study websites, which have specific recommendations for how to read effectively, and how much time students should spend studying and reading. The students who participated in this survey know about the help they can receive on campus at the well-publicized learning assistance center. In addition, when I ask at the beginning of each semester, students say yes, they have heard of the general recommendations for how much to study outside of class. For example, a minimum of 2 hours study time outside of class for every credit taken (College of St. Benedict, 2008) or, 2 hours per easy class, 3 hours for an average class and 4 hours per credit for a difficult class (George Mason University, 2008).

The usual course load for full-time students in my department is 15 to 18 credits per semester, which would necessitate 30 to 36 hours of reading and studying if students were following the minimum recommended amount of out of class work. While not all study time outside of class involves reading, much of it does, and many of the students who participated in this research indicated they are reading 2 hours or less per class each week. Interestingly, according to Goodwin (1996), despite these common study recommendations, there is evidence that students who are able to read at college level, and who also admit to rarely reading their book, still expect to get an A in their coursework.

Data Collection Techniques

I developed a survey based in part on Gallik's survey (see Appendix) of recreational reading habits (1999); then added a number of open-ended questions to find out the amount of academic reading students were doing and to ascertain why students are not reading, or reading less than recommended.

Eleven of the 17 full-time instructors in my department were able to accommodate my request to administer the survey in the later weeks of the spring semester. The survey was given in 11 courses (some with multiple sections), for a total of 17 classes participating. All of these courses were required for one of the educational degrees offered at the school, and all but 2 classes were restricted to students had met departmental requirements to take advanced course work. These requirements include completion of several introductory classes, and a GPA of 2.5 in all courses. Therefore, it could be expected that most participants could read well enough to maintain at least a C average.

Before the survey was given, students were informed they were under no obligation to complete the survey, that participation was anonymous, and that no information on the survey would be shared with

instructors until after semester grades were submitted. I also requested that students who took the survey in another class not take it again, so the number of participants would not be inflated. Using these criteria, I obtained 288 usable surveys for analysis.

Participant Demographics and Data Analysis

Of the 288 surveys completed, 257 respondents were female (89.2%) and 31 were male (10.8%). This sample had a higher percentage of females than the national average for public school teachers. Nationally, all public school teachers (elementary and secondary) include 79% female to 21% male (National Center for Education Statistics, 2003). It should be noted the majority of students taking this survey were those in elementary education classes, and there tend to be fewer male teachers in the elementary teaching field.

There were 811 undergraduate students, and 43 graduate students in the department the semester the survey was given. 275 of the participants were undergraduates. Therefore 34% of undergrads, and 30% of graduates in the Education Department participated in the survey. As the survey was given in undergraduate courses, most of the students were undergraduates, with 71% aged 20-22. (See Table 1 for class level distribution of participants).

Thus, nearly 86% of respondents were in their 3rd or 4th year in the Teacher Education program. The GPA of all undergraduates in the department that year was 3.26, out of a 4.00 scale, with students who had advanced to higher-level courses averaging 3.38. (Survey respondents self-reported cumulative GPA was 3.46). Of course, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from these numbers, as there was a mix of levels taking the classes, and students tend to self-report higher levels than they have. But, it appears that the majority of these participants were doing well in their teacher education courses. This is not surprising, as nearly all of the participants were in post advancement classes, which require, as mentioned above, a minimum GPA.

Amount of Time Spent Reading Course Texts

A perpetual gripe of university students is the cost of their texts. Despite this complaint, most students who responded to the survey *did* buy their books. In fact, only 3.82 respondents reported they did not buy their texts. This is unlike previous findings by Sikorski et al., (2001) who found between 9% and 69% (depending on the course) of students in a survey of 439, at two different universities did not have their own required texts. So while students in this teacher education survey did buy their course texts, they still tended not to read, or to read very thoroughly.

Recall, the minimum recommended time studying per credit is 2 hours outside of class. All the classes surveyed were 3-hour courses, which would mean students should be studying for 6 hours outside of class time to meet this recommendation. Question 7 concerned the amount of time students spent reading for the particular education class in which they answered the survey questions. (See Graph 1) Notice that only 4.51% reported reading 5 or more hours per week. Of course, outside of class study time is not limited to reading alone, but since 72.57% of the students read 2 hours or less a week, (or not at all) it is important to find out what might motivate such students to encourage higher rates of reading.

Grades Biggest Motivator

When participants were asked: “What motivates you to read the textbook for this class?” (Question 15), 5.6% said they were motivated by interest or to learn. This is disturbing, as these are students who will be teachers in a very short period of time. But even more troubling for those going into the teaching profession, only 3% of all respondents said they read because they wanted to be a good teacher.

If these students are not motivated in reading to learn or to learn how to be a good teacher, what does motivate them to read when they do? For these students, the biggest motivational factor for reading was doing well on assignments or making good grades. One hundred twenty nine participants (45%) said doing well on tests and assignments was the biggest motivational factor for completing reading assignments. Another 17% specifically said getting good grades was what motivated them to read. Altogether more than half of the respondents (62%) indicated one of these factors as their primary reason for reading. (See graph 2).

What does this tell us? First, it is not unusual for students to be motivated by grades, tests and assignments, as these have been the focus of their lives since they entered school. Educators can hope

their students are learning something from their reading, even if their motivation is grade based. On the other hand, it might be extrapolated from the responses regarding motivation based on grades and testing, that these students often only read when studying right before tests and quizzes. Unfortunately, the effect of cramming before a test leads to little retention of knowledge (Willingham, 2002). So, it would appear the expensive teacher education texts this group of students purchase are not supporting learning for approximately 94% of the students who responded to this survey, because they read very little and for limited purposes (i.e., studying before a test).

Interest in Subject and Caring Instructors are Motivators

In the last question on the survey "Think of a class in which you really read the textbook. What is/was that class, and what motivated you to read the text?" of the 288 respondents, 104 (36%) mentioned classes outside of their teacher education requirements in which they felt the most motivation to read the text. Half of these 104 (52, or 18% of all participants) gave tests and grades as the motivating factors to read in those classes. The other 52 (18%) expressed interest in the outside subject as the motivating factor. Compare this to the 20 students (7%) who expressed interest in the subjects of the Teacher Education courses they were taking as being the main motivation for why they read, as in this example: *"My early childhood class was a really interesting class. That made me read the book."*

A caring teacher made the difference for other respondents: they wanted to read if they perceived the instructor was interested in them and their learning. For example, one student wrote in answer to the last question: *"…a class that seems pertinent to my education, with a teacher who cares."* A few mentioned some aspect of a text that stimulated a desire to read: *"…class on management, literacy. (books had) better format and (were) more interesting and colorful, feels (sic) more pertinent."* Some others said when a course was 'good,' it made reading the text more interesting: *"I enjoyed the class ETE 225, which made it (the book) more desirable."*

Survey participants had a number of additional reasons for not reading, or reading very little: Some said they wanted to be told what to read (as in a study guide), a number said their texts were 'boring' or 'hard' and didn't hold their attention. Others stated they didn't have time to read: they hold outside jobs, or felt like their workload was too great in other classes.

Participant Perceptions of the Effect of Reading on Grades

Since the students indicated the biggest motivational factor to complete their assigned reading was grades and tests, it is interesting to note the responses to question 14: "If you don't read assignments, do you feel this affects your grade adversely?" 44.8% said yes, if they don't read their grades are affected (yet many say grades are one of the biggest motivational factors for reading). For example: *"(It) feels like I'm not learning as much, (when I don't read) but I just pay attention in class."*

But, 39.24% said it didn't matter if they read or not, their grades were not adversely affected, as for example: *"I don't feel it affects my grade, but I feel bad for not reading."* It is therefore important for instructors to pay attention to how they construct reading assignments and class work so the two support each other. If so large a percentage of students feel reading assignments do not affect their grades, or that the information is covered in class, it is no wonder they don't spend very much time reading what is assigned to them. If instructors want students to read, they need to make sure reading assignments *do* have an impact on student grades, which appears to be something students care about very much.

Like the student quoted above who feels not reading can affect grades, but it doesn't really matter because you just need to pay attention in class, another student said *"… it is always covered in class-not just this class, but most classes."* This sentiment is similar to what Bradley (2007) observed in a study of non-compliance of assigned reading, that a number of professors tended to go over the reading in class, rather than engage their students in meaningful work around the assigned reading. Students in Bradley's case study said virtually the same thing as those who responded to my survey: *"I think some students think, since it will all be gone over in class that they don't have to read it"* (2007 p. 7). This made me think of the classes I have taught where I tried to cover as much of the reading as I could. I have done this in the past because it seemed that if the students weren't reading enough to participate, it was my responsibility to cover the material. The results of this survey have shown me that this type of thinking can promote to *less* reading on the part of my students.

Keeping Books

Since there is little desire to read, it is no wonder more than half (53%) of respondents said they would be selling their books. Note that 13% of respondents had journal subscriptions instead of a traditional text and did not have a text to sell. A small percentage of respondents were undecided at the time of the survey (in April) and only 28% specifically indicating they were keeping their books. This is important information for instructors, because in speaking with several from the courses in which the survey was given, they said criteria for their text selection includes how useful a book will be for students when they teach in the future. Some participants did mention they wanted to keep their books for future reference, but only 16 (5.6%) who indicated they wouldn't be selling their text, specifically mentioned they would keep an educational class text for use in the future.

Text Selection and Instructor Strategies

Teacher educators want their students to be as prepared as possible for the moment when they enter their first classroom. This is one reason why we select texts that contain information we know from our own experiences and research is necessary for our students' future careers. But if they pay little attention to their texts, we need to help motivate them to read these valuable resources, not just skim while cramming for a test. For one thing, we need to pay attention to such elements in texts as the format, readability, and cost. Besser, et al., (1999) found students have textual preferences, and texts that contain too many references and sidebars, for example, are difficult to read. More importantly, as Bradley (2007) discussed, it is the responsibility of instructors to use the readings they assign effectively in class. Certainly giving daily quizzes (Connor-Greene, 2002) has been shown to increase the amount of reading students do, but if they don't retain much of this information (Willingham, 2002), this may not be a very effective pedagogical strategy. On the other hand, if the objective of giving such quizzes is to make sure the students read the material, and instructors then use class time to engage the students in activities around the text, this could be a useful option.

When I discussed the results of this survey with the four instructors of courses in which a high percentage of respondents said they did their readings, I found one instructor gave quizzes each class session, but the other three had different ways to inspire reading. One had her students do chapter summaries or come to each class with questions to ask each other about material from the reading; another, who did not use a traditional text, asked her students to submit online summaries of the articles before class. The fourth had students write questions they had about the reading, and each class began with students asking these questions to begin each class discussion.

Changes to my Teaching

After conducting this survey, and talking with the instructors, I implemented a number of new strategies in my courses. On the first day of class, I ask students if they always read their assignments. There is usually some general laughter, which enables me to talk about the results of this research, and how a lack of reading in the university level is a prevalent trend nationwide. We discuss how assigned readings play an important role as the foundation of discussions, activities, demonstrations, and assignments in the course. I also discuss expectations of reading, studying, and the like. We talk about the implications of non-reading for their future efficacy as teachers. In addition, my students now must also do one of the following written assignments when we have a reading due: chapter or article questions, an outline of what was read, questions about the reading (for classmates to answer) or how they might apply what they have read in their future classrooms. Grading these assignments has not added appreciably to my own workload, an important consideration for those with large classes. Each assignment is worth a small percentage of the total number of class points, but if students do not do them, or do them poorly, there is an impact on their final course grade.

While many students don't always enjoy these readings-based assignments, they admit to finding them useful. Some example comments, from recent end of semester course evaluations: *"I don't like doing them, but the chapter assignments DID make me read"* or *"The outlines and stuff were a big pain but I learned more."* Another positive outcome I have observed over the past three semesters is the quality of discussions in my classes has improved, with more participation from students, and less lecture from me.

In addition to these reading assignments, the activities we do in class require the students to have read the text. In whole group discussions, using questions the students have brought in, it quickly becomes obvious who hasn't read. Since grades motivate students, those who read their assignments do better in participation, and thus can make higher grades. I am able to keep track of participation because my classes are generally small, with no more than 25 students. Instructors with larger classes could encourage active participation, and easily keep track of student responses by having students use hand-held devices to 'lock in' their answers (Beeks, 2006).

Other strategies that work very well, which go beyond using questioning techniques to recall information from the reading assignment include those that require individual accountability. Small group tasks and discussions, where students must work together using information from the readings and then *each* turn in some type of written work, such as an outline of the discussion, or the conclusions they have reached, have worked well in my classes. The students in my courses are finding they need to do their reading assignments, and do them well, in order to be able to participate and work effectively in class.

Final Thoughts

This research supports what others have found, namely, many university students tend to read less than they should of assigned readings. Some researchers (Sappington, et al, 2002) feel if students do not do their readings, they only have themselves to blame. While I believe students should be responsible for their assigned reading, I agree with Bradley's (2007) assertion, that some of the problem in non-compliance is the fault of instructors. When students do not feel there is the need to read because professors do not engage them, or when the reading material is simply repeated in class, it is no wonder many do not comply with reading assignments. Instructors need to develop active reading assignments that serve an instructive purpose and motivation beyond a simple test grade.

Reading continues to be the dominant, and one of most efficient ways of acquiring knowledge both within the university environment and in the larger world. Therefore, despite some changes in reading format (e.g., the internet) future students will need to read their assignments, and those who do not will continue to miss important information. The major motivating force for assignment reading is grades and testing, according to the students of this survey. Yet testing may not be appropriate in many teacher education methods courses, where students are expected to be able to demonstrate what they know via participatory strategies. And since it has been shown that even when students study for tests, they don't retain the information latter, increasing testing in any class will not necessarily increase learning.

If instructors feel reading the textbook or other materials is important, it is incumbent upon them to ensure assignments necessitate this reading. Rather than simply repeating the text information in class via lecture, instructors need to develop participatory assignments to encourage reading before class. Educators should implement methods in their classes that stress the need for reading more deeply: not just reading to make an A, but reading to retain information, which will continue to serve their students beyond the university classroom.

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Appendix

Survey of textbook and recreational reading habits
(Questions 8-11 adapted from Gallik, J. D. 1999)

1. What is your gender? Female_____ Male____ Age:_____
2. Freshman___ Sophomore____ Junior____ Senior ____ Other (specify) _____
3. Cumulative GPA:_____ Teacher Education GPA:_____
4. Name of this class:_____
5. Title of main textbook in this class:_____
6. Did you buy the textbook for this class? Yes___ No___ (if no, why not?)

7. On average, how much time do you spend reading your textbook for this class on a weekly basis? Less than 1 hour____ 1-2 hours ___ 3-5 hours _____ more than 5 hours ____(how many?)
8. On average, how much time do you spend reading for pleasure on a weekly basis? Never_____Less than 1 hour____ 1-2 hours ___ 3-5 hours _____ more than 5 hours ____(how many?)
9. Do you read more for pleasure during vacations than during the school year? Yes___No___
10. If you had more free time, would you: read more of your textbook? Yes____ No____ Read more for pleasure? Yes ____ No_____

11. How often do you read the following?

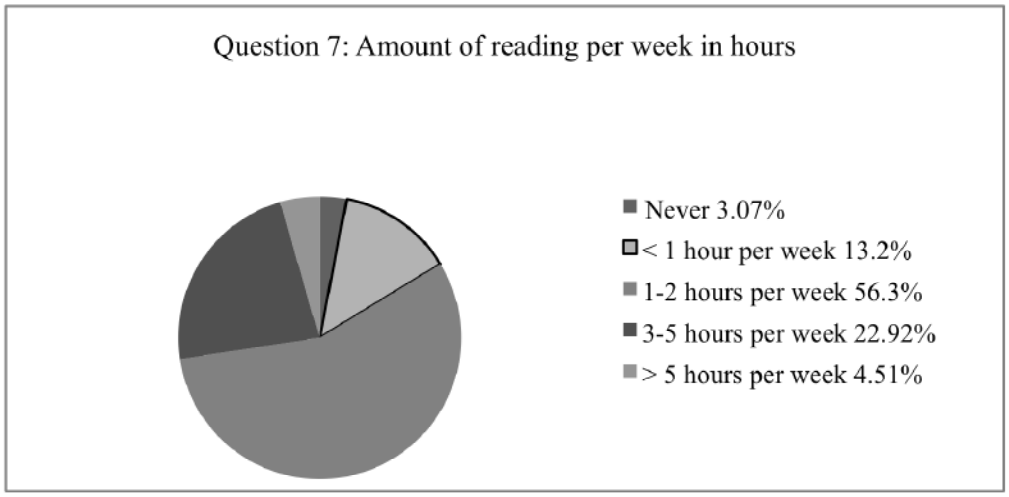
	1-2 times a week	3-4 times a week	daily	several times a day
Newspaper:				
Online	_____	_____	_____	_____
Paper copy	_____	_____	_____	_____
Internet:				
Entertainment	_____	_____	_____	_____
Information	_____	_____	_____	_____
Magazines	_____	_____	_____	_____
Poetry	_____	_____	_____	_____
Email	_____	_____	_____	_____
Text messages	_____	_____	_____	_____
Chat rooms/blogs	_____	_____	_____	_____
Novels	_____	_____	_____	_____
Nonfiction books	_____	_____	_____	_____

12. Do you like your textbook for this class? Why or why not?
13. Are there any times when you should read your textbook, but don't?
14. If you don't read assignments, do you feel this affects your grade adversely?
15. What motivates you to read the textbook for this class?
16. Are you planning to sell the textbook for this class at the end of the semester?
17. Think of a class in which you *really* read the textbook. What is/was that class, and what motivated you to read the text?

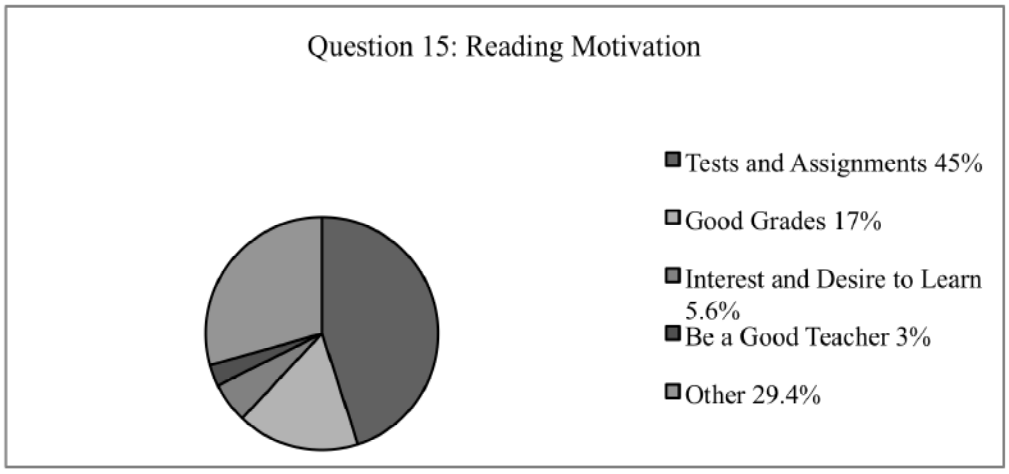
Table 1

Level	Number	Percentage
Freshman	3	1.04
Sophomore	22	7.64
Junior	135	46.88
Senior	112	38.89
Graduate	13	4.51
Teacher Certificate	1	.003
2nd Bachelor's Degree	2	.007

Graph 1



Graph 2



One Shining Moment: The American Role in the Expansion of Humanitarian Law after World War II

Rosemary Ann Blanchard
California State University Sacramento

A Shining Idea in a Sea of Fear. On January 6, 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt faced a wary Congress and an anxious populace. The Great Depression still lingered in the heartland and in the pocketbooks and larders of the people. The war Great War that was overwhelming Europe seemed ready to break all bounds, uniting with the expanding Asian conflict and draw into itself an unprepared still threadbare nation. Seeking to prepare the country for the possibility of new and greater sacrifices, Roosevelt laid out a set of principles which, he maintained were so universal and so fundamental to democracy, that they were worth fighting for:

> There is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:
> Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.
> Jobs for those who can work.
> Security for those who need it.
> The ending of special privilege for the few.
> The preservation of civil liberties for all.
> The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living (F D. Roosevelt, 1941).
> Then, looking to the future after the struggle which he anticipated would soon arrive, he offered this hope:
> In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.
> The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world.
> The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world.
> The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.
> The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- anywhere in the world. (.Roosevelt, 1941)

The Four Freedoms through World War II and the Founding of the United Nations. The Four Freedoms, or at least most of them, found their way into the Atlantic Charter, the agreement between the United States and Great Britain signed on the USS Augusta and the HMS Prince of Wales on Augusta 12, 1941, just a few short months before the attack on Pearl Harbor precipitated the United States' formal entry into World War II. (Roosevelt, F., and Churchill, W., 1941)

The war certainly took its toll on these aspirations, but not on Roosevelt's commitment to them or on the power to inspire that they generated throughout what is now called the developing world (Glendon, 2001; Donovan, 1966)

By early 1945, Roosevelt was in precarious health, attempting to negotiate with the other allies, whose interests increasingly diverged from each other and to broker the metamorphosis of the United Nations from a wartime alliance (with no member to negotiate a separate peace) to an international body with some capability to hold back the cycles of war, oppression and want which had plagued the first half of the 20th century (Glendon, 2001' Donovan, 1966). Other than the insistence that some reference to human rights be included in the purposes for which the United Nations was formed, he could not secure a more prominent place for a rights basis incorporated into the charter.

After Roosevelt's death, the four freedoms acquired new advocates at the table, such as Carlos Romulo of the Philippines (Glendon, 2001), representatives of a number of NGOs in the United States and many politically less powerful nations in Latin America and non-Western regions. Through a series of astute maneuvers and serendipitous circumstances which will not be catalogued here (see Glendon, 2001 and Donovan, 1966), the essential tenets of Roosevelt's four freedoms speech regarding the human rights and economic opportunity underpinnings of democracy did find their way into the United Nations Charter, with particular mention in the Preamble, Article 1 and Article 56 of the Charter (United Nation General Assembly, 1945).

Just as important, the UN Charter called for the creation of a "commission for the promotion of human rights" within the UN's Economic and Social Council, the only separate commission established in the charter itself. (United Nations General Assembly, 1945) It was this Commission on Human Rights which developed and proposed to the UN General Assembly the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Chairing the Commission, as will be discussed later in this paper, was the American envoy and widow of President Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt. What is important at this juncture is to note that President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, both in the Preamble and in the various Articles which follow.(United Nations General Assembly, 1948; Glendon, 2001).

Law and Humanity at Nuremberg. The shining moment of human rights and humanitarian law was to arise again in the evolving American position about what to do with the Nazi high command after the end of World War II. Even the American position here was initially conflicted, with some in Roosevelt's government favoring Winston Churchill's proposal for summary execution and the return of Germany to an agrarian state which could never form the industrial base to wage war again (Bass, 2001). Roosevelt himself appears to have been initially favorable to this solution, while his Secretary of War, Henry Stimson was deeply opposed to it. At the heart of Stimson's opposition was a belief in American "legalism," that is the notion that even the most despicable perpetrators of crimes of war had the right to be told the charges against them, to confront the evidence and to be aided by counsel. Without such guarantees, Stimson argued, the cycle of war and revenge would go on unchecked (Bass, 2001). Due to a "strategic" leak to the press of the harsher plan for dealing with the Nazi leadership, President Roosevelt eventually came around to support Stimson's proposal for war crimes trials.

The important part of the story of Nuremberg for this study, however, is not the political positioning which led to President Roosevelt's adoption and President Truman's implementation of the plan for a tribunal to try the Nazis accused of war crimes, but the establishment of the tribunal and the rules under which it would operate. This is a story of Robert Jackson, the United States Supreme Court justice who, at the request of President Truman, took a leave of his duties at the court to represent the United States in setting up the tribunal and to act as chief prosecutor in the trials. Jackson's efforts were heroic in their humanness.

Beset by criticism, especially from some other members of the Supreme Court (Hockett, 1990), Jackson charted new territory in international jurisprudence. Crimes of war there might be, but these crimes were different. Some of the worst atrocities were done against Germany's own people, should they be Jewish or from some other disfavored group. The rules for conducting trials for both domestic and international atrocities did not exist. Yet, the alternatives all were unacceptable. Summary execution

defied fundamental concepts of due process. Returning the perpetrators to the jurisdictions of their crimes when Europe was still in uproar and the rule of law not yet fully reestablished risked either avoidance of justice or imposition of vengeance.

Jackson used American principles of fairness, due process, and trial on the evidence to craft procedures and conduct a prosecution which brought before the world the “crimes against humanity” which the defendants had committed. In the process, the Tribunal established that there is such a thing as a “crime against humanity,” an act so heinous that the entire world community stands in opposition to it and that every government bears part of the responsibility to bring its perpetrators to justice (Ferencz, 2004).

In his opening statement, Jackson pointed out how much was at stake for the future conduct of every nation:

> We must never forget that the record on which we judge these defendants today is the record on which history will judge us tomorrow. To pass these defendants a poisoned chalice is to put it to our own lips as well. We must summon such detachment and intellectual integrity to our task that this Trial will commend itself to posterity as fulfilling humanity's aspirations to do justice (Jackson, R. H., 1945).

In words prophetic of the current state of domestic and world affairs, politically, militarily and economically, Jackson warned:

> The American dream of a peace-and-plenty economy, as well as the hopes of other nations, can never be fulfilled if those nations are involved in a war every generation so vast and devastating as to crush the generation that fights and burden the generation that follows (Jackson, 1945). …

Applying the American legal principle that all persons are equal before the law, Jackson argued:

> The ultimate step in avoiding periodic wars, which are inevitable in a system of international lawlessness, is to make statesmen responsible to law. And let me make clear that while this law is first applied against German aggressors, the law includes, and if it is to serve a useful purpose it must condemn aggression by any other nations, including those which sit here now in judgment. We are able to do away with domestic tyranny and violence and aggression by those in power against the rights of their own people only when we make all men answerable to the law. This trial represents mankind's desperate effort to apply the discipline of the law to statesmen who have used their powers of state to attack the foundations of the world's peace and to commit aggressions against the rights of their neighbors.
>
> …It is not necessary among the ruins of this ancient and beautiful city with untold members of its civilian inhabitants still buried in its rubble, to argue the proposition that to start or wage an aggressive war has the moral qualities of the worst of crimes. The refuge of the defendants can be only their hope that international law will lag so far behind the moral sense of mankind that conduct which is crime in the moral sense must be regarded as innocent in law (Jackson, 1945).

In his closing argument, Jackson insisted that a milestone in the rule of law was being established by the principles contained in the Nuremberg Charter and their application to the Nazi defendants:

> The defendants complain that our pace is too fast. In drawing the Charter of this Tribunal, we thought we were recording an accomplished advance in international law. But they say we have outrun our times, that we have anticipated an advance that should be, but has not yet been made. The Agreement of London, whether it originates or merely records, at all events marks a transition in international law which roughly corresponds to that in the evolution of local law when men ceased to punish crime by "hue and cry" and began to let reason and inquiry govern punishment. The society of nations has emerged from the primitive "hue and cry," the law of "catch and kill." It

seeks to apply sanctions to enforce international law, but to guide their application by evidence, law, and reason instead of outcry (Jackson, R. H.,1946;).

In a tribute to Robert Jackson, Benjamin Ferencz, a prosecutor under Jackson at Nuremberg credits Jackson and his leadership both in negotiating the terms of the Charter that guided the Nuremberg proceedings and in his emphasis in the prosecution with clarifying the scope of Crimes Against Humanity and outlawing the crime of aggression. According to Ferencz, "Jackson's primary goal was to mobilize the force of law on the side of peace."(Ferencz, B., 2004). The principles which Jackson played such a leading role in establishing for the Nuremberg trials (See the Charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, 1945 and Jackson's opening and closing statements, infra.) became institutionalized into the fabric of international jurisprudence when they were affirmed by the General Assembly of the United Nations (United Nations General Assembly, 1946).

A World Speaking as One on the Universality of Human Rights. Shortly after assuming the Presidency, Harry Truman requested Eleanor Roosevelt to be a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations at the inaugural meeting of the General Assembly which met in London in January of 1946. It has been suggested (Glendon, 2001) that Truman wanted to demonstrate a continuity of his administration with that of the late, much admired FDR. Mrs. Roosevelt was hesitant at first, since her political experience, while considerable, was more that of the supporter and/or gadfly rather than the official representative of government. Other members of the delegation, on both the left (Fulbright) and the right (Dulles) were likewise wary of her presence.

Mrs. Roosevelt was assigned to work with the UN committee dealing with Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Affairs. While suspecting that this was considered a comparatively "safe" place to shuffle her, Roosevelt soon found herself in the center of one of the most highly contested arenas of the entire session. The skill with which she addressed the issues and handled herself impressed her own delegation and the representatives from other nations as well. In short order (much of the story is abbreviated here). Eleanor Roosevelt was unanimously elected chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights (Glendon, 2001; E. Roosevelt II, 2004).

Mary Ann Glendon (2001) has written an eloquent and exquisitely well researched account of Eleanor Roosevelt's skill and tenacity as chair of the UN Human Rights Commission during the tumultuous process through which the Commission developed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and presented it to the United Nations for ratification (See also E. Roosevelt II, 2004). An invitation to tea at Mrs. Roosevelt's apartment in New York was a sure sign that arms would be twisted and language negotiated.

Roosevelt was working against the ticking clock of the emerging cold war. Not only were the Soviet Union and its tutelary nations becoming increasingly resistant to agreements of general applicability but her own government was becoming increasingly resistant to the notion of enforceable claims grounded in human rights. The last colonies were resisting their continued colonization and each side of the Cold War struggle sought to gain advantage in a world where the Great War did not seem to have brought the much hoped for Great Peace.

The scope of the term "human right" was the subject of considerable contestation. The United States and its allies generally defined the phrase in terms of individual civil liberties, such as freedom of speech and the right to a fair trial. Many non-western nations and the nations of the Soviet block included economic and social "rights," such as the right to adequate food, education health care and work in the human rights which should be guaranteed. The Soviet representatives maintained that the state could represent the people in the assertion of these rights. The United States maintained that the individual must be able to assert human rights against the state. Through it all, Roosevelt sought to negotiate through to a finished product which would receive overwhelming support in the General Assembly and which would not lose the support of her own government, particularly its Senate.

That the draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to be presented to the General Assembly was finally brought to conclusion at all and that it retained the continued support of the United States government was a tremendous accomplishment, due to the efforts of many committed representatives from around the world. Nonetheless, the role of Eleanor Roosevelt's leadership in the maintaining the

momentum and in securing the continued support (with some backsliding) of the American government for the Declaration itself at least through the adoption of the document, was significant. The result, although certainly imperfect and incomplete, was and is the first truly global statement on the rights of "everyone" in every nation to be able to rely upon certain fundamental human rights.

Eleanor Roosevelt worked with incredible energy, kept her cool, maintained her dignity and demonstrated nerves of steel. The Declaration was adopted by the UN General Assembly at UN Headquarters in New York on December 10, 1948. The Commission concluded its work on the document, however, earlier that month in Geneva, Switzerland. Roosevelt's niece, Eleanor II recounts:

> On the day in December when the commission finally finished its work and voted the declaration ready to be brought before the General Assembly, Aunt Eleanor gave a small reception for her colleagues at the Palais de Nations in Geneva. She wrote to me that after all the guests had left and she was walking through the empty hall with her advisor, she came upon a better way to celebrate than with a glass of champagne at a party. The marble floors were polished to a shine of black ice. My aunt's feet were long and narrow and her low-heeled shoes had leather soles. She ran, gathered momentum, and then slid down the hall, her arms outstretched in triumph. It was so much fun that she did it again. (E. Roosevelt II, 2004, p. 78)

Humanitarian Law in the Face of Nightmare. The cold war curtain of fear and militarized stand-off had not yet completely fallen over the world still recovering from the horrors of World War II, although time was running out. In 1949, Jean Pictet, Director of the International Committee of the Red Cross, convened a Diplomatic Conference at Geneva, Switzerland to review the existing Geneva Conventions (the 1st, 2nd and 3rd), to make any changes to them which seemed appropriate in the aftermath of World War II and to determine what additional conventions or new language might be advisable to adopt in light of the tremendous loss of life and abuse of persons which had accompanied the War.

The 1949 Diplomatic Conference at Geneva was not convened by the United States. However, the United States was well represented at the Conference. The United States delegation was headed by Leland Harrison, former U.S. Minister to Switzerland. He was joined, and even superseded, in regard to the 4th Convention by the current Minister to Switzerland, John Vincent. The deputy Head of the delegation was Raymond Yingling, an Assistant Legal Advisor to the U.S. State Department (Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949 2004), .

To this point, the American delegation might not seem too impressive or its role particularly central to the proceedings at Geneva. However, the fairly pedestrian official delegation was accompanied by a very impressive group of advisors: the Air Provost Marshall of the Department of the Air Force, the Provost Marshal General of the Department of the Army, the Head of the International Law Branch of the Judge Advocate General of the Department of the Navy, a Special Assistant to the Attorney General, a Special Assistant to the Chief of Protective Services of the Department of State, an Associate Counsellor of the American Red Cross and another career diplomat currently assigned to the U.S. embassy Lisbon. (Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949 (2004), Vol.1) Most significant among these advisors, in terms of the high level of American input, is the high level of legal expertise from the three branches of the U.S. military. These officers, with expertise in every aspect of the laws of warfare, the laws regarding treatment of prisoners, noncombatants, etc. sat on every small committee that met to iron out particularly thorny issues, such as penal and disciplinary sanctions against prisoners of war who commit offenses while in captivity, the handling of financial accounts of prisoners of war.

The Diplomatic Conference proposed substantial amendments to the first three Geneva Conventions, the first addressing sick and wounded on the battlefield, the second addressing those wounded on the high seas and the third dealing with prisoners of war. However, the delegates had learned from the extreme harm visited on civilian populations in World War II that more was needed. They drafted a 4th Geneva Convention to deal specifically with treatment of civilian populations in war zones and in occupied areas. This 4th convention, particularly since it was new, occasioned considerable discussion, disagreement, and revisions to language. In one instance of particular note, the Soviet delegation had proposed certain revisions to the language of an article prohibiting torture, maiming, murder, involuntary medical

experiments, etc. The American delegation expressed concern that the Soviet language might not be inclusive enough in its prohibitions. The parties were challenged by the fact that so many languages were involved (with French and English being the two official languages) and that so many delegates were operating in translation.

At last, the American delegation, under ambassador Clattenburg, proposed specific language regarding abuse of "protected persons" in the power of an occupying civilian or military authority:

> The contracting parties specifically agree that each of them is prohibited from taking any measure which has as an object the physical suffering or extermination of protected persons in its power. The prohibition of this Article extends not only to murder, torture, corporal punishment, mutilation and medical or scientific experiments not related to the necessary medical treatment of the protected person, but also to any other measures of brutality whether applied by civilian or military administrators." (Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949 (2004), Vol. II, p. 647)

In the end, the delegations approved the four conventions, subject to ratification by their home governments. In several cases, delegates made reservations on behalf of their government. In the case of the United States, the Minister to Switzerland expressed on behalf of his government a reservation to language in the 4th Geneva Convention which might be interpreted to mean that the United States as an occupying power might not be able to impose the death penalty in a case in which the death penalty could be imposed under the laws of the United States but not under the laws of the country occupied. (Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949 (2004), Vol 1).

In the case of the Soviet Union and its member soviet republics, there was a different area of reservation. The Soviet delegation had sought specific language in the 4th Geneva Convention treating as a "serious crime" "all means of exterminating the civilian population." (Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949(2004), Vol. 11, p.716.). The United States delegation objected to the proposed amendment on the grounds that it might prohibit means of warfare that had long been allowed by international law. The United States was willing to consider a more limited provision prohibiting extermination of civilian populations in occupied countries. Coincidentally, the language favored by the Soviets would most certainly have prohibited any further use of nuclear weapons since, of their essence, these weapons involve the "extermination of the civilian population" of at least a significant part of the country attacked. In any case, the American delegation argued that the Hague conventions were the proper venue to address this issue.

The American position on including specific language prohibiting weapons that exterminate civilian populations prevailed at the Conference and the 4th Convention does not include any specific language addressing this issue. While they signed the 4th Convention, a number of soviet nation states made clear in their statement of reservations that they did not consider the language protecting civilian populations to be sufficient in the absence of a general, protection of civilian populations even in countries not occupied by the enemy, a reference to the failed argument to include a general prohibition against extermination of civilian populations.

This reservation to the failure to prohibit all means of exterminating civilian populations is found in the signing statement of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Ukranian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949 (2004), Vol 1). It may or may not be coincidental that the Final Conventions were signed by the heads of delegation of the various nation states, subject, of course, to the ratification process of their home governments on August 12, 1949. The Soviet Union tested its first nuclear weapon on August 29th, 1949. Was this test an inevitability regardless of the outcome of the Soviet effort to include a veiled prohibition against the use of nuclear weapons in the 4th Geneva Convention, or was an opportunity to head off the start of the nuclear arms race missed?

The One Article in the 4th Convention that Everybody Forgets. There is one provision in the 4th Geneva Convention that is probably more forgotten than any other:

> ***Article 144:***
> The High Contracting Parties undertake, in time of peace as in time of war, to disseminate the text of the present Convention as widely as possible in their respective countries, and, in particular, to include the study thereof in their programmes of military and, if possible, civil instruction, so that the principles thereof may become known to the entire population. *(para. 1)*

Does the "entire population" of the United States know about the 4th Geneva Convention? About the prohibition against torture and abuse of protected persons? About the applicability of the different conventions? Does the civilian population of the United States know how central a role their own diplomats and military leaders played in negotiating the language of these agreements? Probably not, any more than they know that President's Roosevelt's Four Freedoms became part of the United Nations Charter, or that the promise of a fair and public trial in the American legalist tradition was maintained in the extreme circumstances of Nuremberg because Justice Robert Jackson took such leadership in the process or that so many conflicting notions of what constitutes a human right were debated and refined and a final consensus reached due to the persuasive and organizational skills of Eleanor Roosevelt.

The testing of the first nuclear weapon by the Soviet Union essentially shut the door on American willingness to work with the Soviet Union or its allies on anything. The outbreak of war in Korea further divided the world into "them" and "us." When the iron curtain fell, it fell not only around the subject nations around the periphery of the Soviet Union, but also around a rich period in American history when the United States was a creative and energetic proponent of international standards of human rights and humanitarian law and when United States leaders insisted that these standards are as applicable to actions by the United States as actions by anyone else in the world.

This paper has been mostly devoted to an overview of the period between the end of World War II and the start of the Cold War to demonstrate that there is a great deal of history in this period, and that a common theme of human rights and adherence to humanitarian law runs through the many strands of that history. The post-war period of enthusiastic American engagement with the expansion of the world's human rights consciousness was scarcely long enough to make its way into the history books. Furthermore, the lessons of this period were already being rewritten by cold warriors by the time this story should have been told. But this is a new millennium and a new century and a new day. Maybe it is finally time to rediscover the American history of universal human rights and international humanitarian law and tell the story.

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Exploring Elementary and Middle School In-service Teachers' Knowledge of Animal Classification: A Comparison of Student and Teacher Misconceptions

Angie M. Bucher, Jacob Burgoon, Emilio Duran
Bowling Green State University

Education is a vital part of today's society. As people learn more about important issues such as best practices and students' engagement, concerns arise that seem to be out of our control. Practicing teachers know the importance of an abundance of knowledge in the subjects that we teach. But what happens when what is being taught does not line up with what the students are internalizing? What happens when teachers misinform the students? This can cause erroneous content development and misconceptions. These problems will be discussed in this research study. Misconceptions are not representative of all teachers, but rather are surfacing as researchers delve deeper into the science education field.

Teacher and student alike share misconceptions. According to Sanders (1993), "identification of erroneous ideas is an obvious and important stage in the remediation of misconceptions" (p. 920). For this study, I will use erroneous ideas and misconceptions as being similar in nature, all contributing to conceptions that people have that are incorrect in some way.

In many states, it is required that teachers complete a certain number of professional development (PD) hours within one year. The requirement is to ensure that teachers have continuous PD in the content areas, to develop their content knowledge and ultimately, lead to the formation of high-quality teachers. Teachers' knowledge and skills directly affect their student's learning ("National Commission on Teaching and America's Future", 1996). The importance of knowledgeable teachers is vital to education and PD programs to help with this installment of knowledge.

The Council for School Performance (1998) believes an effective teacher professional development program includes: 1) Long-term programs that continue throughout the school year; 2) Taking an active role in learning activities such as demonstration, practice, and feedback; 3) Analyzing student learning in a collaborative way; and 4) Support for teachers to help and better teaching and learning strategies. The purpose of this study is to show how the PD program NWO TEAMS (Northwest Ohio Center of Excellence in Science and Mathematics Education: Teachers Enhancing Achievement in Mathematics and Science) is using data to enhance the achievement of the participating teachers. For this study the TEAMS research team looked at teacher misconceptions, as we see this as a significant component to better understand our teachers and their knowledge.

Theoretical Framework/Literature Review

The lens through which we looked in order to develop this study was the critical theoretical framework. As teachers are held more accountable for student learning, it has become critical that teachers self-reflect upon their teaching practices and content knowledge. Teachers also need to have a sense of efficacy and know their own beliefs and teaching philosophy. Teachers come to specific PD programs due to their desire to gain more knowledge about specific content.

This research also takes a social lens, as misconceptions are examined on how they are passed from teacher to student. When taking this social approach, it was important to pay close attention and to not misconstrue any social contexts that arose as being a branch of a misconception. The research team focused directly on teachers' responses to questions regarding science content knowledge.

Prior to the development of this study, it was important to review related studies that have already been completed and analyzed. These studies gave insight into misconceptions that the teachers in our PD program may hold and how they form. The studies also helped to see how the misconceptions are passed on to students and how to ensure the TEAMS PD program can decrease the chances of this happening.

Sanders's (1993) study was conducted in South Africa where it is considered to be very similar to other mass education systems in the world. Researchers had teachers grade students' work using a plus (+) for a correct statement and a negative (-) for a wrong statement. Sanders (1993) found out that teachers ignored errors when they graded. According to Sanders (1993), "teachers who mark an incorrect answer correct are likely to be influencing student errors whether their marking is a result of their own erroneous knowledge or of their leniency in accepting imprecise answers" (p.922). Some teachers tried to stretch what the students were construing in order to give credit (Sanders, 1993). As a result of this grading, students are made to believe that their ideas are correct. Students build upon this foundation and create the beginning of a misconception by connecting new information with their already established schema in a way that is not accepted as correct (Sanders, 1993). As long as students receive instructive feedback about their responses, they will be able to make meaning of their mistakes, which will lead to better understanding and development of their content knowledge (Sanders, 1993).

Perhaps one of the most disturbing ways that student alternative conceptions are formed comes directly from the teacher. Sanders (1993) noticed that teachers are not willing to accept changes in pedagogical and content knowledge in the science field. Teachers need to keep their knowledge base current, as changes occur every day.

Teachers also need to be attentive to what their students are saying. Listening can give teachers a sense of what the students understand or do not understand (Sanders, 1993). While what has been mentioned above relates to written feedback, verbal feedback is important as well.

On another study, Yip (1998) gave teachers a test, which was graded for accuracy. Teachers were given a week to complete the test and were allowed to look up answers that they did not know. The reasoning behind this is the idea that teachers will probably only look up answers that they believe they may not know. "Thus, wrong answers given by the subjects will be a clear indication of the existence of some deep-rooted misunderstandings or conceptual problems" (Yip, 1998, p. 464). The results of this teacher test proved that misconceptions are evident.

Yip (1998) had similar reasons, when compared to Sanders (1993), as to how these misconceptions form. However, many of Yip's (1998) suggestions dealt with how teachers can help students learn in a way that misconceptions can be minimized. It is important to ensure that the students have the necessary knowledge before advancing onto more complex concepts (Yip, 1998). Sometimes, cognitive conflict can cause students to struggle with adjusting their ideas internally as well (Yip, 1998).

Oversimplification can also cause concepts to be misconstrued (Yip, 1998). Yip (1998) suggests that by using age-appropriate inquiry, students can find connections within their schema and build upon their knowledge. It is up to the teachers to ensure that inquiry is done properly.

Unlike the previous two studies, Mintzes and Trowbridge's (1985) study involved direct testing of students' conceptions. Each answer to the questions that were asked was classified as being correct or incorrect, while giving potential reasons as to why. This study dealt mainly with misconceptions of animals and animal classifications. While this study showed the individual misconceptions held, conclusions were similar to the other studies. Students may struggle with generalizing, which results in an incorrect meaning of the concept (Mintzes & Trowbridge 1985). Correcting students is important because the longer these alternative conceptions are held, the stronger they become, and the harder they are to reverse (Mintzes & Trowbridge, 1985). According to Mintzes & Trowbridge (1985), "teachers must begin recognizing alternative conceptions at an early stage and developing new techniques to counteract them (p. 305).

Another tool that can aid in causing erroneous ideas and misconceptions is textbooks. Textbooks are not always the best tools for "facts". Many have imprecise expressions that can mislead students (Yip, 1998). Teachers need to have an active role in their students' learning by being aware of how the textbooks are guiding the students (Yip, 1998). Sometimes overgeneralization can occur within the

context of the book to make the readings age-appropriate. Vagueness can potentially lead to misconceptions (Mintzes & Trowbridge 1985).

Even though each study was considerably different, they all had underlying similarities related to misconceptions that were worth looking into. All three studies gave strategies to eliminate the passing on of these alternative conceptions and eradicate the false ideas altogether.

As seen by these studies, misconceptions seem to be prevalent in today's science classroom. Each study focused on a different way of obtaining information, but concluded with similar findings. Many people believe the first step to solving the problem is to make sure teachers are knowledgeable as they become certified to teach science and stay knowledgeable throughout their teaching years. Many states require a certain number of hours of PD to increase teachers' content knowledge. More tenured teachers need to keep up-to-date with the ever-changing world.

The idea of documenting and finding the sources of misconceptions is a relatively new topic. Many PD programs now do research related to the effectiveness of their program. However, not many link teacher knowledge with student knowledge. Mary Kennedy (1998) was interested in the substance of the programs and implications on student learning. Even though there is an immense amount of literature on in-service programs, once focused on the teacher/student misconceptions relationship, literature is scarce.

Kennedy (1998) reviewed programs that are available for mathematics and science PD in order to improve student learning. These programs were supposedly effective in developing teacher and student content knowledge, but failed to address the idea of misconceptions. Studies relating misconceptions with teacher and student content knowledge are not readily available, however some inferences can be derived from Loucks-Horsley et al.'s discussion of the importance of teacher learning in PD. These inferences are criteria that PD should implement in order to have teachers effectively learn about their own cognitive processes and how their students comprehend new material:

1. What learners already know influences their learning.
2. Learners acquire new knowledge by constructing it for themselves.
3. The construction of knowledge is a process of change that included addition, creation, modification, refinement, restructuring and rejection.
4. Learning happens through diverse experiences.

(as cited in Bober, 2004, para. 1)

Bober's (2004) study dealt with a PD program, but focused on the teacher's reflections of the program. Upon review of numerous articles about PD, Yip (1998), Mintzes and Trowbridge (1985), and Sanders (1993) were of the few dealing with general content knowledge. The search for articles was by no means exhaustive, but rather just the higher profile articles available. As can be seen here, there is a definite need for research regarding the similarities between teachers' and students' misconceptions. For this study, the goal was to find teacher misconceptions that are imbedded in animal classification. One study was particularly intriguing, as it related to a common theme we have found; that students, elementary through high school, struggle with the classification of animals as vertebrates or invertebrates (Braund, 1998). It is seen in the articles above that this is a critical aspect of teaching in today's society. Since our preliminary research is geared towards teachers, we connected some of our findings to Braund's (1998) article, which dealt with student conceptions.

Research Focus

With animal classifications being a highly misconceived topic, the PD research team decided upon the following research question: What misconceptions do third grade teachers hold about animal classifications?

Research Methodology and Rationale

Research Design

This study was derived off of pre-existing quantitative data pertaining to third grade teachers in the PD program, TEAMS. The original data collected were from a pre-test given to teachers on the first day of their academic year PD. The test questions dealt with science knowledge of third grade content, according to the Ohio Academic Content Standards. To keep the anonymity of the teachers taking this test, a unique code was made for each teacher according to their birth date (without the year) and the first two letters of

their mother's maiden name. The research team wanted to qualitatively assess via interviews where the teachers stood prior to their animal classification session in order to get a clearer picture of the quantitative data that we had obtained in September regarding the teachers' knowledge.

Background to TEAMS PD

TEAMS provides PD for third through sixth grade teachers in the Northwest Ohio and Southeast Michigan area. Teachers met for eight days in the summer of 2008 for 56 contact hours of PD. In-depth training occurred dealing with numerous science topics. Teachers then met once a month (in the academic year) for a total of 31 hours of science PD. Five of the eight sessions were classroom time where a content facilitator presented grade-level appropriate hands-on inquiry lessons that matched the Ohio Academic Content Standards for each specific grade. The other three sessions were dedicated to keynote speakers and content testing, with one session being the Northwest Ohio Mathematics and Science Symposium. Teachers will conclude the program in June of 2009 with a 4-day institute consisting of more in-depth training.

Selection and Access to Teachers

On October 23, during the monthly PD event, third grade teachers were asked to participate in the research. These teachers were offered a small incentive (a science children's book to be added to their classroom library) as gratitude for their time.

Data Collection Methods

Pre-existing Data

All pre-existing data, namely the grade-level content pre-tests, were collected during the first day of the academic PD. We summarized the results of each grade level. The test the data were quantitatively analyzed, allowing for recognition of patterns in teacher answers, and ultimately the discovery of which questions were critically misconceived. The pre-existing data led to the animal classification misconceptions focus.

Pre-test Animal Classification Items

We focused on two items that led us to delve further into animal classifications conceptions. Item one had teachers classify a bat, frog, penguin, snake, crab, and turtle as a vertebrate, invertebrate, fish, amphibian, reptiles, bird, or mammal. Teachers were to mark all groups to which the organism belonged. Item two had teachers correlate amphibians, birds, fish, mammals, and reptiles with listed characteristics (have fur, live in water, have a soft skeleton, have a backbone, have scales, have gills, have structures adapted for swimming, and lay hard-shelled eggs).

Interview Methods & Questions

The data for the qualitative piece of this research were collected in the face-to-face interviews conducted on October 23, 2008 during the PD event. Semi-structured interviews were important because it allowed us to see non-verbal emotions and connections that the teachers experienced. This helped with this qualitative aspect of the research. Eight teachers, who were willing to participate, were taken into separate rooms and interviewed individually. The pre-test item answers, which were originally anonymous, were correlated to their name in order to ask the interview questions properly. Teachers signed a written consent form to ensure documentation of their permission to allow the anonymity to be no longer, and that responses would only be used for research. Teachers were assured that only the research team would see the directly correlated responses.

The interview questions were tailored to each teacher's pre-test response in order to get the best data possible. Elaboration and getting off topic was permitted, as it gave insight into the thoughts of the individual participant. However, the interviewers' discretion was used to decide when discussion needed to get back on track, as time was limited. The responses to the interview questions were answered to the best of each individual teacher's ability. The teachers' responses are instances of their verbal portrayal of their content knowledge.

Interview questions were specifically focused on animal classification, as it was seen that the majority of teachers did not classify animals correctly on the pre-test. Time allotted for the completion of eight interviews, which comprised of approximately 20% of our third grade enrollment. Even with this small percentage of teachers, strong themes emerged, as will be discussed in the data analysis.

Data Interpretation

After the completion of the eight interviews, the audio recordings were transcribed. In the transcripts, all "umms", "uhhs", "hmms", pauses, and other non-word expressions were included. This gives insight into the participants' thought processes. According to the context of the expression, it sometimes seemed to mean hesitancy, frustration, or unsure feelings. The transcripts were then coded to find reoccurring ideas amongst the teachers. For some of the following analysis, vignettes were used to properly embrace the thoughts of the participants.

Data Analysis

Two main themes emerged while synthesizing the pre-test data with the interviews: 1) struggling to determine whether an animal is a vertebrate or invertebrate and 2) confusion between amphibian and reptile characteristics.

Theme 1: Vertebrate verses Invertebrate

Backbones seem to be a highly misconceived component of classification. The pre-tests were only dealing with fish, mammals, reptiles, amphibians, and birds, so although the correct response is that all those animals are vertebrate, many teachers do not believe this. On the pre-test, 23% of teachers thought that frogs were invertebrates. Teachers also considered snakes and sea turtles invertebrates, with 65% and 54%, respectively. When considering whether amphibians and fish have backbones, one participant stated, "I guess I was just thinking of the, the, you know, metamorphous that would not have backbones, maybe they do? I don't know". Others believed is that if the animal has a shell, it does not have a backbone. In a study conducted by Braund (1998), students of all ages believe the tortoise is an invertebrate because they think the shell is the support, replacing the backbone. We found this as well. Both teachers and students have incorrect conceptions of vertebrate and invertebrate animals.

A few other teachers believed that all animals have a backbone, but that there were exceptions to the vertebrate rule. One participant said that "there would be certain exceptions", for example, that not all mammals have backbones. "Perhaps a whale [doesn't have a backbone]. I'm not sure". Many teachers danced around some form of an answer, and then ultimately said that they did not know. Through informal conversations, some teachers have admitted that there is so much science content to remember, so they rely on alternative methods of information (besides their own brains) as they go from lesson topic to lesson topic. Teacher's manuals and the internet are some of those methods. We do not know how the teachers go about their teaching in the classroom, but if they are simply relying on their memory, and their thoughts are incorrect, concerns may arise.

A different participant stated that snakes do not have backbones "Just 'cause they're slithery, the way they curl up, they don't have bones". This seems to be the misconception that many people hold, including students. According to Braund (1998), since a snake can curl up, many students believe a backbone cannot allow for this. The research team found similar findings from the teachers. This could perhaps be a connection between teachers and students. As Sanders's (1993) points out, teachers may be propagating faulty information, or do not correct students' incorrect answers.

Theme 2: Confusions Between Reptile and Amphibian Characteristics

A wide range of misconceptions surfaced related to characteristics of amphibian and reptiles. When referring to reptiles, one participant answered, "the first thing I think of is slimy". Others believed that reptiles have moist skin so that they do not dry out and die (which is actually a characteristic of amphibians). A few teachers also stated simply that they did not know. Most of the answers given by the participants were not characteristics of reptiles. Upon looking at the responses of the interviews and the responses of the pre-test, many teachers used reptile and amphibian characteristics interchangeably. "Slimy" animals are seen more in amphibians, while reptiles (such as snakes) may look slimy, but really are not.

On the pre-test, teachers were asked to classify a frog, crab, and sea turtle. Ninety-one percent of teachers (n=43) thought frogs were amphibians due to their capabilities to go in and out of water. However, 19% thought frogs were reptiles. The percentages show that some of the teachers marked both amphibian and reptile. One question asked in the interviews was: "Can an organism belong to more than one group? For example, can an animal belong to the amphibian AND reptile group? Why or why not?"

The teachers interviewed stated that animals could not be part of two groups. However, no teacher could adequately explain why not.

All participants knew that amphibians live both in water and on land at some point in their life. While this is one of the major characteristics, as amphibians basically lay between the fish and reptile categories, only a few teachers stated that they are cold-blooded. The cold-blooded characteristic is one that the research team thought teachers would have stated.

The research team also thought that teachers would be able to name off more than one or two characteristics for amphibians, such as the fact that they breathe through gills early in their life, and then breathe through lungs once the metamorphous has taken place. Perhaps this lack of recollection of characteristics is because of the nature of amphibians, being so different from ourselves. The pre-test showed that 59% of teachers (n=41) thought that amphibians have a soft skeleton, while only 45% thought they have a backbone. Forty percent believe a crab is an amphibian while 24% thought a sea turtle was an amphibian as well. A few participants had similar thoughts- that a turtle was not a reptile, but was an amphibian. Maybe teachers think that since amphibians spend part of their life in water and part on land, that turtles and crabs are amphibians because of the ability to go into water and onto land. Teachers may not be thinking that amphibians start out in the water, breathing through gills, then develop lungs to be oxygen-breathing animals. Turtles and crabs simply have adaptations to allow for the ability to spend time on land and water.

When teachers were responding to the interview questions, they would somehow try to make connections, even though hesitancy was very prevalent. The incorrect connections can be misconstrued if attempting to explain such concepts to students. A negative impact can occur if misconceptions are common. While it may be hard to eradicate these conceptions completely, to try to lessen them would be a step in the right direction.

Conclusions

Through this study, the research team found that teachers have great difficulty grasping the animal classification topics that all third grade teachers are required to teach. This is concerning due to the idea that this material may be passed on to the students. The literature allowed for relationships between teacher and student misconceptions to become visible, as similar experiences surfaced when administering the pre-tests and teacher interviews. With animal classifications being only one topic, future research could go into greater depth by interviewing a larger number of teachers on a multitude of content topics. Overall, this study shows insights into the minds of third grade teachers in northwest Ohio and southeast Michigan and how it connects to student learning. With the information our study yielded, the research team can improve their PD programs, one topic and one misconception at a time.

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First Responders in the Classroom: Triage Training for Teachers to Respond to Students after a Natural Disaster

Nancy Leffel Carlson, Pamela E. Monk, E. Jane Irons, Carlo P. Walker
Lamar University

The purpose of this study was to investigate classroom teachers' perceptions of the impact of a natural disaster, such as a hurricane, on students' behaviors in the classroom. Teachers became the first responders to students when they returned to classrooms after evacuation following Hurricane Ike. Teachers made decisions and demonstrated appropriate actions in the classroom to support children traumatized by the emergency evacuation and eventual return to destruction.

Literature Review

Background

Children, teachers, and school buildings in Southeast Texas have been impacted by several significant hurricanes in the past four years. Hurricane Rita in October 2005 caused a mandatory evacuation of over 1.3 million people to escape the storm's destruction and devastation ("Rita Captured", 2005). In September 2008, extensive damage was caused to personal property and school buildings over a 500 mile area because of the sea surge and "Category 3" winds from Hurricane Ike ("In Ike's Wake," 2008). Recovery and return to normal conditions from such devastation can take a long time ("One year since Hurricane Rita," 2006).

Teachers affected both personally and professionally continued to rebuild and adjust to the aftermath of Hurricane Ike months later in the spring of 2009. Murray (2009) reported that classrooms, school facilities, and supply warehouses were demolished by the storm resulting in a void of teaching materials and curriculum resources. Communities and schools from as far away as Illinois provided support and donated over $30,000 in supplies and teaching materials to schools in Galveston. Bridge City and Sabine Pass, coastal communities in Southeast Texas devastated by Hurricane Ike, received reference materials, bulletin board supplies, gently used books, clothing, and money raised by children from schools and communities over 800 miles away (Murray). Murray reported that educators across Texas adopted "sister schools" and copied curriculum materials in language arts, reading, math, science, and social studies to assist in maintaining teaching and learning efforts.

Effects of Tragedies at Schools

A school crisis could change the entire culture of a community leading to feelings of vulnerability and helplessness in some individuals (Lerner, Lindell, & Volpe, 2006). Lerner et al. (p. 211) defined a crisis as "…a traumatic event that seriously disrupts our coping and problem solving abilities." School crises, such as the Chicago school fire in 1958 and the explosion of the New London School in east Texas in 1937, sickened and caused trauma that haunted the communities for years. These tragedy forced schools and communities to review their emergency plans and prepare for the unexpected (Collins, 2003). Collins reported on the hurricane of 1900 that destroyed numerous homes, city and school buildings, and took over 6,000 lives in Galveston, Texas because community members were unprepared and lulled by a false sense of security.

Students, faculty, and school staff have had long-term emotional impacts from a school crisis. Failure to address emotional turmoil from a school crisis negatively impacts academic progress and could result

in serious emotional and psychological impact to children and adults (Schonfeld, Lichestein, Pruitt, & Speese-Linehan, 2002).

Effects of Tragedies in the Classroom

Total populations have been impacted by disasters such as hurricanes. Bender and Sims (2007) described the effects Hurricane Katrina, a population-wide tragedy (PWT), had on school children in New Orleans. Children disrupted and displaced by emergencies or disasters must receive support in their educational efforts and their emotional trauma eased. Bender and Sims suggested ways teachers could support children in recovering from a disaster: teachers should (a) observe and understand emotional instability on the part of the children, (b) understand that students' insecurities may impact individuals and spread throughout an entire classroom, and (c) understand that emotional trauma may increase displays of inappropriate behaviors such as acting out, anger, and (d) regression in developmentally appropriate behaviors.

Symptoms of depression were common in children impacted by disasters and tragedies. Crundwell and Killu (2007) suggested that children with depression negatively impacts academic, cognitive, and interpersonal relationships. A variety of teaching strategies and accommodations were necessary to support academic achievement and emotional stability for children with depression. Instructional strategies included modifying student work to meet individual student's needs, teaching problem-solving skills, increased opportunities for social interaction with peers, increased opportunities for frequent communication with peers, and clearly established routines and expectations (Crundwell & Killu).

Davis (2006) reported on lowered test scores from students displaced by Hurricanes Rita and Katrina. State officials in Louisiana determined to include displaced students in accountability measures instead of seeking exemption waivers with the understanding that these students had suffered trauma and were trailing behind other students. Georgia and Texas requested exemptions for transfer students displaced by Katrina to take pressure off both the students and teachers. Districts in Georgia, Texas, and Mississippi educated displaced students in shifts, held before- and after-school tutoring, and set up donation centers in schools to provide food and clothing to students and their families (Davis).

Bender and Sims (2007) recommended a three part school safety plan to support students and communities recovering from trauma and disasters. The three sections of the safety plan were: readiness, response, and recovery. The readiness section recommended guidelines for crisis situations to designate who should provide information about the disaster to students, recommended regular practice and drill for all participants, and recommended intensive drills for first responders and crisis teams. The response section included implementing the plan and providing for physical and emotional support to students. The recovery section included creating normalcy in classrooms through established routines and structure, and fostering interagency cooperation for efficient delivery of community services (Bender & Sims).

The Study

A survey was conducted to investigate classroom teachers' perceptions of the impact on students' behavior in the classroom after a natural disaster such as Hurricane Ike.

Sample Characteristics

Seventy-three Texas classroom teachers responded to an online survey. One fifth (or 21%) of the participants had 5 years or less experience teaching in a classroom. Sixteen percent taught between 5 and 10 years. Thirty-four percent of the participants had between 11 and 20 years teaching experience. The most experienced teachers (29%) had over 20 years in the classroom. The majority (86%) of respondents was White between 41 and 60 years of age while fewer than 10% of the respondents were young, between the ages of 20 and 30 years old.

Findings

Participants were asked to rate statements using a five-point Likert-type scale with one (1) showing a decrease and five (5) showing an increase in the behavior identified in the 20 statements or questions. Based on their perceptions, participants were asked to rate if students' behaviors showed an increase or decrease upon returning to school after Hurricane Ike. The responses related to students' behaviors were separated into three categories and are reported in Tables 1, 2, and 3, found in Appendix 1. The three categories of students' behaviors included: basic needs, academic focus/classroom behavior, and student

social interactions. Perceptions of safety needs related to training for faculty and staff and compliance with safety regulations are reported in Table 4, found in Appendix 1. Written comments or suggestions related to the survey statements are reported under the qualitative results section.

Classroom teachers who responded to this survey observed an increase in homelessness for children in their classrooms accompanied by a reduction in daily attendance, emotional stability, and involvement by parents. Almost all participants (97%) reported an increase in homelessness for students in their schools. A majority of the participants (92%) reported a decrease in daily attendance, or an increase in absences, for students in their classes. Almost all participants (99%) reported a decrease in parental involvement in their child(ren)'s classroom activities in the months following Hurricane Ike. A decrease in students' emotional stability during school hours and school activities was observed by the majority (or 94%) of participating classroom teachers. Table 1 shows students' behaviors related to basic needs as observed by classroom teachers who participated in this study.

The second category of student behaviors reported by participants was students' academic focus and classroom behavior. Participating classroom teachers observed a decline in their students' ability to focus on academic and instructional activities as well as a decrease in their students' interest in extra curricular activities. Approximately 90% of participants reported a decrease in their students' ability to focus on academic and instructional activities. Almost all participants noted that students were unable to work independently. Students demonstrating an increase in challenging behaviors in classrooms including fighting, disruptive behaviors, and referrals to administrators because of disciplinary infractions was reported by over 80% of the participating teachers. Table 2 shows participating teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors relative to academic focus and classroom behavior.

The third category of student behaviors reported by participants was students' social interaction with peers, school administrators, and teachers. The majority of participants (86%) reported that students' interactions with classroom teachers decreased, while interactions with all other groups at school increased. The decrease in students' interaction with classroom teachers corresponds with the decline in academic focus and increase in disruptive behaviors reported above. The increase in social interaction with peers corresponds with the students' decline in ability to work independently noted above. Table 3 shows participating classroom teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors related to student social interaction.

Two safety issues in school buildings and classrooms emerged from this survey: concerns about faculty training and condition of facilities, including buildings and instructional resources. The majority (over 90%) of participating classroom teachers increased their perceptions of the need for compliance with safety regulations and the condition specifically of their own classrooms, curriculum materials, and instructional resources after the extensive damage inflicted by Hurricane Ike. Over 90% of the participants observed an increase in faculty training immediately after Hurricane Ike. Because of significant physical damage to school property and buildings, almost all participants reported a decrease in the condition of classroom facilities and instructional resources at their schools. Table 4 shows participants' perceptions of safety and facilities management at their schools.

Qualitative Findings

Participants were invited to comment and make recommendations for improvement so that classroom teachers could effectively respond to students after a natural disaster. Four themes emerged from the participant's statements: concern for students, concern for school safety, concern for preparedness and training, and frustrations with state and federal issues. Selected quotes representing each of these areas are included below.

Concern for Students

Participating classroom teachers expressed concern about their students' ability to recover from the hurricane and the impact it had on their behaviors in the classroom. Additionally, the participants commented on students' basic needs and general welfare:

> "[My concerns are] safety, food, clothing, shelter, emotional stability, ability to focus on anything other than getting their lives back to normal."

> "[I see] having a great number of students in alternative housing has placed them in stressful conditions. A natural disaster can force parents to spend money that they had saved for students to go to college on repairing or rebuilding their home."
> "We are unprepared for the emotional feelings of our students and don't always know how to talk to them about or listen to their feelings, hurts, problems, [and] challenges."
> "Students are generally more upset when the weather gets bad. Fear is greatly increased even on simple rainy days. Worry about things at home and where [their] parents/caregivers are increased. On days when the wind blows, worry is apparent."
> "My one concern would be the emotional impact the natural disaster would have on the students. [I see] their fear of not seeing their friends, of not hearing from other family members, and the general panic that life would not be the same again, if ever."
> "[I see] financially disadvantaged students are overlooked in regards to meals, basic needs, and educational needs due to loss."
> "[I see] loss of school days due to the natural disasters. We were very, very far behind when we were able to finally return to school. When we were hit by Hurricane Rita, there were a lot of students who had no homes, no regular food supply, etc. This caused a lot of problems."
> "[I am concerned about] the time lost in the classroom. I notice each day that I teach that my students are not developmentally where other students were in the past."
> "[I see] the emptiness that students [are] faced with [in] their home and school environments. They are still recovering from the past hurricane and [are] now faced with this new disaster."
> "The anxiety experienced by students during evacuation, [and] trauma when returning to damaged facilities and economic hardships many face while trying to not make it public knowledge how much their family suffered."

Concern for Safety/Preparedness

Participating classroom teachers wrote the following statements concerning safety and the ability to keep students, their families, and the community safe:

> "[I am concerned about] parents who ignore mandatory evacuations and keep their children at home with them."
> "I want my students to be safe at school. I am also concerned for my own children at their schools if there were any type of natural disaster."
> "[I think] making the decision to close the schools earlier so we can evacuate before the bumper to bumper traffic hits!"

Several participating classroom teachers commented about the ability for schools and communities to be prepared specifically for natural disasters, such as hurricanes and the impact it has on children.

> "We don't have a regional [disaster] plan in place. If the schools in Region 5 could coordinate recovery goals before the next disaster, we might be more efficient."
> "[I am concerned about] early preparation…school being dismissed in a time that would be conducive to all getting ready to evacuate."
> "Communication is the key! Every school district in a certain radius of each other needs to be on the same page as far as whether or not classes are to be held."
> "Send out information, tools, [and] ways for teachers to take natural disasters and turn them into a teaching tool and a way of learning not only about the disaster itself, but the ways of life and life lessons that you can learn by learning to cope and deal with a disaster itself."
> "I recommend that we have a hard and fast rule for evacuation and if that standard is met, then an evacuation is called. Currently, the decision is left up to superintendents and various other people that have little or no expertise. My wife and I work in two adjoining school districts and they both have different criteria when judging a

hurricane's path. Some people are willing to take greater risks with their children. Some administrators are willing to take great risks that I would not take with my children."

Training Concerns

Participating classroom teachers identified training needs for both adults and children through the following statements:

"I think that students should be more informed on what to do and when."

"I think routine drills as well as safety instruction is essential to being prepared for any type of event."

"I would like to see a program about weather that doesn't include drills. The drills frighten younger students more now and cause a lot of insecurity."

"[We need] in-school training from counselors [to meet students' needs]."

Frustration about State and Federal Issues

Some respondents expressed frustration with state requirements and perceived lack of state concern as follows:

"[I am concerned about] the inconsistency in the FEMA system. Some are helped immediately and others are still waiting 5 months later."

"[I am concerned about] the promptness of receiving aid and it going to the most devastated areas first.

"[I see] the emotional stress on teachers as well as students: Texas Education Agency is slow to respond to the needs of students and teachers' concerns about TAKS testing, scores, [and] standards. There is really no way to make up for a month of lost instruction time or the increase in absences of displaced students."

"There was such a concern about having to make up missed days that I feel like our safety and our family's opportunity to leave town was jeopardized a bit."

"[I think there should be] flexibility in the TAKS calendar or waivers for districts where 80 to 90% of students and staff have lost their homes."

"FEMA should not be changing case workers in the middle of cases [and] having to tell 3 different people where to set up the FEMA trailer – that is just a plain breakdown of communication!"

"State and local agencies should do what is in the best interest of the residents and not worry about any bad press or backlash from a decision to order an evacuation."

Summary and Conclusions

This study used online survey methodology and qualitative reflections to examine the perceptions of 73 classroom teachers from Southeast Texas about students' behaviors following the severe damage and disruption of Hurricane Ike. The majority of participants were White teachers between the ages of 41 and 60 with more than 10 years experience in the classroom.

Four major areas of concern emerged from this study: concern for student welfare, concern for school safety and preparedness, training needs for teachers and students, and a lack of support from the government agencies. Teachers were the first responders and observers of students' behavior in their schools. Participating classroom teachers observed students who had decreased emotional stability with a corresponding increase in disruptive behaviors in the classroom. Many students and teachers were anxious about the total destruction of their homes which caused families to become homeless. School attendance became less important, consequently students were absent from school more often.

Participating teachers were concerned about the general welfare of their students and the ability of families to obtain basic needs such as food, shelter, and water. Participating teachers noted that families, and in some cases themselves, were under financial stress because of repairs needed to homes, the loss of jobs, and the relocation of family members. Teachers reported that parents were focused on repairing homes and returning to normalcy in their lives resulting in less attention spent on their children's school activities. As a result, teachers assigned less homework as there may have been several families living in the same house or apartment with little space or facilities to work at home.

Hurricane Ike had a negative impact on students' emotional stability, interaction with adults, academic performance, and classroom behaviors. Participating teachers observed a decrease in students' ability focus on instructional activities and to work independently; consequently, teachers began to assign group work or allow students to work with partners. Students preferred to interact with their peers, resulting in teachers developing active and collaborative instructional activities. The decrease in students' interaction with classroom teachers corresponds with the decline in academic focus and the increase in disruptive behaviors such as fighting, distraction, and behavior referrals. Teachers noted that students needed time with their peers to talk about the emotional stress of the hurricane. Teachers provided time for students to talk with their peers about their common struggles and stress and the impact the hurricane had on themselves and their families.

Classroom facilities and instructional resources were seriously damaged or totally destroyed in some areas. Some teachers were required to share classrooms or teach without resources or instructional materials. Donations from neighboring communities assisted some classroom teachers to have instructional materials. Teachers observed that after the hurricane, students appeared to be academically behind previous years' classes. Many teachers were concerned about the state accountability assessments (TAKS) and the negative impact of numerous lost days and lost instructional time on their students' ability to perform well.

Training for classroom teachers and their students appeared to be a concern for some respondents. Some teachers reported that safety drills were important; however, the drills had a negative impact on younger students. Other teachers recommended training children on safety preparedness including what to do in a disaster or evacuation and when to do it.

Federal and state governmental agencies were the source of frustration for many participants. Many were frustrated over the need to make up lost instructional days and the slowness of the Texas Education Agency to understand the impact of lost instructional time because of the hurricane on preparation for the state accountability requirements. Other teachers were frustrated over the inability of governmental agencies to respond quickly and efficiently to basic needs of housing and financial support for children and families. Teachers observed their students' families were homeless and in need of basic supplies such as food, water, and shelter. One teacher personally experienced having to work with three different counselors to get a FEMA trailer for housing.

Hurricane Ike had a serious and devastating impact on personal and school property in the Southeast Texas region. Many homes and school buildings were destroyed by strong winds and a 25-foot sea surge that caused over 1.3 million people to be evacuated ("In Ike's Wake", 2008; "Rita Captured", 2005). Classrooms and instructional materials were destroyed leaving teachers to improvise teaching activities. Teachers experienced their own challenges with the impact of Hurricane Ike while being the ones to responded first with emotional and academic support to students' needs and behaviors in the schools.

Recommendations

The following are recommendations based on the survey responses from classroom teachers who experienced the impact of Hurricane Ike on their students. These recommendations are made so that classroom teachers may be better prepared to determine priorities and make appropriate actions in an emergency such as a natural disaster.

1. Train teachers to observe and recognize students' behaviors of stress and anxiety and understand emotional stressors for students.
2. Train teachers on ways to help children express their feelings openly and acknowledge their emotions of fear, loss, anger, and insecurity.
3. Train teachers in methods to create and maintain structure and routines in class activities that support consistent, appropriate, and positive student behavior.
4. Train teachers to demonstrate examples of positive behaviors such as remaining calm and purposeful in emergencies.
5. Train teachers to maintain discipline while allowing for tolerance and flexibility in class activities and instructional requirements.

6. Train teachers on a variety of teaching and learning strategies to meet the individual needs of students experiencing trauma and emotional insecurities that affect students' learning abilities.
7. Train teachers on finding and using community resources such as counseling, family assistance, shelters, and other basic support systems to better support the needs of their students and families.

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Appendix 1

Table 1

Teachers' Perceptions of Student Behavior Issues: Basic Needs N = 73

Student Behavior: Basic Needs			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Homelessness	√		97
Daily attendance		√	92
Emotional stability		√	94
Parental involvement		√	99

Table 2

Teachers' Perceptions of Student Behavior Issues: Academic Focus/Classroom Behavior N = 73

Student Behavior: Academic Focus/Classroom Behavior			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Academic focus		√	89
Working independently		√	97
Behavior referrals/disciplinary infractions in the classroom	√		83
Fighting in school	√		84
Referrals for disruptive behavior	√		84
Interest in extra curricular activities		√	81

Table 3

Teachers' Perceptions of Student Behavior Issues: Student Social Interaction N = 73

Student Behavior: Student Social Interaction			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Interaction with school administrators	√		87
Responsiveness to teachers		√	86
Interaction with school counselors	√		94
Social interaction with peers	√		97
Responsiveness to peers	√		89

Table 4

Teachers' Perceptions of Safety and Facilities Management N = 73

Safety and Facilities Management			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Class facilities and resources		√	95
Faculty/staff training	√		90
Safety regulation compliance	√		94

The Recession of 1948-1949: The Most Important One of All?

Joseph Ford, Vincent Maher
Iona College

The provocative question mark in the title allows us an oblique way of introducing the theme of the paper at the very outset. It is this: was the revolutionary ideological and policy shift that was Keynesianism, born in extraordinary and disparate times, going to survive and function as an economic linchpin in the more "normal" environment of post world war II America? As obvious as the answer to the question is today it was by no means a given in the late 1940's. A major and at times acrimonious debate took place because, as hindsight makes clear, of a sea change, a turning point in the relationship between the public and private sectors.

It was indeed a turning point because the events of that period shaped the role of government economic policy that continues to the present day, Its fundamental contours have survived Republic and Democratic administrations (recall Nixon's statement that we are all Keynesians now"), liberal, conservative and centrist ideological and all kinds of domestic and global events. These varied forces have included the notions of "fiscal drag" of the late fifties and early sixties, the Kennedy "New Economics", intractable inflations and "stagflation" of the seventies Reagonomics, OPEC, the end of fixed exchange rates, the era of the Clintons and the Bush ascendancy .

This new view of the public-private connection must be understood in the most unusual context of its birth and initial acceptance in the period from 1933 to 1945. This is essential for our focus on the 1948-1948 recession, a half-century ago. Otherwise it makes little sense. President Franklin D, Roosevelt came into office in March, 1933 at the darkest time in American economic and political history. The depression that began in 1929 - and called Great Depression for good reason - hit its nadir in 1933. Gross domestic product in 1929 was $104 billion and plummeted to $55 billion in 1933. Deflation racked price levels and forced them down by a third in the same period. An aside: this helps to explain our contemporary connotation about deflation that verges on panic. Hence the concept of budget deficits and activist fiscal policy emerges out of necessity in disparate times.

These realities of deficits and fiscal activism gain widespread acceptance during World War II with minimal resistance because there was simply no alternative. The cost was enormous; greater by far than could be funded by taxation even with a top rate of 91 percent on personal income. Thus in the extraordinary theater of World War II public debt incurred was an ordinary event and it rose from insignificant levels to over $200 billion by war's end. This latter figure by the way was slightly larger than gross domestic product in 1945.

The backdrop for our focus has several dimensions. These include an awareness that Keynesian type fiscal policy had not been utilized in anything even remotely considered normal or conventional; economic collapse and the cauldron of war do not fit those adjectives. Also on the list is the uncertainty of what a peacetime economy would bring. A survey of members by the American Economic Association indicated that most expected the "Depression of 1946." A popular view at the time, absurd as it seems to us now, held that the American economy has reached its nature stage and had entered into a stationary state (to use John Stuart Mill's term). Growth had ceased and the spectacular growth rates of the war years were a blip, a temporary deviation from the long-term trend of stagnant performance. In addition, population growth had ended and U.S. population was projected to level off at about 160 million in 1960.

How quaint these numbers and views sound to us now, but they were the conventional wisdom then. They allow us to see how pivotal that period really was. There were many issues to be sorted out: how would the nation deal with the end of economic growth. Would we allow the big government of the Depression and World War II to continue on peacetime; how was the free-market enterprise ideology to be recast (if at all!) without political and cultural violence?

We know of course, how all this turned out, but certain unexpected factors emerged to bring this about. It is important to remember that the Keynesians model was still very new and not completely understood. The now familiar Y= C+I+G framework was uncharted territory. The neo-classical model, which was based on the premise that economy was either at full employment or inevitably moving towards it, died hard; the idea that the economy could settle at an equilibrium at less than full employment based upon aggregate demand was slow to be adopted.

Another new element that was not appreciated was the role of the enormous public debt, some $200 billion worth. Debt of this magnitude was unknown and unimaginable prior to 1946. It was thought to be catastrophic in its impact because a key support block of the classical model was the similarity of the debt of the household with that of the government. Neither could survive living beyond its means, the distinction between private and public debt was not yet fully grasped. Yet the debt was held by individuals businesses, banks etc. And was viewed as a financial asset.- An asset that was to be used as down payments for motor vehicles (unavailable during the war), houses, appliances and for the revival of capital spending by firms. We now know that the purchasing power embedded in these private assets was major factor in bridging the rocky transition from wartime to peacetime aggregate demand in 1946, and in eluding the expected depression of the year.

Much was going on in the mid 1940's as far as the public-private interface was concerned, and all of it was significant. The passage of time has inevitably dimmed the enormity of it but in today's ideologically edgy world it bears reexamination. Alvin Hansen (1964), sometimes known as "the American Keynes" for his early espousal of Keynes's General Theory, introduced useful distinctions in his little book, The Postwar American Economy. First he distinguished between two time periods: 1948-1956 and 1956-1963. The breakdown works because the first period was characterized by high growth averaging 4.25 percent per year and low unemployment of only 4 percent per year. The latter period 1956-1963 saw slower growth rate averages- 2.75 percent per year- and a higher unemployment rate at a 6 percent average. (Hansen, p.23.)

His second distinction was equally insightful. In the first time frame "powerful spontaneous forces were at work automatically generating a high level of aggregate demand. These forces were weaker in the second period." (Ibid, p. 23.) Thus higher levels of demand had to "be contrived" by deliberate policy. Hence our highlighting of the first postwar recession-1948-1949- becomes more complex and nuanced because of these "spontaneous" factors.

What, in fact, were they? Hansen proposes three autonomous developments which unexpectedly provided an enormous propulsion to aggregate demand after the war, but whose impetus to growth was spent by the mid-1950's. The first is the backlog of demand for producer durables, construction goods, housing and especially consumer durables. Most of these were either totally unavailable (e.g. cars) or in limited supply due to wartime priorities The second was the build-up of demand for military and defense items due to the eruption of the Cold War. The third spontaneous element was truly so: the sharp increase in the birth rate and desired family size. Households which had been average 1.7 children per couple suddenly increased to 2.7 children by 1948 boom which was to last until about 1966. This "bump" in the birth rate population, by the way, has traveled through the age cohorts of the population resulting in the construction of grammar schools and high schools to handle the influx of students and later on the closing or reduction in the size of the same schools. The first wave of these baby boomers will reach retirement age in 2012.

All three are spontaneous
In the sense that they are not
the product of heated partisan
debate and political discussion.

> The first two are determined
> By market forces, the third
> Essentially by external
> International forces which
> Only military experts can even
> Pretend to evaluate. (Hansen, p. 24.)

These three drawing forces for expansion for 1948-1956 were powerful forces and can be measured by increases in gross private domestic investment, spending for consumer durables and defense expenditures. The average increase (in real terms) for the period in the three categories per year were 3.1 percent for investment, and 6.8 percent for consumer durables and 22.4 percent for defense spending (the Cold War and the Korean War) (Hansen, p. 24.)

A word of caution is necessary here, however, while these spontaneous forces were indeed powerful propulsive elements for a decade after the war, there was a downturn in 1948, and this brings us to the heart of our investigation. What, in fact did the Truman administration do when confronted with the first postwar recession? Were the Keynesian type fiscal initiatives of the Great Depression and World War II to be applicable in a normal peacetime atmosphere? Was the downturn going to be a modest weakening or a return to depression as had been expected? It is useful to recall that the expected depression following World War I was delayed in coming until 1920-1921. Would the 1948 decline be history repeating itself? Would the presence of these three "spontaneous forces (although not acknowledged as such at the time, but intuitively recognized) forestall any attempts at major discretionary policy shifts?

While these questions seem silly to us now, they convey the conflicting forces that swirled around at the time. Fortunately the answers that surfaced in response to "the most important recession of all" were positive and appropriate. We now looked at fiscal policy through two prisms; automatic stabilizers and deliberate policy.

> Quite apart from discretionary
> action is the automatic
> stabilizing effect of new
> mechanisms built into the
> social structure- new
> mechanisms tending to promote
> stability… Indeed it is
> the change in the ratio of
> expenditures and receipts that
> constitutes in essence the so-
> called built-in stabilizers.
> (Hansen, p. 13)

This refers to the now familiar pattern where tax revenues decline and unemployment compensation and other spending areas rise. In the recovery phase the pattern is reversed so that "a cushion is thus placed under a recession and restraint is imposed on the upward management. The economy is more or less stabilized." (Ibid.)

Hansen (and many others) came to the conclusion that built-in forces are not powerful enough by themselves to bring about full recovery and full employment. Discretionary economic policy decisions involving spending and tax revenues are needed. This too was a lesson from the 1948-49 recession, and the lesson was learned well for that cycle. The following figures are noteworthy: the change in federal spending from the peak of the expansion to the tough in 1949 was an increase of $3.4 billion. The change in receipts to the federal government was a decline of $6.5 billion from peak to trough.

For the same 1949 cycle; if we focus on the spending changes from trough to the next peak, they rose by $37.2 billion. Receipts for the government rose $33.8 billion from trough to peak. (national income account figures quoted in Hansen, p. 14). Hansen says flatly, "these cushions prevented the cumulates downturn which characterized 'pre-New Deal' depressions." (p.15)

Hence the 1948-49 recession gives us two important insights about counter-cyclical fiscal policy. First, countercyclical policy in the recession stage (spending increases and declines in tax revenue) works powerfully and well because of automatic and discretionary stabilizing forces. Congress and the Executive branch became comfortable with the political benefits of the economic shifts. Little risk was seen in running a deficit in a down turn. The second insight, however, was that there was little political will to curtail the "emergency spending of the downturn during the resulting expansionist upturn. This would have meant outcries from the House and Senate constituencies as programs would have been cut back or eliminated. As the national income accounts showed, for the 1949 cycle from trough to peak of the succeeding cycle, tax receipts, fueled by economic growth and taxes on recovering personal and corporate income, rose by $33.8 billion. Expenditures from trough to peak rose by $37.2 billion. (quoted in Hansen, p. 14)

Here was the first visible wedge or flaw in the theory of countercyclical fiscal policy. The theory was that the budget should be balanced over the full course of the business cycle-deficits in recession and surpluses in recovery. Political reality overshadowed economic theory. Congress realized that it could allow the blunting of the "need" for surpluses in the recovery and get away with it. The budget didn't balance, the government didn't implode, financial markets didn't collapse and the sky didn't fall. The awareness that tax structures have a long-term or secular dimension, that progressive tax rates must be reduced over time to avoid "fiscal drag", that the proper economic time frame is not the business cycle but the long term, was some years away. The key point, however, was that the government thrust itself aggressively into the first cyclical down turn after the end of World War II. For the first time there was neither global conflict nor economic cataclysm to demand interventionist fiscal policy. The new reality was that it was expected and to deny it was to court political suicide.

Some additional change factors need to be mentioned. These include The Full Employment Act of 1946 (the date is significant), and the creation of the Council of Economic Advisors. All of these can be interpreted to mean that the post war economy was to be one of growth not depression and was to be prodded and guided to achieve it. The language of the Employment Act was general but clear:

> The Employment Act of
> 1946 declared the federal
> government continuing
> responsibility to promote
> "maximum employment
> production and purchasing power"
> (quoted in Okun (1970),p. 37)

The Act has proven to be highly influencial over the years and the language meaningful, especially after the battle over its wording. The latter was the result of compromise between those who wanted a specific commitment by the government to ensure full employment and those who saw that as an unacceptable ideological change whereby the federal government would intrude into and disrupt private markers. The creation of the CEA brought about an explicit mechanism for economists to contribute to and help shape economic policy.

The recession that we have focused on is a half century old and has faded off the screen, but its significance and its legacy lingers on. It's appropriate to ask why and several factors surface. First, it cemented the new public-private interface which emerged after World War II-that the public sector would play a more prominent and activist role in the economy. This was a key question as the economy hit its first downturn in more normal times: would fiscal policy intervene in the of absence intense exogenous forces? Second, it changed the political landscape for policy making in that discretionary fiscal policy was validated for use in peacetime and in the framework of economic growth. It no longer had the connotation of emergency or desperate measures. Third, it reflected an ideological shift to a Keynesian style of market economy where full employment could be attained with appropriate economic policy, but was no longer considered as the only equilibrium point as the classical school did. Lastly, the events of fifty years ago demonstrated resiliency and pragmatism in the economic system and in its leaders. This was reflected in the political will to be flexible in the face of changing conditions.

The 1948-1949 recession does turn out to be most important. The factors just noted above proven to be long-lasting and continue to influence and impact us to the present. We have seen another ideological shift, intense financial pressures today, a major global transformation over the past thirty years and extraordinary American macro performance. In all of these and other changes some of the lesions learned long ago continue to apply.

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Challenges and Solutions in Meeting the Learning Instructional Needs of English Language Learners

Jerry E. Garrett
Marshall University Graduate College

The Problem

One of the greatest challenges facing schools today is meeting the needs of immigrant students. The population of immigrant children and youth entering schools throughout the United States, has increased dramatically over the past ten years. In 1999 there were approximately 6 million school-aged English Language Learners (ELLs) attending rural and urban schools across the country (Garrett, 2005). The number has more than doubled since that time, with over 14 million attending schools throughout the nation today (Reutzel & Cooter, 2008) Recent projections by the U.S. Census Bureau (2008) reveal that the nation will become even more racially and ethnically diverse by mid-century. The Hispanic population is expected climb to over 132.8 million during the period 2008-2050; making approximately one in three U.S. residents Hispanic. The Asian population is expected to climb from 15.5 million to 40.6 million during the same time period. A large portion of the students coming from these groups will be limited in English.

One of the greatest concerns facing educators today toward the rapidly growing immigrant population in our schools, centers on the adequacy of teacher preparation and training. Researchers are finding that because there are so many different languages represented in American schools today, it has become impossible for bilingual teachers to speak so many different languages (Levin & Mcullough, 2008). It has been asserted that, with beginning learners of English, it is better for any formal instruction in reading to be delayed until they have attained a reasonable grasp of the language (Snow, Burns & Griffin, 1998). There is significant pressure for teachers to prepare ELLs to achieve higher levels academically and to meet standards just like any other American students. Bilingual programs reach only a small percentage of English language learners (Banks 2001; Diaz 2001; Garrett 2002; Vacca & Vacca 2008).

Background

To be in compliance with the Civil Rights Act and its clarification by the U.S. Supreme Court (*Lau v. Nichols*, 1974), school districts across the nation must legally provide educational services to students, who are limited in the English language. Under the law each school district must "take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs" (Unrau, 2008). The law does not specify that instruction must be provided in the student's native language. There is no specification of methods that must be employed in teaching them. "Appropriate action" is stipulated by an additional federal court decision. This includes use of sound theory, providing adequate support, and achieving results (*Casteneda v. Pickard*, 5th cir. 1981).

The likelihood of teachers having at least some ELLs in their classrooms, at some point in time, is good. Teachers must be proactive in responding to the academic need of these students (Levin & McCullough, 2008). Teachers need to be more accepting of the cultural background of each individual student. The education ELLs receive may be impacted by the concept that teachers hold of the culturally diverse (Garrett, 2005). Research has revealed that the view of teachers toward education, as well as toward their students, has a direct impact on student performance and achievement (Ladson-Billings, 1994).

Overview of Instructional Strategies in Place for English Language Learners

Educators, parents, and legislators are concerned about the time and resources needed to educate students who are limited in English. Some people advocate placing these students into all-English classes immediately. Others feel that these students need to have a strong understanding of their own native language and of English before transitioning into regular classes (Snowman, McCown, & Biehler, 2009). Several programs can be identified, which have been used to help English Language Learners to gain proficiency with the English language. Some of these programs have similar features and only subtle differences, making it hard to distinguish between them in some cases. Following are eight of the programs identified by Unrau, 2008, which have been utilized to address the needs of ELLs:

English as a second language. The focus of this program is on developing English language skills, such as grammar, vocabulary, and oral competency. Content area instruction is not emphasized. In ESL programs students are pulled out of their other regular education classes and are provided full-time intensive instruction in English (Mora, Wink, & Wink, 2001.)

Content-based ESL. English language skill development is not the primary emphasis with this approach. Content-based ESL merges English-as-a-second-language (ESL) education with subject matter teaching. Instructional resources, educational tasks, and classroom instruction in content areas constitutes the medium for language development (Crandall, 1992).

Sheltered English immersion programs. The goal of this program is to make content area instruction in English understandable to English Language Learners. The initiative seeks to help ELLs become proficient in English while simultaneously achieving in the content areas. The term "sheltered" means that students in these classes do not compete academically with native speakers of English since the class contains only English Language Learners. Although assistance in English is a component of instruction, it is not the main instructional focus. Instead content knowledge and skills drive the goals of instruction.\

Structured English immersion programs. This program consists of some development of the Ell's native language skills; however, content area instruction is in English. The teacher is bilingual. Students may address their teacher in either English or their native language. Teachers have a tendency to emphasize and respond in English, since they know that English limited students must become proficient in the language. Content area instruction is based on the theory of "comprehensible input," where the teacher uses only vocabulary and language structure that is understandable by students (Ramirez, 1986).

Transitional bilingual education program. This program is based on the theory that children acquire fluency in any given second language by first becoming fluent in their own native language. Transitional bilingual education (TBE) strives to transition a student into an English-only classroom as quickly as possible. Children receive instruction from a bilingual teacher, in content area subjects, in their native language. Eventually when the transition is made to an English-only classroom, proponents of the TBE program believe that students will have the knowledge necessary to adequately participate with their peers in all subject areas. In the TBE program students are taught English while learning content area subjects in their native language. They remain in the TBE program for three years before transitioning to English-only classes (Gersten & Woodward, 1995).

Paired bilingual immersion program. The amount of English instruction for students in this program is increased as they gain proficiency in the language (Calderon & Minaya-Rowe, 2003). Research on the program revealed that students who received continued instruction in English as well as their native language, at different times of the day, made the most dramatic gains in reading performance when compared to English-only peers (Slavin & Cheung, 2005).

Two-way bilingual programs. Two-way bilingual programs are commonly referred to as "dual language" or "dual immersion" education programs. This aspect of the two-way approach is the same as the paired bilingual immersion program. The difference between the two programs is that in the two-way method, English proficient students are also taught in English and in a second language throughout the day. English Language Learners benefit from learning their native language as well as English. Native speakers of English gain an understanding of the difficulties the ELLs face, as a result of the native English speakers being exposed to a new language.

Maintenance bilingual education. A maintenance approach strives to maintain or enhance native language skills in students who are limited in English. Students are taught in their native language for a considerable time before transitioning to English. Advocates of the *maintenance* approach believe that a strong native-language component supports ensuing English and subject matter education, while maintaining a group's cultural heritage (Robledo & Cortez, 2002). It has been reported that immigrant students who are allowed to retain strong cultural and language affiliation are more likely to succeed academically and display more positive self-concepts (Banks, 2001; Diaz, 2001; Garrett, 2002; Vacca & Vacca, 2008). The focus of *maintenance* programs is on maintaining native-language competence and cultural heritage.

(See Table 1)

An Analogy of the Instructional Strategies

Slavin and Cheung, 2005, presented an analysis of the various instructional strategies described in this paper, in a professional research article entitled, "A Synthesis of Research on Language of Reading Instruction for English Language Learners." Of 17 studies they scrutinized, 12 revealed promising results of bilingual education in a child's academic functioning. 5 found no statistically significant differences, when conducting an analysis on gains in scores, between English immersion and bilingual education classes. None of the studies supported English immersion programs. Conclusions reached by Slavin and Cheung favor bilingual education in place of English immersion programs.

Technological Innovations Hold Promise for Communication with English Language Learners

The strategies that have been described in the aforementioned portion of this paper require time and patience before significant results can be seen. A common frustration voiced by learners and educators, about the initiatives mentioned, is that none of them offer an immediate cure. Schools in large metropolitan areas such as Chicago, Boston, Orlando, or Philadelphia offer assistance in an array of foreign languages. Smaller schools and those in rural areas are more limited financially; therefore, they seem to experience more difficulty in meeting the learning needs of the English limited. School personnel must find ways to enhance communications with English limited students and their parents in order to offer more quality instruction. With this need in mind, however, there is hope. Information technology has advanced to the point where it is now possible for individuals to instantly communicate around the globe, even if they do not speak a different language. Some of this technology appears promising, in terms of providing more appropriate learning experiences for English Language Learners.

Free Resources

The Internet may be a source of communication with ELLs. One resource, for example, is *Alta Vista Babelfish*, located online at http://babelfish.yahoo.com/. This tool, which is free of charge, can translate web pages or inputted text. When the website appears on a desktop the viewer sees a panel in the middle of the screen that is referred to as the "Babelfish Translator." There is an area where the viewer can input text by typing or by cutting and pasting what needs to be translated. Up to 150 words can be translated per entry. There is a pull down window for selecting the appropriate translation to be made. This includes translations from English to 12 different language possibilities, such as English to German, English to French, or English to Spanish. Messages can be also be inputted in several different foreign languages, and translated to English. Various foreign languages can be entered and translated to other foreign languages if desired. For example, a message entered in German can be translated to Spanish, French, or a number of other foreign language choices. Additional free translator programs other than *Alta Vista Babelfish* can be found Online.

Translations Programs on CD

Universal Translator 2000 is a translation program that instantly translates documents, web pages, and E-mail and instant messages. Available on CD ROM, this translator program has a price tag of around $110.00. Translations can be made in 25 languages including English (US, UK), French (CAN, EUR), German, Hungarian, Italian, Indonesian, Danish, Dutch, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese (BRZ, POR), Romanian, Russian, Spanish (LAM, EUR), Swedish, Tagalog, Thai, Turkish, Ukrainian, and Zulu. More information may be obtained online at www.universaltranslator.net. A more advanced translation program

is under development by this company. Numerous translation programs on CD can be found by searching Online.

Talking Translator Tools

At www.pronto.com several talking language translator items are featured. One example is the ECTACO Partner EA800 - English - Arabic Talking Electronic Dictionary. This product is an expandable bilingual Dictionary and Travel Audio PhraseBook. The product is said to contain modern styling and a hi-resolution color touch-display. This item can be purchased for the price of $399.00. There is an array of similar devices indicated at this website. Talking Translator Tools are popular with Ell's. Perhaps this explains why sales and availability of an array of Talking Translator Tools is skyrocking, and can be discovered through an Online search.

Additional resources

Located at www.linguist.com/services-textbook-translation.htm, Linguistic Systems, Inc. (LSI) is one of several companies who offer an additional type of translation services. The firm provides textbook translations for K-12 textbook publishers. In recent times LSI has translated textbooks for middle school and high school math glossaries in 9 languages, American history in 12 languages, and a 1,500 page Spanish health textbook series. CTS Language Link, located at www.ctslanguagelink.com/translation_education.php, offers translation services for governmental agencies and local school districts. Translations are available for brochures, evaluations, handbooks, textbooks, multilingual websites, parent letters and notification forms, reports, assessments, texts, forms, applications, and transcripts. Typically companies of this nature charge by the word. Those using these resources are encouraged to shop a bit, as prices vary by company and by language. Some rare language translations can be expensive, charging .85 per word or more.

Conclusions

Recent research has revealed that different programs have been in existence, which has all had the goal of successfully educating students with limited English ability. All of the programs that have been implemented in our nation's schools have had strengths as well as shortcomings. No one program is able to claim absolute success in educating English Language Learners. The learners themselves apparently have the talent and potential to perform just as well as traditional American students if only their learning needs can be adequately treated. Several technological innovations have emerged over the past few years, which appear to hold merit for use as effective tools in educating those who are challenged by language barriers. Further research is recommended to better define the parameters and potential of some of the tools that have been invented for the purpose of communication enhancement between the English proficient and the English limited. More effective teaching strategies need to be identified, incorporating some of the new technologies identified in this paper, ultimately bringing about quality education for all learners, including the linguistically and culturally diverse.

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Table 1

Highlights of Some of the Features of Programs for ELLs

Name of Program	Instruction in English	Instruction In English and In Native Language	Some Aspect of the Program Includes a Connection with Heritage and Learning Native Language	Instructional Focus is on English	Instructional Focus in on Content
ESL Only	X			X	
Content Based ESL	X			X	X
Sheltered English Instruction	X				X
Structured English Immersion		X			X
Transitional Bilingual Education	X	X		X	X
Paired Bilingual Program	X	X		X	
Two Way Bilingual Program	X	X		X	
Maintenance Bilingual			X	X	X

Chesapeake: Historical Inquiry

Ronald G. Helms
Wright State University

Introduction

The Dayton American History Project is a professional development program for teachers of U.S. history in the fifth, eighth, ninth, and tenth grades. The three and one-half year project is funded through the "Teaching American History" grant program of the U.S. Department of Education (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/tahgrants/.) "Citizenship, Creativity, and Invention" are the themes of the Dayton Teaching American History Project, which is directed jointly by the Dayton Public Schools and Wright State University in partnership with ThinkTV and area historical museums and organizations.

The $1 Million Partnership grant received $916,000 plus dollars from the Teaching American History federal funds and together with numerous state and local grants exceeded the $1 Million grant. The Teaching American History grants are highly competitive federal grants that may be awarded to Local Education Agencies (LEAs) in partnership with universities, humanities organizations, libraries, or museums (http://www.ed.gov/programs/teachinghistory/index.html)

An online lesson bank of 300 deeply-aligned American history lessons, created by an historian from trusted sources such as the National Archives and Library of Congress, is available to all Dayton Public School teachers twenty-four hours a day at the Teaching American History WWW site. This Teaching American History WWW site provides American history curriculum and lesson plans for grades 5, 8, 9, and 10 at http://www.dps.k12.oh.us/academic/secsoc/americanhistory/teaching_01.htm

The Chesapeake Expedition

The teachers desired mobile summer institutes. As project director, I learned that few southwestern Ohio teachers had visited Gettysburg and the historical areas of Virginia. Teaching About Early American Historic Sites: Virginia, the Chesapeake, and Washington, D.C. became a mandatory goal for several years of the TAH institute, which included an expedition to the Chesapeake region and sites such as Gettysburg National Battlefield, Smithsonian's American History Program, D.C. memorials, Mt. Vernon, Manassas, Colonial Williamsburg, and the National Road Zane Grey Museum. The expedition offered free college credit, free meals and lodging, free transportation, as well as stipends to purchase classroom resource materials.

Since the expedition required reading for both course credit as well as preparation for the actual historical sites, dinner meetings were held prior to the expedition to discuss the following texts:

Ellis, J., *His Excellency: George Washington.*
Edinger, M., & Fins,S. *Far Away and Long Ago: Young Historians in the Classroom.*
Finkelman, P. *Slavery and the Founders*.
McCullough, D. *1776*
Price, D. *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas, and the Start of a New Nation*.

Based on the readings the performance objectives were the following:
Participants will construct lesson plans relevant to grade levels 5, 8, 9, & 10 in American History, using the Teaching American History Lesson Plan format that includes:

Designing lessons/units that will give students the opportunities to explore, engage and experience history.
Ohio Social Studies Academic Standards, benchmarks and grade level indicators for topics in American History.
Writing essays on the required history texts.
Identifying data based research for applications of specific skills for success in teaching/learning history content.
Developing an assortment of informal/formal assessments for student evaluation of skills and content taught.
Including activities that for differentiated instructional strategies for all students to learn.
Organizing Units/Lessons for the Teaching American History web site for other teachers to use.

The project director arranged for two mini-vans for the transport of the eight-ten teachers per historical visit. Adequate space was provided for baggage, snacks, and for the purchase of teaching materials. Laminated foldout maps of DC were given to each teacher; each teacher received a DC Metro pass. The project director selected a "branded" hotel within walking distance of the DC metro.

The Chesapeake Expedition: Implementation

The Gettysburg National Military Park (http://www.nps.gov/gett/) is a critical visit and experience for educators and for students. In addition to WWW resources, we equipped all teachers with the following guides:

National Park Civil War Series (1994). *The Battle of Gettysburg*, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior (1998). *Gettysburg – Official Map and Guide*, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior: *A Field Trip Guide for Educators – The Battle of Gettysburg.*

The Battle of Gettysburg has important focal points: Little Round Top, the Wheatfield, Devil's Den, the Peach Orchard, Culp's Hill, Pickett's Charge, Cemetery Hill, Cemetery Ridge, Seminary Ridge, a cast of leading generals, and statistics that may seem arcane to both teacher and student.

Several of the "tavern dining inns" may add a to this unique visit (http://www.gettysburg.travel/visitor/index.asp.) This same WWW site provides a number of historical package visits for those who prefer to leave the planning to others; visit http://www.gettysburg.travel/visitor/ps.asp?ps_category_id=280 for more information.

The single premier WWW site is The Gettysburg National Military Park at http://www.nps.gov/gett/. The WWW site For Teachers (http://www.nps.gov/gett/forteachers/index.htm) suggest planning a trip, curriculum materials, and even a "Traveling Trunk" for those students who may not be able to visit Gettysburg.

An essential factor in an education tour is to employ a Licensed Battle Field Guide (http://www.nps.gov/gett/planyourvisit/feesandreservations.htm.) The fee is extremely reasonable given the knowledge and personal attention that the Licensed Battle Field Guides provide.

Washington, DC (http://www.washington.org/) is hot, humid, and a tourist magnet in the summer. DC is a logical area to visit, and many tour companies provide assistance. Laminated foldout maps of DC were given to each teacher; each teacher received a DC Metro pass. The project director selected a "branded" hotel within walking distance of the DC metro.

Old Town Trolleys (http://www.trolleytours.com/washington-dc/) provided a nice tourist's eye view of the capitol, and also provided an "on-off" opportunity that fit our schedule.

Next, I scheduled the teachers for a tour of DC in the evening by way of the Potomac River. We provided the teachers with tickets to the Potomac River Boat Company (http://www.potomacriverboatco.com/) and sights included Washington's majestic landmarks, such as the Lincoln Memorial, the Jefferson Memorial, the Washington Monument, and the Kennedy Center.

The Chart House in Alexandria (http://www.chart-house.com/) offers excellent dining as well as "spectacular views of the Capitol, Washington Mall from its waterfront location on the Potomac. Old Ebbitt Grill (http://www.ebbitt.com/main/home.cfm?Section=Main&Category=History) is a must visit

experience for every DC trip. Phillips Seafood Buffet (http://www.phillipsseafood.com/index.cfm?page=menus&id=19) while more tourist orientated, is located within easy walking distance of the mall. McCormick & Schmick's Seafood Restaurant http://www.mccormickandschmicks.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=content.display&pageID=338 is simply delightful.

We had several reservations for our visit to Washington DC: The National Museum of the American Indian, the Smithsonian Museum of American History, the National Archives, The World War II exhibit, The Viet Nam Wall, The FDR Memorial, Arlington National Cemetery, the Lincoln Memorial, Jefferson Memorial, and MT Vernon. This is a very ambitious schedule, and for the most part, we toured as a group. Pre-arranging professional tours of sights added to the educational value, and the teachers contributed to the DC economy by purchasing educational artifacts that were destined for classroom use.

Colonial Williamsburg (http://www.history.org/) is a short drive from the metropolis of Washington, D.C., but historically, the drive to this tidewater area is a journey of over 400 years. Our Ohio license plates were celebrating 200 years of history, while the Virginia license plates were reminding us that Jamestown history is over 400 years old. My wife and I are careful to avoid Williamsburg is the summers, and we prefer a week's residence in a Williamsburg condo during the Christmas season.

The Official Williamsburg Guides were preordered for the teachers. Tickets were preordered in order to save some dollars and especially to save time. Each teacher received the special Governor's Key-to the City Pass at $49.00, and at an Internet price of $44.10. Tourists were actually waiting in two-hour lines at the ticket center.

Our tickets included access to as many as 20 to 40 Historic Area buildings and exhibits, such as the Capitol, Raleigh Tavern, Great Hopes Plantation, all historic trades sites (wheelwright, blacksmith, silversmith, milliner, wigmaker, etc.), all gardens, and all original 18th-century exhibition sites (the Courthouse, Gaol, Magazine, and the homes of Peyton Randolph and George Wythe), along with admission to Revolutionary City®. Also includes Capitol tour, orientation tour, regular daytime programs, and viewing of the movie classic Williamsburg—The Story of a Patriot. Plus, free parking at the Visitor Center and use of Historic Area shuttle buses. Because I am very familiar with Williamsburg, we by-passed the lines to the Historic Area shuttle buses and parked the vans near Raleigh Tavern.

Williamsburg is a town that the teachers could enjoy without a specific schedule, and we broke into small groups and visited the ticketed area of town. I had reservations for our group at Christiana Campbell's Tavern (http://www.history.org/visit/diningExperience/christianaCampbells/) and we spent nearly three hours enjoying a historical dinner and entertainment; we were provide our own dining room, and conversation grew loud. The Trellis restaurant (http://www.thetrellis.com/) is frequented more by locals than the tourist population.

> Of course, we scheduled time for the Williamsburg Education Center:
> The Educational Resource Center offers a centralized location to obtain teaching materials. Some items available for sale at the center include: lesson plans, videos, children's literature, teacher's resource books, and reproduction artifacts and documents such as the Virginia Gazette, and the Virginia Declaration of Rights

Jamestown and Yorktown (http://www.historyisfun.org/) required a full day to visit and to participate in a planned education seminar. Of course, we pre-arranged the special teacher seminar and teacher tours of Jamestown and Yorktown.

The teachers were experiencing U.S. history in a way that John Dewey would approve "learning by doing." We found our luggage area nearly full as the teachers carefully selected classroom displays and historical maps, pictures, and charts for teaching lessons.

Monticello (http://www.monticello.org/) and Michie Tavern http://www.michietavern.com/index.cfm/fuseaction/viewpage?CFID=271050&CFTOKEN=78807395 are a short drive from the Virginia Tidewater to the Virginia Piedmont. Because summer tourists are few in this area, it is a simple matter to tour Monticello.

It is normal to expect that urban teachers from Dayton to ask about Sally Hemings (http://www.monticello.org/plantation/hemingscontro/hemings-jefferson_contro.html.) On two recent

occasions, The Monticello guides acknowledged that the Thomas Jefferson Foundation agreed with DNA testing that Jefferson fathered several children with Hemings. However, a third guide (southern gentlemen) feigned indignation at the question, and dismissed the Jefferson-Hemings relationship as irrelevant.

> Shortly after the DNA test results were released in November 1998, the Thomas Jefferson Foundation formed a research committee consisting of nine members of the foundation staff, including four with Ph.D.s. In January 2000, the committee reported its finding that the weight of all known evidence - from the DNA study, original documents, written and oral historical accounts, and statistical data - indicated a high probability that Thomas Jefferson was the father of Eston Hemings, and that he was perhaps the father of all six of Sally Hemings' children listed in Monticello records - Harriet (born 1795; died in infancy); Beverly (born 1798); an unnamed daughter (born 1799; died in infancy); Harriet (born 1801); Madison (born 1805); and Eston (born 1808).
>
> Since then, a committee commissioned by the Thomas Jefferson Heritage Society, after reviewing essentially the same material, reached different conclusions, namely that Sally Hemings was only a minor figure in Thomas Jefferson's life and that it is very unlikely he fathered any of her children. This committee also suggested in its report, issued in April 2001, that Jefferson's younger brother Randolph (1755-1815) was more likely the father of at least some of Sally Hemings' children.
>
> Although the relationship between Jefferson and Sally Hemings has been for many years, and will surely continue to be, a subject of intense interest to historians and the public, the evidence is not definitive, and the complete story may never be known. The Foundation encourages its visitors and patrons, based on what evidence does exist, to make up their own minds as to the true nature of the relationship.

The High Road or The Low Road

The return trip to Dayton Ohio offers at least two choices. And the project director chose both roads with different expeditions. The “high road” refers to a return trip using I-70 through Ohio and joining the “Old National Road or U.S. 40 to dine at the Old Market House Inn in Zanesville, and then to tour the National Road Zane Grey Museum near Zanesville. The “low road” provided a return trip through Kentucky and dinner at the Bonefish Grill, followed by a guided tour of one of the U.S.’s best restored forts: Fort Boonsboro.

The “high road” provided two very interesting experiences with dinner at The Old Market House Inn Restaurant and a substantial narrated tour of the National Road Zane Grey Museum.

The Old Market House Inn Restaurant (http://www.theoldmarkethouseinn.com/story.html), situated across the street from the site of Zanesville's original farmers' market, preserves an era of pioneer Zanesville while offering a gourmet menu in an atmosphere of the bygone days.

The National Road Zane Grey Museum (http://www.ohiohistoryteachers.org/03/05/se03.shtml) is nearly an hour due east of Columbus and can easily be a one-day field trip for many schools.

The “low road” provided another fish dinner in Lexington, Kentucky at the Bonefish Grill (http://www.bonefishgrill.com/) followed by a guided tour of nearby Fort Boonsboro. Fort Boonsboro was essential to U.S. history and to Kentucky history.

Colonel Henderson reached Boonsboro, with his party, a few days afterwards, and found the people there in a state of careless security, which evinced the most perfect self-confidence. A small fort, which the labor of two or three days would have rendered a sufficient protection against any sudden inroad of the Indians, had been suffered to remain unfinished and wholly useless, and it was not until this little colony had suffered severely from their indiscretion, that Fort Boonsboro was placed in a defensible condition.

The Chesapeake Expedition: Assessment

Teacher participants rated all aspects of these educational trips as a ten of ten. The project director became one with the teacher team. The project director shared 100% of the expedition time with the

teachers, provided tours and narratives upon request, and was flexible to individual requests. These teachers are sharing a wealth of information with the Dayton Public School students.

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An Analysis of External Debt Behavior in the Developing World

Hae S. Kim
Troy University

This paper aims to analyze the behavior of external debt in the developing world. External debt is a foreign debt, which is owed to the creditors outside the country. The behavior of external debt in this paper is defined by the following two: first, it is defined by the burden and the sustainability of the debt that developing countries incur; second it is defined by its effect on the economic development in the developing world.

Many developing countries incur a heavy debt burden. 'Debt crisis,' 'debt distress' and 'heavily indebtedness,' among others, are indicative of the debt problems many developing countries experience. Not all developing countries, however, suffer from the external debt. There are many 'wealthy' indebted developing countries, but they able to maintain a high debt sustainability. Their debt problems are different from those with a low debt sustainability in poor developing countries.

Yet the literature tends to emphasize all negative effects of the external debt in the developing world. This study argues that external debt analysis in the developing world needs to be analyzed beyond singular explanations of negative effect of the indebtedness. It is therefore important to identify different patterns of external debt behavior among diverse countries in the developing world. This paper will analyze how the external debt burden and the external debt sustainability variables each are interrelated with other internal socioeconomic, political, and demographic variables, as well as with international economic variables, in building up the patterns of the external debt behavior in developing countries.

Literature Review

Each country has a different level of capability to manage the debt. They each have a different level of debt sustainability, which is defined as an ability of a country to manage their debts with their respective economic capability. Many low-income countries in the developing world have struggled to maintain their external debt at sustainable level while they try to meet development objectives such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted by the United Nations in 2000. **1** Debt sustainability, which is an essential part of the external debt behavior, is considered to be a significant ingredient of economic stability, which is the foundation of both economic growth and development.

The sustainability of external debt is generally measured by the ratio of external debt to export (export-based sustainability) as well as by the ratio of external debt to GDP (GDP-based sustainability) respectively. While there are various indicators for determining the sustainable level of external debt, no unanimous opinion amongst economists has come up as to one sole indicator. These two indicators can be thought of as measures of the country's solvency since they each consider the stock of external debt in relation to the country's economic ability (export and GDP), which could generate resources to repay debt. **2**

The export-based sustainability is based on the notion that export converts resources into foreign exchange, with which countries can repay their external debts. Economic development (GDP) generates the resources with which debt can be paid. The resources must still be converted into foreign exchange, that is, hard convertible currencies. The generation of foreign exchange occurs through exporting. Thus, exports must be stimulated since they increase a country's ability to convert goods and services into repayment for the debt**.** In contrast with the export-based sustainability, the 'GDP-based sustainability' is

rather conceptual as it is measured by the annual productive capacity, which still needs to be converted into foreign exchange that can be used for repaying the debt**.** The debt analysis assesses the effect of debt on both economic growth and quality of life. Debt destabilizes economy of the developing countries, particularly the low-income countries (LIC). Many factors determine the level of quality of life and the debt sustainability is one of them. **3**

Terms of trade, favorable or unfavorable, that developing countries experience with other trading partners affect the economic development and quality of life. The terms of trade are the ratio of the prices of a country's exports to the prices of its imports. Many developing countries have suffered from unfavorable terms of trade. That is, their export prices decline relative to their import prices. Adverse terms of trade have been detrimental to the quality of life in the developing countries. The export of many developing countries rely heavily on the primary commodities (commodity goods), which are raw or partially processed materials that will be transformed into finished goods (in developed countries). Dependence on a few commodities has remained high in many developing countries. Revenues gained from them have an important effect on their living standards. Changes (favorable or unfavorable) in terms of trade have a significant impact on the economic development and income of commodity-exporting developing countries.

The export prices or volumes of the developing countries are affected by the stability/instability of the market of the developed countries. If the quantity demanded by the developed countries is not elastic with changes in the prices (lower or higher) of the commodity goods (that is, 'price inelasticity of demand'), then it will lower the prices of the commodity goods that the developing countries export. The inelasticity of markets in developed countries for the consumption of (demand for) the commodity goods, despite an increase in income in the developed countries, is detrimental to a sustenance of favorable terms of trade for the developing countries (that is, 'income inelasticity of demand').

These two inelasticities (price and income) have attributed to the unfavorable terms of trade that developing countries suffer. The inelasticities erode the productivity gains, which otherwise developing countries could have deserved. No matter what notable gain or increase in the productivity of commodity goods in developing countries, its income from the sale of the commodity goods declined as prices in the markets of the developed countries fell. This means productivity increases in the developing countries were passed along to foreign consumers in the form of lower prices, rather than workers in developing countries in the form of higher wages and living standards. **4** Prebisch-Singer thesis argues that unfavorable terms of trade of primary commodity exports continue due to a combination of low income and price elasticities of demand. This decline also resulted in a long-term transfer of income from poor to rich countries. **5**

The difference between Gross Domestic Products (GDP) and Gross National Products (GNP) is important in analyzing the effect of foreign businesses on the economic development of the host countries where those businesses are operating. GNP is the actual income claimed by residents (nationals) of countries, no matter where they are, domestic or abroad. GDP is the total amount of final outputs of goods and services produced to the country within the territory by both residents (nationals) and nonresidents (foreigners). Therefore, any sector of the economy that is foreign-owned or- operated, GDP will be that much higher than GNP. The difference between GDP and GNP is undertaken as an amount, which is transferred from the nationals of the host countries to the nationals of their home countries. Along this line of argument, the transferred amount of money does benefit not the nationals of the host countries but the nationals of their home countries. **6**

Global interdependence (mutual economic interdependence) based on the amount of export and import relative to the economic capacity (GNP) is an integral part of the economic globalization, yet its effect on the economic development and quality of life in the developing countries has been controversial. Arguments for a positive correlation between trade (export and import) and quality of life are often met with counterarguments. According to the counterarguments, the traditional indicators of growth such as Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) could no longer adequately measure the dimension of the quality of life, which is considered to be beyond the simple economic and material measurements. **7**

The quality of life analysis has also suggested that socioeconomic and demographic factors have affected the quality of life in developing countries. Ethnic composition, urbanization, and population growth each have significant effect on the economic growth and quality of life in the developing countries. Rapid population growth has hindered the economic growth as well as the quality of life. Heterogeneity of ethnic and religious composition were found significant determinants of the economic growth and quality of life in the developing world. Ethnic heterogeneity, rather than homogeneity, in the developing world has been impeding an enhancement of the quality of life**.** Religiously predominant (homogenous) countries in the developing world were also found to have a rather unequal distribution of income than religiously heterogeneous countries. **8**

Debt crisis in some developing countries have become obsolete as a number of big wealthy emerging market economies, whose political systems were democratized as well, have successfully been able to manage their own debts**. 9** Authoritarian political systems in the developing countries were unable to effectively manage the external debt and foreign assistance. Their mismanagement often coupled with corruption was considered detrimental to the effective use of the external debt and foreign aid on the economic development. Huge military spending disproportionate to their economic capacity in the developing world is siphoning off their resources, which otherwise would have been used for their economic growth and quality of life. Militarization based on sophisticated arms and weapons in the developing world have increased the death toll as well as the number of refugees (Sivard 1991. 71).

In 2005, the World Bank and IMF implemented a new Debt Sustainability Framework (DSF) in low-income countries. The framework aims to better monitor and prevent the accumulation of unsustainable debt. The DSF is to guide the borrowing decisions of low-income countries so that they could match financing needs with their current and prospective repayment ability. The DSF aims to ensure that resources (loans) are provided to debtors on terms consistent with progress towards their development goals as well as with long-term debt sustainability**.**

There are many views on the economic growth in the development. Political liberalizations and reforms, with minimal corruption, are required for sustainable economic growth in the developing world. Reduction of barriers to trade and growing mutual interdependence contributes to the economic growth, while global openness with foreign investment is a prerequisite for economic growth. Yet these political reforms may not be as successful as their advocates claim. China and Singapore have enjoyed rapid economic growth without undertaking significant political liberalization. South Korea was able to rapidly develop during the 1970s and 80s while its political system was still authoritarian.

Many countries in the Global South that have implemented economic liberalizing reforms have not experienced economic growth. **10** Stiglitz (2003) argues that the policies emanating from the Washington Consensus produce disappointing results because they are anchored in a free-market dogma, which ignores the unique socio -cultural contexts of the countries where they are applied. **11** The Washington Consensus refers to the views of the western-style economic growth, in which the developing world can best achieve their sustained economic growth via democratic governance, political reforms, free markets and trade liberalization. When inequality of income distribution is related to ethnicity, gender, geographic region, Clemens (2007) argues a stronger role for the state is advantageous for the equal distribution of income. Those most vulnerable members of societies can be safeguarded by the role of the stronger government in the developing world.

Not only the external debt but also many other socioeconomic and political factors were considered significant in determining the economic growth and quality of life in the developing world. External debt is one of many determinants that affect the economic development in the developing world. The analysis of external debt behavior in the developing world needs to undertake all of those variables determining the economic development in the developing world.. **Methodology**

One hundred forty-one (141) countries are classified as the developing countries.**12** Based on the literature review, the following variables were selected as each is relevant to an analysis of external debt behavior in the developing countries. Each variable can be represented as a cause and consequence of the external debt behavior in the developing world: income inequality (Gini index), types of political system, internal conflict, quality of life, economic growth (GDP), urbanization, ethnic composition, religious

composition, population growth, defense spending, indebtedness (per capita external debt), economic interdependence, debt sustainability, gross foreign product (foreign-accrued benefits), and terms of trade.

Each of these variables is hypothesized to affect other variables including indebtedness and debt sustainability as well. Factor analysis, utilized in this study, will produce patterns (dimensions) out of diverse variables assumed to be correlated with the external debt behavior. Each of the following 15 variables including the debt sustainability and the debt burden variables is measured as follows.

(1) Income Distribution: measured by *Gini* coefficient (or *Gini* index). This coefficient measures the degree of inequality in the distribution of family income in a country. The coefficient ranges from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (complete inequality). The *Gin*i index is the *Gini* coefficient expressed as a percentage, which ranges 0 percent to 100 percent as well.

(2) Quality of Life: measured by Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI is a summary composite index that measures a country's average achievements in three basic aspects of human development: longevity, knowledge, and a decent standard of living.

(3) Internal conflict: countries in the developing world experiencing any of the following criteria were classified as conflict-stricken countries and the remaining as non-conflict ones: i. Civil war or internal armed conflict causing the death of 1000 or more people per year; ii. Political overthrows of a government, attempted and unsuccessful; iii. Ethnic conflict, religious conflict, political and ideological conflict, as well as conflicts involving warlords or drug lords; iv. Riots and/or demonstrations **13**

(4) Types of Political System: countries are classified as "not free," "partly free," and "free" in terms of the degree of political freedom represented by both political rights and civil liberties. Countries with "not free" were coded as 1 (highly authoritarian), "partly free" as 2 (authoritarian), and "free" as 3 (democratic).

(5) Economic Growth: GDP measures the economic growth.

(6) Ethnic Homogeneity: measured by percentage of the dominant ethnic-racial groups within each nation.

(7) Religious Diversity: measured by percentage of the dominant religious group within each nation.

(8) Urbanization: the measure is based on urban-rural dichotomy; "urban" refers to a group of allegedly nonagricultural pursuits while "rural" to agriculturally oriented employment patterns.

(9) Population Growth: the natural increase per 1,000 of the population, based on the difference between birth and death rates of given population.

(10) Defense Spending: the measure is based on military expenditure as a percentage of GDP or GNP.

(11) Global Interdependence: the measure based on the total amount of export and import divided by GDP or GNP.

(12) Foreign-Accrued Benefit (Gross Foreign Product): the measure based on the difference between GDP and GNP. The difference indicates amount of "benefits" accrued to foreign businesses in host developing countries where they are conducting their businesses.

(13) Terms of Trade: the measure is based on the index of the price of a country's exports in terms of its imports. The terms of trade are said to improve (favorable) if that index rises, and vice versa.

(14) Debt Sustainability: the debt sustainability is measured by the per capita amount of debt divided by the per capita amount of export.

(15) Debt Burden: the measure based on the per capita external debt amount.

Results

(See Table 1)

Table 1 presents a factor analysis, in which factor loadings of 15 variables including the debt burden and debt sustainability variables are presented. The factor analysis identifies "patterns" (dimensions) of external debt in the developing world. **14** The fifteen variables will be classified into several patterns. The factor analysis aims to explore and detect "patterning" of variables employed here with a view to the discovery of "new concept/name" for each of the patterns identified. Factor loading over .30 was selected as substantial loading on a given factor. The factor loading stands correlation coefficient not only between each variable but also between each variable and their respective factor. **15**

The items (variables) with the loading over .30 on each factor are underlined; in the case that any

variables load on more than one factor, each are also underlined accordingly. For example, income distribution (Gini index) turns out to load on Factor 3 and 4 respectively; debt sustainability on factor 1, 2 and 5. There are other variables loaded more than one factor: political system and conflict (factor 1, 2, and 5) , ethnic homogeneity (factor 1, 3 and 5), population growth (factor 1 and 4), debt burden (factor 1 and 4) and debt sustainability (factor 1, 2 and 5). Those "multiple-loaded" variables indicate that each is empirically (as well as "theoretically" for that matter) contributing to each corresponding factor they load.

Factor 1 documents nine variables loaded: conflict, quality of life, GDP, urbanization, ethnic homogeneity, population growth, per capita debt, debt sustainability, and foreign-accrued benefit (Gross Foreign Product: GFP): each is underlined. This cluster (patterning) of the nine variables goes together. Each shares economic development and urbanization, debt burden (indebtedness), debt sustainability, conflict and global interdependence. Those developing countries classified with the Factor 1 are economically 'wealthier' and urban developing countries. They are featured with a low population growth and moderately ethnically homogeneous. Those countries are indebted, yet are able to retain a high degree of debt sustainability. No negative effect of the external debt on the economic development and quality of life was found. The external debt in those countries turns out to serve as 'resources' of rather than as burden with their economic growth and development, which in turn increase their debt sustainability. Such countries are stable with a low frequency of internal conflict as well. They are not conflict-stricken countries with internal conflict and political violence.

These countries also document that foreign-accrued benefit is high. The foreign-accrued benefit, which represents the gross foreign product (GFP), was positively related to this factor. This means that those developing countries that are open to foreign business and investment are positively associated with not only the quality of life and economic development (GDP) but also a high debt sustainability. The benefits accrued to the foreign businesses and enterprises turn out still beneficial to the economic development of those host countries where they invest and do their business. No evidence has shown that the foreign-accrued benefit has a negative effect on the debt sustainability as well as on their economic development of those host developing countries. The amount of external debt serves as resources rather than burden for their economic development and quality of life in those countries. Those countries under Factor 1 are labeled as 'economically-*oriented debt sustainable countries.'*

Factor 2 has three variables loaded: conflict, global interdependence, and debt sustainability. Those countries are globally and economically interdependent via their trade (export and import). The global economic interdependence makes them high debt-sustainable, not vulnerable, countries. Those globally open and interdependent countries also retain a low level of internal conflict. Yet neither the debt sustainability nor the global economic interdependence was found significantly correlated with the economic growth and quality of life. The global economic interdependence help them alleviate vulnerability coming from a low debt sustainability. It is not necessarily that global economic interdependence and debt-sustainability each are positively and significantly associated with economic development. Factor 2 is labeled as '*global economic interdependence-based debt sustainable countries.'*

Factor 3 was loaded with income distribution, political system, conflict, ethnic homogeneity and defense spending. The cluster of these five variables goes together. None of the debt behavior variables (debt burden and debt sustainability) was loaded to the factor. Those countries are politically authoritarian with a heavy military spending. They are moderately ethnically homogenous countries, yet they experience a high frequency of internal conflict. The external debt has nothing to do with the economic growth and quality of life. Both debt burden and debt sustainability each were found insignificant in affecting the economic development and quality of life. External debt is simply an insignificant variable in determining economic development in those countries that are affected by political authoritarianism and that are militarily-oriented with a heavy defense spending. They are immune from the effects of indebtedness, burden or sustainability. Despite the political authoritarianism, there is an egalitarianism in income distribution among different segments of population. The factor 3 is labeled as '*authoritarian militarily- oriented non-debt affected countries.'*

Factor 4 loads five variables: income distribution, urbanization, religious composition, population growth, and debt burden. Those countries are featured with a predominance of one homogenous

(dominant) religious group. They experience a high population growth and unequal, not equal, distribution of income. They are heavily indebted countries, yet the indebtedness (external debt) has nothing to do with their economic development except the income distribution. The indebtedness has no significant effect on their debt sustainability either.

The factor indicates that countries featured with a predominance of one homogenous (dominant) religious group experience a high degree of unequal, rather than equal, income distribution. Religiously heterogeneous countries conversely experience a high degree of equal (not unequal) income distribution. Those predominantly religious countries were not free from the indebtedness and the 'religion' appears to not be able to contribute to the economic 'equality' of income distribution.' They are religious and indebted. Factor 4 is labeled as 'religiously *oriented-indebted countries*.'

Factor 5 loads conflict, ethnic homogeneity, debt burden, debt sustainability and terms of trade variables. Those countries retain favorable terms of trade with other countries. They retain a low amount of debt burden with a high debt sustainability. They are moderately ethnically heterogeneous, experiencing with a high frequency of internal conflict. The terms of trade (favorable or unfavorable) and the external debt sustainability (strong or weak) each have nothing to do with their economic development and quality of life. The favorable terms of trade make those countries able to retain a high debt sustainability, but the sustainability itself turns out to have no significant effect on their economic development and quality of life. The favorable terms of trade was found to significantly enhance their debt sustainability, but neither the favorable terms of trade nor the debt sustainability was found to significantly affect their economic development and quality of life. Factor 5 is labeled as *'terms of trade-based debt sustainable countries*.'

(See Table 2)

Table 2 shows *the five most and the five* least countries for each of the five patterns identified in the developing world. The countries are listed in order of the rank based on their respective factor score. **16** Table 2 A shows the most and the least five economically oriented debt-sustainable countries. United Arab Emirate (UAE), Bahamas, Kuwait, Bahrain and Uruguay were classified as the most, while East Timor, Ethiopia, Equa Guinea, Cuba and Cote d'Ivoire are the least. The table shows there are drastic differences between these two groups of countries in quality of life (HDI), GDP, urbanization, debt burden, debt sustainability as well as in internal conflict, ethnic homogeneity, population growth, and foreign accrued benefit (Gross Foreign Product GFP) (see averages).

Those most economically-oriented debt sustainable countries document that their economic development (GDP), quality of life and urbanization each are much higher than the counterparts in the least countries (see averages). The most countries are much more indebted ($4143) than the least countries ($482), yet their debt sustainability ($1695) is still much higher than the least countries ($4936). Foreign-accrued benefits are also much higher in the most economically-oriented countries ($7866) than in the least economically –oriented counterparts ($-296). The negative foreign-accrued benefit in the least countries indicates that the foreign investments in those countries are extremely low. The least countries low in external debt variables (small external debt amount and low debt sustainability) are most likely to experience a poor economic development and quality of life. Although Cuba retains a high quality of life (HDI: .8260), similar least economically-oriented countries are obviously much lower in their economic development (GDP) than the most economically-oriented countries. Despite that they are less indebted than the most economically-oriented countries, they still retain a low debt sustainability. Those poor countries (the least economically-oriented countries) were found not able to benefit from a smaller amount of external debt they incur, while the wealthier countries (the most economically-oriented countries) were able to benefit despite the fact that they incur a large amount of the external debt. External debt in those economically-oriented debt sustainable countries, wealthy or poor, serves as 'resources' (rather than 'burden') for economic development.

Table 2 B shows the global economic interdependence-based debt sustainable countries. The most global economic interdependent and debt-sustainable countries are Kiribati, Tunisia, Equa Guinea, Malaysia, and Swaziland. The least global economic interdependent and debt-sustainable countries are Somalia, Nepal, Afghanistan, Burundi and Sierra Leone. There are differences between these two groups

of countries in the degree of global economic interdependence and debt sustainability. Global economic interdependence (ratio .19) in the least global economic interdependent and debt-sustainable countries is much lower than the most countries (ratio 2.18) and their debt-sustainability ($28541) is extremely lower than their counterparts ($511) are. Countries classified with factor 2, whether the most global economic interdependent and debt-sustainable or the least global economic interdependent and debt-sustainable, were found such that their global economic interdependence and debt-sustainability each have nothing to do with their economic growth and quality of life.

Table 2 C shows the most and the least authoritarian-militarily oriented-nondebt affected countries. Vietnam, Yemen, Burundi, Jordan, and Pakistan were found the most authoritarian-militarily oriented nondebt affected' countries. They maintain authoritarian political system with a low degree of political freedom. The least countries are Panama, Peru, Guyana, Zambia and South Africa and they are more democratic with a higher degree of political freedom except Zambia, which is authoritarian. The most authoritarian-military countries, except Jordan, all experience internal conflict while the least none. The defense spending for the most authoritarian-military countries (6.9 %) is much higher than the least counterparts (1.0%). The most authoritarian-military countries document a more equitable income distribution (*Gini* Index 36.4) than the least authoritarian-militarily countries (*Gini* Index 52.0). The more authoritarian the countries are, the more 'egalitarian' in the distribution of income. The most authoritarian-military countries are ethnically more homogeneous (82.1%) than their least counterparts (38.8%).

The authoritarian-militarily oriented nondebt affected countries, whether the most oriented that way or the least, were found not to be significantly associated with the external debt. None of the debt variables (burden or sustainability) turned out to play a significant role in those authoritarian-militarily oriented countries. The external debt has simply no significant effect on the economic development and quality of life. The most countries spend a large military expenditure, while the least a small one. Regardless of the military spending, external debt remains insignificant in determining the economic growth and quality of life in countries.

Table 2 (D) shows religiously oriented-indebted countries. Tunisia, Panama, Jordan, Peru and Venezuela as the most countries, while China, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Mongolia, and Vietnam as the least. There are drastic differences in the religious composition between the two groups (see averages). Those predominantly religiously homogenous countries were much more indebted ($3872) than the religiously heterogonous countries ($202). Despite their 'religiousness,' they are not more egalitarian (*Gini* index 47.0 %) in the distribution of income than the religiously heterogeneous countries (*Gini* index 34.3%). The religiously homogenous countries document a higher population growth rate (16.7%) than the least countries (6.1%). Regardless of the most and the least, they are all indebted, yet the difference in the indebtedness between the most and the least has nothing to do with the differences in their economic development and quality of life.

Table 2 (E) shows the most and the least terms of trade-based debt sustainable countries. Iran, Kuwait, Nigeria, Angola and Papua Guinea are the most countries, while Tuvalu, Samoa. Antigua, St Kitt, and Djibouti as the least. The terms of trade for the most countries (1.99) are much higher than the least countries (.09). This means the most countries maintain a more favorable terms of trade than the least counterparts do. The most countries with favorable terms of trade countries were much stronger in the debt sustainability ($683) than the least countries ($17460) and they also experience a lower debt burden ($500) than the least countries ($3023). None of these two variables (terms of trade and debt sustainability) were found to be significantly correlated with the economic growth and quality of life in terms of trade-based countries..

Conclusion

Many patterns of external debt behavior were identified in the Developing World. *These patterns (dimensions) identified* indicate the complexities and the multidimensionality of external debt behavior in the developing countries. Many patterns of the external debt are summarized as follows: First, the complexities and the multidimensionality of the external debt behavior identified indicate that there is no single "patterned" external debt behavior (debt burden and debt sustainability) in the developing world :

external debt behavior was proven to be "multi-patterned." Each of the five patterns identified has its own distinctive feature based on their respective cluster of variables. Each pattern of external debt behavior is "independent" of other patterns: there is little commonality that can be shared by other patterns. This means, for example, economically-oriented debt sustainable countries (e.g., United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, etc.) are not likely to share the same pattern as authoritarian militarily-oriented nondebt affected countries,' (e.g., Pakistan, Yemen, Vietnam, etc.), and vice versa.

Second, the debt problem in the developing world is not necessarily caused by the burden (amount) of the external debt they incur, but by the 'shortage' of the external debt. The least economically-oriented debt sustainable countries suffer from a low economic development, yet they were able to enhance economic development if the amount of external debt is increased. The external debt in those economically-oriented countries, wealthy or poor, serves as 'resources' for their economic development. And those economically- oriented poor countries document a smaller amount of external debt they incurred. The shortage of the resources (that is, the amount of external debt), which are generated from the external debt, in those economically-oriented debt sustainable developing countries could impede their economic development.

Third, many developing countries were found to spend 'profits' earned from their international trade (export and import) and/or from the favorable terms of trade for repaying the external debt, thereby increasing their debt sustainability. In those global economic interdependence-based countries as well as in those terms of trade-based countries, the earnings from the external economic relations are significantly *expende*d in order to increase their debt sustainability. However, this repayment has no significant effect on their domestic economic development. Neither the global economic interdependence nor the terms of trade was found to significantly affect the domestic economic development, although they each have were found to significantly affect the level of debt sustainability. Developing countries may suffer from allocating a huge amount of externally -earned benefits for repaying the debt, but the debt repayments have no significant effect, positive or negative, on their domestic economic development. It is often argued that if the profits had been used for the domestic economic development in the developing countries, their economic development would have been enhanced. This 'hypothesis,' however, seems unwarranted in those developing countries.

Fourth, not all countries in the developing world are classified as debt-affected countries. Some developing countries were found immune from the effect of the external debt. External debt was found simply to be an insignificant variable in determining their economic development. In those authoritarian militarily- oriented countries, neither the debt burden nor the debt sustainability variables were found significantly associated with the economic development. The effect of external debt is simply not found in politically authoritarian and militarily-oriented developing countries.

Fifth, the effect of external debt in the developing world is too complex to be subsumed into a monolithic view that all external debt is negative. Economically-oriented developing countries, wealthy or poor, have proven that the external debt serves as a resource rather than a burden, which enhances their economic growth and quality of life. Even in the least of the economically -oriented poor countries, more, not less, of the amount of the external debt indicates the better they could improve their economic development. It is not necessarily high indebtedness that will make them poor, but external debt will serve rather as a resource for economic development.

Finally, it was also found that the external debt has a negative effect on the income distribution in those religiously oriented- indebted countries. Distributional inequalities of income in religiously- predominant developing countries are well contrasted with the politically-oriented authoritarian developing countries that are more egalitarian. Regardless of the external debt, 'authoritarian governance' was found more egalitarian in the distribution of income, while the 'religious predominance' is not. It is the authoritarian governance, rather than the religious predominance, that is significantly related to the distributional equalities in the developing world regardless of external debt burden or sustainability.

Many patterns of external debt behavior and their complexities identified indicate that the effect of external debt in the developing world go beyond a mere mono-dimension with a view of negative effect across all developing countries. Any national government in the indebted developing countries need first

identify a "correct" pattern of external debt behavior in order to assess the effect of external debt on their economic growth and development. They also need to identify
"interrelations" (correlations) among diverse variables including the external debt variables (burden and sustainability) under each respective pattern of external debt behavior identified. If any international or regional organizations, for example, the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and Asian Development Bank (ADB), among others, need to address their respective "economic" assistances to a debt-stricken country, each also needs to first identify the correct pattern of external debt behavior undertaken by developing countries.

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Table 1

Factor Analysis: The Patterns of External Debt Behavior

	(Economically-Oriented Debt Sustainable)	(Global Economic Interdependence-Based Debt Sustainable)	(Authoritarian Militarily-Oriented Nondebt Affected)	(Religiously-Oriented Indebted)	(Terms of Trade-Based Debt Sustainable)
Income distribution	-.297	-.129	-.419	.417	.222
Political system	.298	.010	-.666	.136	-.028
Conflict	-.391	-.351	.371	.157	.337
Quality of life (HDI)	.869	.198	. 115	.126	-.002
GDP	.870	.002	-.144	.051	.122
Urbanization	.766	.029	-.124	.367	.109
Ethnic homogeneity	.539	.235	.351	-.101	-.348
Religious composition	.085	.080	.146	.815	.096
Population growth	-.782	-.124	-.025	.346	-.012
Defense spending	-.098	-.049	.769	.185	058
Debt burden (P/c debt)	.553	.004	-.197	.555	-.327
Global interdependence	-.104	.917	-.109	.135	-.206
Debt sustainability	-.407	.778	- .014	.112	-.425
Foreign accrued benefit	.857	-.034	-.051	-.054	.299
Terms of trade	. 258	-.008	.042	.067	.790
Eigen value (%)	(32.5)	(11.7)	(11.2)	(8.5)	(8.2)

Source: World Factbook (2005, 2006, 2007); Britannica Book of the Year (2005, 2006, 2007).

Table 2: The Most and The Least Five Countries

(A) Economically-Oriented Debt Sustainable Countries

	Conflict (1=conflict) (0=no conflict)	Quality of Life (HDI)	GDP ($)	Urbanization (%)	Ethnic Homogeneity (%)	Population Growth (%)	Debt Burden (P/c Debt) ($)	Debt Sustainability ($)	Foreign-Accrued Benefit ($)
Most									
UAE	0	.8390	33397	76.7	48.1	13.2	4746	353	13397
Bahamas	0	.8250	18917	89.5	67.5	8.9	10477	5553	4257
Kuwait	0	.8710	31051	98.3	74.0	17.8	165	23	13081
Bahrain	0	.8950	21447	90.0	63.9	13.0	3347	380	6947
Uruguay	0	.8510	6007	91.8	88.0	4.9	1933	2164	1647
(Average)		(.8562)	(22164)	(89.3)	(68.3)	(11.6)	(4134)	(1695)	(7866)
Least									
East Timor	1	.5120	350	7.6	80.0	20.9	na	na	-400
Ethiopia	1	.3710	90	16.2	35.8	23.6	85	10573	-70
Equa Guinea	0	.6530	7802	48.1	56.6	21.0	224	55	-818
Cuba	1	.8260	na	75.6	51.0	4.1	1063	7226	na
Cote d'Ivoire	1	na	939	44.9	42.1	20.2	556	1890	99
(Average)		(.5905)	(2295)	(38.5)	(53.1)	(18.0)	(482)	(4936)	(-297)

(B) Global Economic Interdependence-Based Debt Sustainable Countries

	Conflict (1=conflict) (0=no conflict)	Global Economic Interdependence (Ratio)	Debt Sustainability ($)
Most			
Kiribati	0	2.00	111
Tunisia	0	5.90	1822
Equa Guinea	0	.85	55
Malaysia	0	1.13	260
Swaziland	0	1.00	307
(Average)		(2.18)	(511)
Least			
Somalia	1	.10	20516
Nepal	1	.10	5866
Afghanistan	1	.27	55556
Burundi	1	.23	30825
Sierra Leone	1	.24	29940
(Average)		(.19)	(28541)

Table 2 (continued)

(C) Authoritarian Militarily-Oriented Nondebt Affected Countries

	Income Distribution (*Gini* Index)	Political System	Conflict (1= conflict) (0= no conflict)	Ethnic Homogeneity (%)	Defense Spending (%)
Most					
Vietnam	37.0	Highly Authoritarian	1	86.2	8.2
Yemen	33.4	Authoritarian	1	92.8	7.1
Burundi	42.4	Highly Authoritarian	1	80.9	5.9
Jordan	38.8	Authoritarian	0	97.8	8.9
Pakistan	30.6	Highly Authoritarian	1	52.6	4.4
(Average)	(36.4)			(82.1)	(6.9)
Least					
Panama	56.1	Democratic	0	58.1	.9
Peru	52.0	Democratic	0	47.0	1.3
Guyana	43.2	Democratic	0	43.5	.7
Zambia	50.8	Authoritarian	0	21.5	.6
South Africa	57.8	Democratic	0	23.8	1.6
(Average)	(52.0)			(38.8)	(1.0)

(D) Religiously-Oriented Indebted Countries

	Income Distribution (*Gini* index)	Urbanization (%)	Religious Composition (%)	Population Growth (%)	Debt Burden (P/c Debt) ($)
Most					
Tunisia	40.0	65.3	98.9	10.4	14000
Panama	56.1	70.8	88.2	16.7	2289
Jordan	38.8	82.3	93.5	24.9	1314
Peru	52.0	72.6	97.2	14.6	810
Venezuela	48.2	93.4	89.5	16.9	950
(Average)	(47.0)	(76.9)	(93.5)	(16.7)	(3872)
Least					
China	46.9	43.0	42.1	5.9	69
Tanzania	34.6	35.4	35.0	21.1	166
Ethiopia	30.0	16.2	50.1	23.5	85
Mongolia	32.8	60.2	31.0	11.6	506
Vietnam	27.0	27.0	49.2	10.9	184
(Average)	(34.3)	(36.4)	(41.5)	(14.6)	(202)

Table 2 (continued)

(E) Terms of Trade -Based Debt Sustainable Countries

	Conflict (1=conflict) (0=no conflict)	Ethnic Homogeneity (%)	Debt Burden (P/c Debt) ($)	Debt Sustainability ($)	Terms of Trade (Ratio)
Most					
Iran	1	34.9	144	296	1.32
Kuwait	0	74.0	165	23	2.31
Angola	1	25.2	712	641	2.31
Papua Guinea	1	21.2	1364	2296	3.30
Fiji	1	54.3	113	158	.73
(Average)		(41.9)	(500)	(683)	(1.99)
Least					
Tuvalu	0	93.6	472	5000	.01
Samoa	0	92.6	968	12650	.12
Antigua and Barbuda	0	82.4	6304	13042	.11
St Skitt	0	90.4	6399	10135	.16
Djibouti	0	46.0	973	46471	.07
(Average)		(81.0)	(3023)	(17460)	(.09)

Source: World Factbook (2005, 2006, 2007); Britannica Book of the Year (2005, 2006, 2007).

Endnotes:

1. *The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 are eight* international development goals that 192 United Nations member states and at least 23 international organizations have agreed to achieve by the year 2015. The MDGs were developed out of the eight chapters of the UN Millennium Declaration that was signed in September 2000. There are eight goals each with specific indicators developed the MDGs target to achieve. The goals are:
   (1) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
   (2) Achieve universal primary education.
   (3) Promote gender equality and empower women.
   (4) Reduce child mortality.
   (5) Improve maternal health.
   (6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases.
   (7) Ensure environmental sustainability.
   (8) Develop a global partnership for development.
2. Dennis R. Appleyard, et al., *International Economics* (5th ed.), McGraw-Hill Irwin, 2008: pp. 443-451.
3. Other than this 'theoretical' reason, empirically there is a high correlation (multicollinearity) between these two sustainability variables (simple correlation between the two: r=.82). This is based on 160 developing countries analyzed for this paper. This high intercorrelation between the two, if employed simultaneously as independent variables in multiple regression analyses conducted in this paper, would violate a rule of causality due to their 'overlapping.' The multicollinearity problem makes it difficult to identify a 'true' effect of each of the two in assessing their respective effect on the quality of life, which is treated as dependent variable in this paper. For both theoretical and empirical reasons, this paper will address only the export-based sustainability, whose effect on the

quality life will be analyzed.

4. Walter S. Jones, *The Logic of International Relations,* Scott, Foresman and Company (Glensview, Ill)1988: pp. 214-235. .
5. Its intellectual father is Dr. Raul Prebisch, Argentinean economist who created the U.N. Economic Commission for America in the 1950s, initially looking at the unfavorable terms of trades that were allegedly to have led the economic stagnation and foreign control of the world economies; See also Michael P. Todaro & Stephen C. Smith, *Economic Development*, Pearson/Addition Wesley, 2006: pp 586-587.
6. Michael P. Todaro & Stephen C. Smith, *Economic Development*, Pearson/Addison Wesley, 2006: pp. 602-603]
7. See.Davies, A. and G. Quinlivan (2006), A Panel Data Analysis of the Impact of Trade on Human Development, Journal of Socioeconomics Speech by Prime Minister Jean Chretien to the National Forum.
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9. It is difficult to make an exact list of emerging (or developed) markets As of July 2006, the Morgan Stanley Emerging Markets Index included: Argentina, Brazil , Chile , China , Colombia , Czech Republic , Egypt , Hungary , India , Indonesia , Israel , Hong Kong (transferred to China/1997), Jordan , Malaysia , Mexico , Morocco , Pakistan , Peru , Philippines , Poland , Russia , Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa , South Korea , Taiwan , Thailand , Turkey ; See also Michael P. Todaro & Stephen C. Smith, Economic Development, Pearson/Addition Wesley, 2006: pp 666-691.
10. Collier, Paul. 2007. *The Bottom Billion*. New York: Oxford University Press.
11. Stiglitiz, Joseph. 2003. *Globalization and Its Discontents*. New York: Norton.
12. The term 'third world' creates confusion and it has been 'controversial.' The classification of the Third World countries in this paper was based on the following criteria:
    (1) Countries in Central and South America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia (excepting Japan) and the Pacific Islands (excepting Australia and New Zealand);
    (2) South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Israel were no longer categorized as the Third World countries due to their respective remarkable economic, political, and social development.
    (3) Those countries classified as the 'second world' during the Cold War era were excluded from the classification of the Third World; they are the former republics of the Soviet Union as well as the Central and Eastern European countries, which were under the domination of the Soviet Union. They are classified as the 'transition' countries and economically many of them are classified as the 'developing' countries. Yet, those former socialist countries have not been classified as the Third World in this paper for their 'unique' historical developments that are not shared with the major features of the Third World.
    (4) There are 'many' ways of classifying countries. World Bank, fore example, classifies the countries into low-income countries (LICs), lower middle-income countries (LMCs), upper middle income countries (UMCs), high-income OECD countries and other high-income countries. The countries are ranked by their levels of gross national income (GNI). Developing countries are those with low, lower middle, or upper middle income countries. The UN Development Program (UNDP) classifies countries according to their human development index (HDI). According to those 'economic' criteria, some 'third world' countries deserve to be classified as 'developed' countries
    (5) A majority of the Third World countries are also economically classified as the 'developing' countries. Yet, some of the Third World countries are rich and they are 'developed' countries, but they are still classified as the Third World such as Kuwait, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Brunei, among others. Significant parts of the population in those countries remain uneducated or in poor health for the country's income level and they are still viewed as

'developing' countries and classified as the Third World countries. The classification of the 'developed-developing' dichotomy does not necessarily coincide with 'first-third' world classification as the first-third dichotomy is much more than a mere economic criterion based on GNI or HDI.

13. Conflict-stricken countries are:
Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bhutan, Bolivia, Burundi, Brazil Cambodia, Central Africa, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo Republic, Congo Democratic Republic, Cote d'Ivoire , Cuba, Cyprus, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, East Timor, Fiji, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Laos, Lebanon, Mauritania, Mexico, Myanmar, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Solomon, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, Vietnam, Yemen, and Zimbabwe (55 countries)
14. The factor loading is the terminal solution based on orthogonally rotated factors. It is the *varimax* orthogonal rotation, which is most widely used in the factor analysis. The *varimax* is the rotated solution, in which each variable (item) is accounted for by a single significant common factor. The rotated factor loadings are conceptually simpler than unrotated ones.
15. The factor loading that is greater than .30 is considered significant. But it varies from .30 to .40 to .50. These cut-off points are somewhat subjective, which should be determined by the researcher.
16. The *factor score* was gleaned from the following formula: (factor coefficient) x (Z-score). Computer (SPSS: Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences) produces both the factor coefficient and the Z-score. It has been customary to build the factor score employing only those variables that have substantial loadings on a given factor. Variables over .30 factor loading under each factor were selected to construct the factor score. For example, factor 1 has seven variables loaded: quality of life, GDP, urbanization, ethnic homogeneity, population growth, foreign-accrued benefit, and conflict. The factor coefficient for each of these variables and their respective Z-score produced make the *factor score* for each and every of the countries.

Features, Functions, and Fanfare: A Framework for Understanding the Appeal of a Music Website

Evan Lieberman, Anne D. Sito, Brian F. Blake, Kimberly A. Neuendorf
Cleveland State University

Introduction

At this point it should come as news to no one that the music business is in the midst of the greatest period of upheaval in its modern history. While the industry has never been particularly stable by the standards of the corporate world, the methods by which artists were signed to record labels and promoted via radio and live appearances for the primary purpose of selling recorded music certainly provided the music business with a functional commercial model. But throughout the industry, enormous changes have been coming so quickly over the past decade that the term "crisis" has been widely used to describe recent conditions (Callahan, 2005; Henley, 2004; Wolff, 2002). Eroding sales, an oversaturated market, and the dramatically increased cost of marketing a new artist or release, all represent challenges to the established record companies, but the real seismic shift has been the result of the on-line digital distribution of music, for which another term is widely employed, "revolution."

Ten years ago Dannen (1999), referring to the emergence of digital, on-line music sites, wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*, "A revolution has occurred in the way music is distributed, and the big record companies are in a state of panic" (p. 9). This panic has not abated despite persuasive research that has shown on-line file sharing having a minimal impact on industry profits and little evidence that the downloading of musical content has led directly to lower sales (see Oberholzer-Gee & Strumpf, 2007). Without question, on-line distribution of music has established a direct point of connection between the artist and the audience, undermining the gatekeeping function that the major (and even smaller) record labels have used for decades to control the industry. In his paper "The Internet Music Revolution," Collard (2006) observes "if the industry is to survive, it needs to modernize itself and adapt to these new technologies, taking full advantage of them to regain the monopoly and control it once enjoyed" (p. 5). In fact the return to dominance Collard references is unlikely, and at the center of this shift in power has been the social networking site, MySpace, and particularly its music division MySpace Music. As Burrell (2007) has written, "Revolution is not too strong a word to describe the changes introduced by MySpace. There's no better example of this than Enter Shikari, a St. Albans band who have been so successful in building support online that they have been able to shun all approaches from the record industry" (p. 28). The revolution concerns not only the diminishing power of the traditional record labels and the increased potential for artists to have their music heard by the public, but perhaps even more the ability of the audience to browse, sample, and experience new or unfamiliar artists.

The Digital Arcade

MySpaceMusic might be envisioned as the world's largest jukebox with the added appeal that it is not necessary to insert a coin and the number of "plays" is theoretically endless. But there is another, older model that might be employed in order to understand the profound economic and cultural changes taking place in the on-line musical arena, that of the arcade, as described by Walter Benjamin (1999) in his sprawling, unfinished masterwork, *The Arcades Project*. In *The Arcades Project* Benjamin presents a series of intersecting, overlapping, fragmentary ideas about literature, art, history, commerce, and modernism (to name but a few of his concerns) all centered around a study of the labyrinthine

passageways of the Parisian arcades of the late 19th century which can be thought of as the forerunners of the contemporary shopping mall. For Benjamin the arcades were "a world in miniature … in which customers will find everything they need," as well as a "a world of particular secret affinities: palm tree and feather duster; hairdryer and Venus de Milo, champagne bottles, prostheses, and letter writing manuals" (p. 874). Benjamin saw the arcades as not only places of boundless commerce, but places where connections were made, where networks of linkages could be explored, where the past and present melted into one another in an unbroken flow. They constituted a world of "strict discontinuity; what is always again new is not something old that remains, or something past that recurs, but one and the same crossed by countless intermittences."

In so many ways, Benjamin's (1999) depiction of the arcades can be seen as similarly descriptive of the virtual world of commerce on-line and more specifically of the seemingly infinite marketplace of on-line music. The unexpected connections, the endless variety of commodities, the promised potential for finding everything one might need, all resonate with the structure of the arcades. What this means for the consumer is connected to Benjamin's description of the *flaneur*, the wanderer, the window shopper, the free agent, the master of the space of the arcade. Benjamin notes, "The *flaneur* is the observer of the marketplace. His knowledge is akin to the occult-science of industrial fluctuations. He is a spy for the capitalists, on assignment in the realm of consumers" (p. 427). The empowerment of the consumer, the freedom of movement, desire, and choice, has its roots in the *flaneur* of the arcades but is intensified in the new arcade of the Internet by physically bringing the arcade to the consumer rather than the shopper to the mall. Mobility is heightened and choices are multiplied geometrically. This authority of the consumer in the realm of music comes at the expense of the power of the record companies which until recently controlled access to the musical marketplace. It is a new world in the new arcade. Benjamin points out that in their period of decay, the arcades "became the hollow mold from which the image of 'modernity' was cast," and similarly we can see today's post-modern experience reflected in the de-centered, networked, user-focused realm of sites like MySpace Music.

MySpace History

MySpace, developed in 2003, is a free social networking Internet service that allows registered members to communicate with others using blogs, e-mails, web forums, and visual tools such as audio and video postings and pictures. MySpace is considered a "Web 2.0 site," a term used to designate a second generation of web sites and services which facilitate both communication and collaboration amongst their users. These Web 2.0 sites have proliferated rapidly in the past five years and can now be credited with transforming the way potential music purchasers understand the way services and functions of the Internet connect website creators and/or businesses to the consumer (Knowles, 2007).

MySpace founders Chris DeWolfe and Tom Anderson initially targeted the social networking site to actors, musicians, and artists. Since many local bands and club owners were used to publicizing the site when MySpace first launched, these same individuals were also the first to create their own customized band pages. Drawing on existing fan bases, these artists (many from Indie Rock bands) already had a large number of people eager to view their pages. A brief eight months after MySpace went "live," the rate of growth of new users quickly surpassed that of other existing social networking sites such as Friendster (Bosworth, 2005). The ever-increasing number of artists using MySpace to promote their music (over 2.5 million in the rap genre alone) and the equally enormous number of viewers/consumers (top Rock artist Hinder had over 70 million page views as of 5/2/02) reveals the site to be, in Benjamin's terms, a massive digital musical arcade. The artist or band sites allow individuals to have creative control over the design and functions of their page, which are currently a vital part of marketing new artists. As a result it becomes essential to gain a clear understanding of how the features of the site attract and communicate to the musical consumer.

The Conceptual Framework

The Framework (see Figure 1) outlines a model for understanding the operations of online music sites from the perspective of the "Digital Arcade." Consider the users; they approach music sites with one or more of five principal needs. First, they may want to obtain goods or services, music CDs, paraphernalia like T-shirts, tickets to performances, etc. Second, and more important for many, they may log onto a site

to form or maintain relationships with other users or with the artist(s). Third, the user may want to be entertained, to listen to music, to see interesting graphic displays, read/hear amusing ideas, etc. Fourth, a user may want to explore a new persona, a self-identity via playfully identifying with an artist, or by learning the argot, dress standards and mannerisms that constitute a new set of traits for the user. Finally, the user may wish to learn the terrain of his or her social environment, the immense variety of people, places, and things that comprise the user's world. These needs are not mutually exclusive, nor are they of equal priority to a user. Further, they are not independent; satisfying one need can be instrumental in stimulating another.

On the artist's side, the artists (or bands) can also have a number of goals. First, the artist may want to sell music, CDs, tickets to events, etc. directly to fans. If, as in the case of MySpace Music, the sales cannot be done on the web site, then the artists can direct fans to other online or offline locations. Second, they can seek to establish relationships directly with: a) individual fans, or with clubs/organizations of fans, b) other artists, e.g., to form cooperative business relationships, to form friendly associations with "kindred spirits," or c) music corporations, organizers of festivals, and other entities that offer a platform for contracts, fees, and other revenue streams. Third, they seek to provide pleasure to users through their music, by the other content on their sites, and by serving as gatekeepers to clubs/festivals, and other sources of entertainment. Fourth, they seek through their site features (e.g., pictures/videos of the artists, graphic styles, selection of friends) to establish an image or representation. The images can be seen as constructed personae, e.g., the band of dangerous rebels; the spiritual, sensitive folksinger; the streetwise, hardcore rapper. Finally, they can attempt to stay up to date (or even to define what is to be considered the frontier of change) and configure their site so as to convey this cutting edge quality to users. As is true for user needs, the artist's goals are not exclusive or of equally desirable. And again, one is often instrumental to achieving other goals.

Linking the artist and the user is the music site (see Figure 1). The attributes of a site act within five *Operational Domains*, corresponding to the five arcade-inspired linkages between the artist goals and the user's needs. Within each Operational Domain, *Features* act to perform certain *Functions* that determine how successfully the site operates to mesh the artist's work with the user's needs.

Illustratively, consider the Commerce Operational Domain (see Table 1). Extensive research by social, information, and marketing scientists has explored the contribution of site features contributing to the success or appeal of a commercial site (B2B or B2C). Sets of dimensions or factors that determine how effectively a site operates as a commercial venue have been proposed by Torkzadeh and Dhillon (2002) and subsequently fine-tuned by Chang, Torkzadeh, and Dhillon (2005); by Ranganathan and Ganapathy (2002); and by Chakraborty, Lala, and Warren (2003), among others. Other conceptual models have suggested additional factors or processes that can determine the success of a site. Among these are Roger's (1995) model of the adoption/diffusion of innovations, the theory of reasoned action of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), and the Technology Acceptance Model, devised by Davis, Bagozzi and Warshaw (1989) and later modified as "TAM 2" by Venkatesh and Davis (2000) and Venkatesh, Morris, Davis, and Davis (2003). Another is presence, defined as an information receiver's sense that there is no barrier or medium interposed between the receiver and the information source (Lombard & Ditton, 1997). Presence has been found to impact online consumer shopping (Gefen & Straub, 2004; Jahng, Jain, & Ramamurthy, 2000). These dimensions or factors constitute the Functions in our Framework. Table 1 provides an integrated list of these commercial Functions drawn from the aforementioned sources.

Additionally, two Functions are proposed based upon the reactions of participants in a series of focus groups conducted as part of the present project. The first is "graphic load," the quantity of information in the audio and visual stimulus array. The load is derived from the stimulus variation, intensity, and complexity contained in the site. High load is perceived by users as busy, cluttered, emotionally overwhelming, and often too much to perceive in its entirety. Low load is perceived as overly sparse, simple, and potentially boring. We propose that users have, based on past experiences, an optimal level of load which they find particularly appealing. The second added Function is "site stability," the degree to which a site continues over time with the same URL and content. On the low end is frequent change in structure (due to intentional updates by the artist, technical problems etc.) and at the high end is a total

lack of change. At least a minimal amount of stability is required to conduct commerce, while too much stability can be unattractive to users.

A site's Features, alone or in combination, are the means by which the site executes these Functions, and can be visualized at either a "Macro" or a "Micro" level. It is at the former level that the vast majority of research on online sites as commercial venues has been directed. Macro Features are based to some degree upon user's perception or evaluations. For example, from Table 1, consider vendor trust as a Function important to the operation of a music site as a commercial venue. Bart, Shankar, Sultan, and Urban (2005) explored the attributes or features of a B2C commercial site that can enhance user trust in the vendor/site and, thereby contribute to the users' willingness to shop at the site(s). The investigators found that these trust inducing features clustered into eight groups (see Table 2).

Thus, in our Framework, Table 2 lists the Macro-Features that provide the vendor trust Function and thereby allow the site to operate as a commercial venue (Commerce Operational Domain). Each of the other Functions in the Commerce Operational Domain has its own corresponding Macro Features. The same hierarchical structures of Functions and Macro-Features also apply to the other four Operational Domains.

The Micro-Features are the constituent elements that combine to produce the structure of the site, the bits of audio and visual information that a developer must orchestrate in order to construct a Macro Feature. The five categories of Micro-Features are: Music, Still Images, Video, Text, and Graphics. For example, consider Text, one of the five categories of Micro-Features available to the site developer. Information about the band, band and fan blogs, reviews, tracking history, performance schedules and a discussion wall, are all site characteristics that comprise the Micro-Features of Text. This five-category listing of Micro-Features is similar for all Macro Features for all Functions within all five Operational Domains.

Method

Participants

In April 2008, eighteen focus groups were conducted on campus with 130 Cleveland State University undergraduate students. The authors, assisted by a larger team of graduate students, prepared the moderator's guide. Six graduate students acted as moderators during the focus group sessions in which participants were encouraged to discuss different aspects of MySpace Music (MSM) sites. In order to facilitate data collection, each focus group was recorded via audio-cassette and videotape.

The 130 participants, aged 18 or older, were required to sign a consent form and were informed they were being recorded both by audio and videotape, and received individual class credit and/or extra credit for their participation in the focus group.

Procedure

Recorded discussion comments were studied to look for patterns that echo or refute conclusions emerging from the literature reviews. Almost 50 MSM Features, both Macro- and Micro-, were gleaned from the focus group participant comments and used to compare with existing online shopping literature to identify patterns and gaps where site Functions have not been previously recognized as exhibiting Features that might appeal to or repel the online user.

MSM Focus Group Data

The discussion recordings were reviewed by the entire team to determine the fit with the Framework in Figure 1. For the purpose of this paper the following results illustrate selected Functions within one domain, the Commerce Operational Domain. The other discussion recordings for the remaining four operational domain categories can be found at Cleveland State University's Research Reports in Consumer Behavior (*http://academic.csuohio.edu/cbresearch/*).

Privacy-Security and Trust Functions within a Commerce Domain

It was expressed countless times by the participants that they would not purchase music (i.e., CD's, apparel, or concert tickets) directly from the MSM sites. Specific Functions encompassed within the Commerce Domain include a perceived risk of the site and trust of the vendor:

Privacy-Security Function: The user may be afraid of "friending" the artist/band site because of spam e-mails, because the "friended" band will send numerous concert notifications, or because the band may

possibly sell or share e-mail addresses with other artist or bands of a similar genre. The user may seek safety when viewing a page, and does not want to get a virus for clicking on items or features on a page.

Trust Function: Does the user trust artist or band enough to purchase merchandise, i.e., shirt, or songs or does the user trust MySpace as a vendor? Are buyers more trusting when purchasing from a well-known source, e.g., iTunes, or going to the artists' concerts or official webpage to purchase goods?

Many of the participants indicated they would not "purchase" a song from MySpace and might instead seek alternate "pirating" methods to download songs they liked. If a person wanted to purchase a CD or apparel items such as t-shirts or hats, they would buy this merchandise at the artist or band's concert. The reason offered for this was so the individual could support the artist or band and the proceeds would go directly to them instead of a third party, i.e., iTunes. Furthermore, if a fan wanted a CD, it was often purchased as a collector's item or memorabilia from a concert. However, the top reason stated during the focus groups for MSM visitors to be deterred from making purchases from a site was lack of trust in relaying personal and confidential information such as credit card numbers for transactions on MySpace. If the individual wanted to simply purchase a single, they would follow a click-through on the artist/bands' page to an online music vendor site such as iTunes, Target, or Amazon. Overall, participants clearly stated that if there are free items to take advantage of from the artist/band site (e.g., free song downloads for ringtones, or concert tickets), then this would appeal to the viewer. In addition certain Text Micro-Features were seen as giving the site more credibility, including, a more "professional" layout. These finding are just the beginning of an in-depth study seeking to understand how the manipulation of certain features will influence the significant Functions of the individual MySpace Music web page.

Discussion & Future Implications

The crisis for the recorded music industry is, upon closer examination, not a crisis at all. It simply represents a radical challenge to the way the major multinational corporations who have controlled access to the ears of the consumer will maintain that hegemony. Or perhaps fail to do so. The revolution that began with the digital exchange of musical content over the Internet a decade ago is now nearly complete, and in the new arcade of on-line distribution, the power has shifted decisively to the individual web surfer, the content browser whether aficionado or novice, the virtual *flaneur*. A comprehensive knowledge of the desires, the deterrents, the predilections, and the preferences of this empowered wanderer/consumer, is the key to understanding the dynamics of the digital music arcade, and on this front the data and analysis presented here are merely the first steps in a lengthy and laborious process. Though we have presented a compelling framework for study, much more research is necessary before we can clearly understand in a reliably predicative way the relationship between the Features of MySpace Music and the Functions they serve. The complexity of the Features and the multiple overlapping and intersecting Functions they perform for the user demands closer, more detailed investigation, but using the model we've developed that fuses a semiotics of the web page with focus group testing of their effects, the task, though daunting, is possible. It is also, given the direct artist-to-consumer connection that the digital arcade provides, unquestionably necessary.

Additional information on this research initiative can be found at Cleveland State University's Research Reports in Consumer Behavior (*http://academic.csuohio.edu/cbresearch/*).

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Figure 1
The Framework

Artist Goals	Music Site Operational Domains	User Goals
Sales ➔	Commerce	➔ Obtain Goods & Services
Establish Relationships ➔	Networking	➔ Establish Relationships
Entertain ➔	Entertainment	➔ Enjoyment/Hedonic Consumption
Project Image (persona) ➔	Imaging	➔ Self Identity (persona)
Be Cutting Edge/ Up-to-Date ➔	Information/News	➔ Stay Current

Table 1
Commerce Operational Domain: Functions

Vendor trust (Torkzadeh & Dhillon, 2002)	Privacy/Security of information (Ranganathan & Ganapathy, 2002)
Smooth customer-vendor relationship (Torkzadeh & Dhillon, 2002)	Entertainment (Chakraborty, Lala, & Warren, 2003)
Value (PRICE/quality) of product (Torkzadeh & Dhillon, 2002)	Trialability (Rogers, 2003)
Product choice (Torkzadeh & Dhillon, 2002)	Compatibility with one's social environment (Rogers, 2003)
Online payment arrangements (Torkzadeh & Dhillon, 2002)	Observability (Rogers, 2003)
Convenience of shopping (Torkzadeh & Dhillon, 2002)	Normative support (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975)
Shipping/handling error (Torkzadeh & Dhillon 2002)	Presence (Gefen & Straub, 2004; Jahng et al., 2000)
Personalization (Chakraborty, Lala, & Warren, 2003)	Graphic load (CSU Focus Groups)
Non-Transaction related interactivity (Chakraborty, Lala, & Warren, 2003)	Stability of site (CSU Focus Groups)
Transaction related interactivity (Chakraborty, Lala, & Warren, 2003)	

Table 2
Macro-Features Driving Vendor Trust Function within Commerce Operational Domain (from Bart et al., 2005)

Privacy • Privacy policy easy to find on the site • Site clearly explains how user information is used • Site's use of cookies is clearly presented • Text of privacy policy is easy to understand •	**Brand Strength** • Products and services with reputable brand names • Quality company or organization
Security • Trust seals present (e.g., TRUSTe, Verisign) • Signs placed by third party companies indicating site has been reviewed for sound business practices	**Advice** • Useful shopping tools (e.g., a calculator or planner) provided • Explanation of services/products offered • Recommendations based on user's previous purchases • Helpful on reaching my buying decisions • Comparisons of all competing brands
Navigation and Presentation • Legible images, colors, and text • Simple language • Readily available site map • Useful links to other sites • Information can be obtained quickly	**Order Fulfillment** • A variety of payment methods • Easy ordering and payment mechanisms • Shipping and handling costs listed up front • Return policies or other measures of accountability are present • Order confirmation via e-mail
Community • Endorsement by celebrities • Testimonials by past users • Possible to interact on the screen with a shopping adviser • Photos of people/family/kids on site • Bios of executives • User has direct posting to site (e.g., bulletin board, e-mail)	**Absence of Errors** • Acceptable download time • Text and menus displayed properly • No pages "under construction" • No errors or crashing • Internal links in working order • Does not require user to download programs (e.g., a "flash" program to view videos)

A Comparison of the Aftermath of Hurricanes Rita and Ike: University Administrator's Perspectives

Gregory Marsh, Nancy Leffel Carlson, E. Jane Irons
Lamar University

On September 24, 2005, Southeast Texas and Southwest Louisiana were devastated by the flooding and 120 mile per hour winds of Hurricane Rita (Mangan, 2005). Hurricane Rita devastated the region with insured losses totaling approximately $5 billion, although uninsured losses may total as much as two and a half times that amount (Gallaspy, 2005).

As a measure of the damage to institutions of higher education, Lamar University was closed for 24 days following landfall with debris removal and repair to the 70 damaged buildings continuing 24 hours a day (Lumpkin & Whittle, 2007; Mangan, 2005). When classes resumed on October 19, 2005 the university lost approximately 500 of the 10,600 students who had started the semester. One year later fall enrollment, still reeling from the effects of Hurricane Rita, was down to 9,906 students. This was a 6.5% decline compared with the previous year (Lane, 2006). The dilatory effects on the university's enrollment continued to be felt for the next three years.

Three years later, on September 13, 2008 Southeast Texas was once again the victim of a natural disaster, Hurricane Ike. The university was again closed for repairs for an extended period, although only 10 days in this instance, resuming classes on September 25, 2008. The impact on student enrollment was not as severe as with Hurricane Rita since the university lost only approximately 300 students (Lawrence, 2008).

While there have been many works dedicated to discussing the lessons learned from disasters such as Hurricane Katrina, few institutions have had the opportunity to gauge the effectiveness of substantive and procedural changes made from one disaster to the next in such a short time period. The ability of higher education administrators to recognize and reflect on the effectiveness of changes made following the first hurricane (Rita) during the second hurricane (Ike) may have positive implications for administrators facing similar issues of disaster preparedness.

The purpose of this study was to examine higher education administrators' perspectives of change brought about at institutions of higher education by the aftermath of two major hurricanes within a four-year period in Southeast Texas. Through open-ended survey questions, administrators described the impact Hurricane Rita had on the technology infrastructure and computer systems, facilities infrastructure, finance systems, and academic issues at the university. Administrators described policy or planning changes made to address issues or problems found because of Hurricane Rita. Respondents described how changes made because of experiences during the first hurricane impacted the university's administrative policies and practices to mitigate the impact of the second hurricane.

Literature Review

Most colleges and universities are unprepared to effectively and efficiently manage disasters or crises facing them (Dolan, 2006). Cavanaugh (2006) noted that institutions cannot always depend on smooth, uneventful semesters; they are sometimes tested by a myriad of disruptions. While hurricanes have been of most recent concern, many types of natural disasters may affect academic institutions including tornadoes, floods, earthquakes, blizzards, and floods. The literature review focuses on lessons learned by

institution administrators following a disaster to facilitate more efficient and effective leadership when faced with future disasters.

Disaster Planning and Preparedness in Higher Education

Mitroff, Diamond, and Alpaslan (2006) stressed the importance of planning by college and university administrators, especially given that "as the complexity of institutional operations, technology and infrastructure increases, the risks facing universities and their leaders multiply as well" (p.62). Mitroff et al. found most of the institutions they surveyed were prepared only for the crises they had already experienced.

Lipka (2005) noted problems faced by institutions of higher education brought about by Hurricane Katrina pushed administrators at universities and colleges (even in areas not considered to be susceptible to natural disasters) to plan for disasters, both natural and man-made such as terrorist attacks. Foote (1996) suggested that crisis response was especially challenging to academic administrators because of the complexity involved in the system of shared leadership across the various constituencies at the institution. Foote, President of the University of Miami during Hurricane Andrew, emphasized that while disasters are unpredictable, with strong leadership they are manageable.

Information Technology

Kiernan (2005) reported that because of severe problems after Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, higher education institutions nationwide reviewed and, where necessary created from scratch, information technology (IT) disaster recovery plans. Institutions prepared for such routine tasks as obtaining spare parts for required equipment. Kiernan reported a recent survey found only 56% of colleges had such a plan, while an additional one-third indicated they were in the process of preparing IT disaster recovery plans.

Johnson, Nolan, and Siegrist (2006) emphasized the importance of pre-planning including practices of backing up or securing data at a distant site and working with another institution outside the range of the disaster to provide an alternate location for information management operations. Johnson et al. recommended initial post-disaster IT action restore the institution's student and administrative systems, website, and online course capabilities. This would potentially decrease downtime for the university and its stakeholders.

Collins, Savage, and Wainwright (2008) emphasized the importance of reinstituting communications channels, including the institution's website, e-mail systems, and other critical applications. Critical applications may include employee payroll, student records, and environmental management systems.

Communication

Communication, specifically the ability to communicate with stakeholders (e.g. faculty, staff, students, governing bodies, and parents) was found to be one of the key improvements pursued by administrators (Foote, 1996; Johnson et al, 2006; Mitroff et al., 2006). Foote (1996) noted that, in the University of Miami's encounter with Hurricane Andrew, their communication plan was the one area of their emergency plan that fell short. Their assumption that at least one form of communication would remain usable following a disaster was faulty since telephones, radios, and televisions all failed. Since roads were impassable, they were also unable to communicate face-to-face. Tarr, Birdwhistell, Birdwhistell, and Schmehl (2007) found that Loyola University, after communication problems were encountered with cellular phones during Hurricane Katrina, made changes to their physical plant disaster plan requiring the use of two satellite phones along with multiple cellular phones with area codes from regions other than New Orleans.

Johnson et al. (2006) discussed the importance of designing a communications plan that could be put into effect in case of a disaster. Johnson et al. suggested that the university website may be the appropriate vehicle for dispersing information to university stakeholders, providing directions for students and employees, and providing information about the university's plans for recovery from an emergency. Regardless of which system is used, it should provide information about recovery status of the institution. Foote (1996) emphasized the importance of getting and distributing factual information about the disaster to dispel rumors and inaccurate information prevalent immediately after a disaster.

Tarr et al. (2007) suggested that universities use an off-site emergency e-mail system in addition to the institution's website for distributing information. Kiernan (2005) reported the University of Texas required senior officials to obtain a second e-mail address separate from the campus system circumvent problems caused by a potential breakdown of the university's e-mail server.

Lipka (2005) reported university administrators discovered the importance of acquiring proper communications equipment following Hurricane Katrina. In New Orleans when communications broke down because of down telephone lines, university officials were forced to borrow satellite phones from news reporters. Johnson et al. (2006) noted the university's discipline in testing its communications system is a key to its success during an emergency.

Facilities and Infrastructure

Johnson et al. (2006) noted the importance of designating an emergency headquarters from which all disaster recovery efforts could be overseen. Lipka (2005) discussed the importance of immediately establishing a command center as the first step in resuming the operations of a university. Lipka reported that many experts recommend university administrators establish mutual-aid agreements with other colleges or universities to shorten the time required to establish the command center and to ensure access to the necessary equipment and amenities.

Johnson et al. (2006) discussed the importance of identifying a designated person to provide emergency and government workers access as quickly as possible to all buildings requiring renovation. Timely access to buildings should be balanced with the necessity to restrict access to essential personnel (Cavanaugh, 2006).

A key problem facing physical plant personnel at Loyola University following Hurricane Katrina included insufficient diesel stores resulting in generators running out of fuel. Future physical plant emergency plans called for an upgrade of the size of generator fuel tanks as a remedy (Tarr et al., 2007)

Financial Issues

Lipka (2005) suggested institutions consider the possibility of permanently losing displaced students resulting in decreased revenue; consequently institutions must gauge their ability to operate with those losses. Lipka recommended institutions review business-interruption insurance policies. Jarrell, Dennis, Jackson, and Kenney (2008) studied community colleges impacted by Hurricane Katrina and found that up to 25% of displaced students enrolled at other colleges in Louisiana.

Tresaugue (2006) suggested that institutions in regions of recent disasters may suffer through a time of reduced enrollment because of parents' concerns regarding their children's safety. Tresaugue suggests this may have a negative impact on institutional revenue. Watson, Melancon, and Kinchen (2008) suggested the possibility of postsecondary institutions aggressively seeking out grant funding during decreasing levels of state funding, especially after disaster situations

Academic Issues

Jarrell et al. (2008) noted two difficult tasks faced by academic affairs at academic institutions: (a) locating students and faculty, and (b) assembling a listing of course offerings. Jarrell et al. (2008) discussed pitfalls at one institution where time and resources were spent building a schedule of online courses; however, no time or resources went into organizing a system for students to receive financial aid information, transcripts for transfer, and course payment.

Johnson et al. (2006) emphasized the importance of locating displaced students to retain them by using online or face-to-face instruction at remote locations. Tarr et al. (2007) noted that after Hurricane Katrina, Xavier University implemented a policy requiring all faculty members to include disaster contingencies in their course syllabi. At Xavier, all courses are automatically installed in their web-based classroom management system to facilitate course completion in the event of an evacuation.

Jarrell et al. (2008) described a plan implemented at Delgado Community College following Hurricane Katrina where students were offered an option of taking courses online, resulting in students becoming reintegrated academically and socially into the institution. Tinto (1987) found that students were more likely to persist when they were involved academically and socially in the institution. Jarrell et al. (2008) found that a significant number of students chose to participate in online courses; however, challenges

and limitations to that system included faculty inexperienced in delivering online courses and limited technical support.

Methodology

Cresswell (2007) suggested the importance of understanding the experiences common to many in order to make changes necessary for future improvements or to simply understand the experience of the phenomenon. Cresswell noted the purpose of the phenomenological study was to "describe the meaning of the phenomenon for a small number of individuals who have experienced it" (p. 131). This phenomenological study used open-ended survey questions to describe administrators' views of change and the effects Hurricanes Rita and Ike had on change within their institutions.

Participants

The sample was purposive and included individuals in leadership positions at a four-year institution in Southeast Texas. The officials targeted were chosen based on their experience and employment in administrative positions at institutions of higher education in Southeast Texas during Hurricanes Rita and Ike. All participants were males from various functional areas, e.g. academic affairs, facilities management, and finance.

Data Collection

A survey instrument was distributed through the university e-mail system. The instrument contained open-ended questions where participants described from their perspective the impact Hurricanes Rita and Ike had on their institutions and its stakeholders (i.e. faculty, staff, and students). Participants described ways the institution changed between the disasters based on shortcomings discovered following Rita.

Data Analysis

Cresswell's (2007) phenomenological method was used to review comments provided by the participants. The participants' responses were evaluated for "significant statements" (p. 61). Statements were grouped to create themes using Creswell's data reduction technique. The participants' detailed experiences of what happened and how it happened were reported in themes. Credibility and trustworthiness were addressed through member checking where research results were returned to participants for examination of its accuracy.

Findings

Five participants returned surveys. Several important themes emerged: (a) lessons learned during Hurricane Rita, (b) how those lessons were addressed through planning and policy changes, and (c) the impact those changes in policy and planning had to better manage the university during Hurricane Ike.

Lessons Learned

Based on observations of the participants responsible for the recovery of the university following Hurricane Rita, many lessons were learned. Two overriding themes emerged: (a) the necessity for planning, and (b) communication in all functional areas. Participants identified problems caused by a lack of planning and poor communication both before and following Hurricane Rita.

Planning. Participants reported that planning prior to Hurricane Rita was not as robust as needed to respond to a disaster of that magnitude. One participant wrote that the university was "less than adequately prepared for the storm." Effective planning for efficient operation during recovery was needed.

One participant noted that Rita was especially damaging to the institution's facilities and infrastructure with "virtually every building as well as the grounds suffering damage, power was out for two to three weeks, and restoration/remediation efforts were slowed as several generators failed." Participants reported that in addition to generator failures, there was also a shortage of fuel for the generators that were functioning.

Participants reported that planning for faculty and staff to continue operations was needed. Because of restoration to damaged buildings and dormitories, students were not allowed access to their possessions nor were employees able to return to work in their offices or classrooms. Participants described that planning for coordination of campus security with local law enforcement during the recovery phase was vital since looting and other hazards existed throughout the campus.

A need for planning for impacts to financial systems and administrative functions was reported by participants. Participants reported that the university lost approximately 700 students whose tuition was refunded. A participant reported on the impact to administrative functions and described the delay to the university's accreditation process with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

One participant described a need for planning for disruption to teaching and research projects. Because the university was closed for 24 days during Rita and 10 days during Ike, class periods were lengthening and final examinations were eliminated. Several research projects were hampered or completely destroyed. The participants' comments supported the recommendations made by Tarr et al. (2007) to have all courses built into the university's electronic course system so that courses could be completed online if the semester could not be completed on campus.

Communication. A participant from academic affairs discussed the importance of communication with faculty, staff, and students and identified it as the "key" to restoring the institution to "normalcy". A major problem at the university during Hurricane Rita was the lack of access to e-mail for several weeks resulting in no organized, institutional method of contacting all faculty, staff, and students. This participant commented on the use of message boards housed on the university's website where there was a free flow of unmoderated information during Hurricane Rita. This participant reported that message boards became a source of "false rumors, bile, and venom."

The university was "less than prepared" for the variety of technology issues and problems. Online courses, e-mail, and registration activities were unavailable for several weeks immediately after Hurricane Rita. This was especially difficult for students as one participant noted, "Students want to continue their studies and graduate on time."

How Lessons Were Addressed

Planning. Respondents reiterated the lack of planning prior to Hurricane Rita, a shortcoming that was addressed over the subsequent three years. Participants noted the most important change made following Hurricane Rita was to create emergency plans. These plans were followed before and after landfall of Hurricane Ike. One official commented that he was "involved in multiple meetings with the President's Emergency Management Committee and the preparations were extensive and well planned for Ike".

One participant noted an obvious and vital observation that "nothing happens without power." Because of this, following Rita and prior to Hurricane Ike, university officials met with utility providers, acquired generators, purchased and stored fuel, and arranged for staff to be available to restore power quickly and safely. Contractors were contacted and poised to move in before Hurricane Ike arrived resulting in more efficient restoration and remediation to buildings and facilities. Emergency planning included instructional scheduling strategies that were developed after Hurricane Rita and were quickly employed immediately following Ike.

Communication system issues. Many participants reported on communication issues discovered during Rita. After Rita the university contracted with ConnectEd to provide an automated e-mail and voice phone-call system to multiple telephone numbers allowing immediate mass communication with students, faculty, and staff. Because of problems found with message boards during Rita, this technology was not used during the recovery from Ike. Satellite phones were purchased and distributed to key administrators to avoid breakdown in cellular phone coverage following a disaster. Finally, the university's e-mail system was kept online until the last possible moment before mandatory evacuation.

Effects of Changes

One participant intimately involved in planning and restoration activities at the university reported that "the changes worked almost flawlessly." He noted that "information flowed steadily; no records or data were lost or compromised, and systems were up and operational in a short period of time." Another participant described the Ike recovery as a "textbook response," noting that the university "responded quickly, efficiently, and strategically."

E-mail access was not available until full, uninterrupted power was restored; however, the university website was mirrored and hosted by a sister institution and was continually operational. The ConnectEd automated system informed faculty, staff, and students of evacuation and return dates. One participant reported the improvements made at the university in response to the first hurricane may have played a

significant part in the decrease of student withdrawals as a result of the second hurricane from approximately 700 following Rita to fewer than 300 following Ike.

Implications for Practice

While many works described lessons learned from disasters such as hurricanes and provided recommendations based on those lessons, very few institutions have had an opportunity to test those recommendations over such a short period of time (Foote, 1996; Johnson et al., 2006; Tarr et al., 2007). The responses shared in this study may inform institutions reviewing or creating emergency preparation plans of potential concerns that need to be addressed. As Kiernan (2005) noted, 56% of colleges had prepared such a plan and an additional one-third indicated that they were in the process of preparing plans. The findings of this study suggest the keys to improving institutional responses following a disaster focus on improved planning and communication.

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine higher education administrators' perspectives of change brought about at an institution of higher education by the aftermath of two major hurricanes within a three year period in Southeast Texas. The themes that emerged from the participants' responses revolved around planning and communication.

According to participants' responses, planning and communication were the two areas where the institution faced the most challenges during and after Hurricane Rita in 2005. The university addressed its problems in planning and communication and was tested with another hurricane, Ike, three years later during the fall semester 2008. As a result of the changes made by the university, the response to Hurricane Ike "was a textbook response."

Participants note that there are additional improvements that will be made to make future recovery efforts even more successful. The institution is currently considering moving e-mail service off campus to provide for continuous communications. Discussion is ongoing to implement all courses on the web-based course management system. This would eliminate interruption to instruction since courses would be continuously available to students and reduce the impact of evacuation on instructional activities and students' efforts toward graduation.

The results of this study confirm the findings of previous researchers (Dolan, 2006; Johnson et al., 2006; Tarr et al., 2007). The results further illustrate the importance of advanced planning in all areas of the institution and how key the ability to communicate is among faculty, staff, students and administrators following a disaster. With a strong, well-thought-out crisis management plan a university is able to conduct business without interruption and continue to fully support all of its stakeholders.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made:

1. Provide training for university leaders and managers in the development and implementation of an information technology disaster recovery plan.
2. Maintain a university website providing information about the university's plans for recovery from an emergency.

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Practicum Observations 100 Miles Away: The Success Story of an Online Practicum

Calvin F. Meyer
Marshall University Graduate College

Introduction

Have you pondered how you work smarter? After driving three hours to a practicum, with a car showing signs of transmission problems, observing a student for an hour and then returning to the college late afternoon, I finally made the determination there was a better way. A whole day was consumed for a one hour observation. Technology, technology everywhere, but here I was relying on car and time to accomplish an important aspect of my job as Teacher Educator. As universities have married into cyberspace and distant learning as the new way of defining themselves, the role of the teacher educator has been redefined as well. Varner (2007) points out that web-based instructional delivery has resulted in an explosion of technological innovations and initiatives which poses a multitude of questions pertaining to the appropriateness of delivery, the ability to meet student need and the teacher's ability to use smart classrooms. As the questions are asked, we find technology clearly serves us well in every aspect of training and educating.

Jeffery Young reports that Thomas L. Russell, director emeritus of instructional telecommunications at North Carolina State University, having analyzed 400 studies of distance education methods, hoping to find evidence for his belief that distance education was superior, found that most studies showed "no significant difference" in learning no matter what kind of media or method used. (Young, 2001) Though not superior, it is a significant statement that online delivery is as effective as onsite delivery.

The intent of this article is to look at the idea of changing Teacher Preparation programs from traditional onsite programs to distant learning programs, including the use of practicums online.

Distant Learning Programs

With colleges competing for the dwindling student supply, they are seeking ways to make degree programs and continuing education more attractive. Adding to the colleges' desire to attract students is a new population of adults who want to replace their present jobs and careers for the ranks of the classroom teachers. Teacher Preparation programs have a strong reason for distant learning but with licensure requirements these program must transform from basic read and restate to development of effective teaching skills.

Marshall University has developed its masters and doctorate programs via online delivery, some 100% online, some 80% online and some simply computer enhanced. classes. Marshall University decided to make a bold venture by expanding it use of online programs to use VISTA in support of their middle level practicum.

Distance Practicums via Online Delivery

In making such move, it was found a major benefit is the unlimited resources available to the students via the Internet, with live sites provided by the simple touch of the finger. Students are afforded one-on-one interaction with the college supervisor and can fulfill the requirements of a clinical in an environment that is comfortable to them. With use of the chat room, bulletin board forums and availability of private mail to each other, interaction is enhanced among the students by virtue of the fact such interaction is not confined to a set time in a particular classroom. Students can use the various tools of online delivery to plan, organize, work cooperatively and compare models of instruction. It is a completely constructivist approach in that the performance is directly the responsibility of the student. The college supervisor becomes a true facilitator of learning, providing individual students feedback about results and direction as to other learning. The instructor's office becomes the classroom.

The use of online practicum is a bold extension of online instruction. It is enhanced by DVD, VCR and CD taping of instruction. The college supervisors have the benefit of viewing an instructional act repeatedly. Rather than an attempt to make judgment on the proficiency of instruction during an onsite moment, the supervisor has the opportunity to support his/her judgment with the rubrics and other materials spread before them as they observe the student via video. Performance rated within online environments includes such areas as:

- Utilization of human development in the identification and remediation of classroom problems
- Using student cognitive development in determining instruction
- Utilizing group structures in implementing instruction
- Design of interdisciplinary units
- Assessing diagnostically, formatively and summatively
- Demonstrating cultural responsiveness
- Creating a positive learning environment
- Utilizing a variety of learning strategies
- Communicating with all stakeholders effectively (Danielson, 1996)

However, this system, like any other delivery model, can be a pit hole of mediocrity for teacher education if used inappropriately, as can occur with any delivery system. Oblinger and Hawkins (2006) emphasize that online courses involve content they also involve interaction, dialogue, mentoring, coaching and many other facilitations by the instructor.

Additionally, the student must be extremely self-motivated and self-disciplined. The student must have a mastery of the basic functions of the computer enabling them to use the links, do research, provide attachments and communicate. If a student fails to read the materials or do research at a pace that is consistent with the requirements of the practicum, like any other course, the student will not be able to master the pedagogical skills they are attempting to convey in the clinical experience. There is no instructor meeting them on a weekly basis to reinforce this. Students must set deadlines for themselves to meet expectation. The use of online instruction frequently means the student works in part within the environment of the home. The distractions in the home can become a functional restraint, which the focus of a regular classroom prohibits. On the same hand, the instructor must be efficient in the feedback to individual students to monitor their performance. The greatest challenge for the instructor and student is the fact that written conceptualization replaces verbal conceptualization. The written word can be interpreted so literally or so broadly that miscommunication often leads to misunderstanding. Additionally, the dynamics of non-verbal communication and the immediacy of learning moments are totally

void within online instruction. But, all of these factors can be present within a traditional approach as well.

The benefit of viewing the student's lesson plans, reflections and instruction without limits of time if far more beneficial than confining practicum observation to a one hour experience with only a few minutes for follow-up after the lesson. Online forms needed for such an experience include:

- Online Instructions for the Cooperating Teacher
- The selected Performance Assessment Tool
- Step by Step Directions for the Student
- Guidelines for the Reflective Journal
- Lesson Plan Format
- Release and College Forms
  - Student Release Form for Videotaping
  - Adult Release Form for Videotaping
  - Student Release Form for Use of Materials for Accreditation
  - Clinical Data/Stipend Form on The Cooperating Teacher
  - Performance Declaration for Licensure

Conclusions:

Obviously, based on the merits that Distance Learning delivery systems are as effective as traditional approaches to teacher preparation, the advantage of attracting a new population of students supports the momentum in creating these new ways of delivering training. However, as we rush down the cyberspace highway, we must not forget the basic principles of learning and remember that we all have different learning styles with different primary modalities to learn and we bring to the classroom a myriad of different personalities. New delivery systems may fit certain learners but it might not others. Distance Learning may be a phenomenon of the present and the future but it must not become a bandwagon effect in which many outstanding teachers are eliminated from the classroom because they don't learn effectively outside a traditional approach.

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In the Aftermath of Hurricane Ike: School Principal's Perceptions and Concerns

Pamela E. Monk, E. Jane Irons, Nancy Leffel Carlson, Carlo P. Walker
Lamar University

Since 2005 principals in school districts in southeast Texas have become increasingly aware of the traumatic aftermath of hurricanes. Several hurricanes including Hurricanes Rita in 2005 and Ike in 2009 left significantly devastating marks on communities including loss of personal property and school district property. During Hurricane Ike, a 25-foot sea water surge rolled over Sabine Pass, Texas. Five months later Clark (2009, February 22) noted that the community was still not back to normal. Clark noted a significant impact on students in the Sabine Pass school district including the basketball team who faced many challenges because Hurricane Ike not only destroyed the school gym and but destroyed or significantly damaged their homes. This paper discusses school principals' perceptions of the effect hurricanes had on student learning and school safety.

Review of Literature

Background/Recent Hurricanes

On September 13, 2008, Hurricane Ike made landfall on the Texas coast between Galveston and Houston, Texas at about 2:00 a.m. Tropical force winds raged in a huge band from Mobile, Alabama to Corpus Christi, Texas ("In Ike's Wake," 2008). Because it was labeled a "Category 2" hurricane, no one believed its effects would be so devastating, especially Southeast Texans who had just returned from a mandatory evacuation caused by Hurricane Gustav only one week before with little damage.

Ike's strongest winds measured only one hour less than a "Category 3" strength hurricane of 111 miles per hour. This storm was enormous, measuring over 500 miles across. Ike violently agitated coastal waters and devoured the southeast Texas coast with strong surges likened to a "Category 4" storm. The storm surge caused water to rise rapidly leaving some coastal residents clinging to their roofs waiting for rescue at first light the next morning. Only one in five homes was left standing in Crystal Beach, Texas, with most of the remaining homes severely damaged and unlivable ("In Ike's Wake," 2008).

In contrast to Hurricane Rita's devastating winds, Ike's major damage was caused by severe flooding. Mixtures of mud, sewage, dead sea life, and toxic chemicals from surrounding industrial plants remained ("In Ike's Wake," 2008). Moore (2009, February 22) reported that Ike changed life at Bolivar, Texas forever; however, the indomitable spirit of the people remained as reflected in their ability to celebrate and watch a Mardi Gras parade on February 21, 2009 in the midst of debris and wreckage left by Hurricane Ike.

Only three short years ago, Hurricane Rita made a direct hit on Port Arthur and Beaumont, Texas on September 24, 2005. With winds measuring 120 miles per hour, Rita was classified as a "Category 3" hurricane. Over 1.3 million people were ordered to leave under a mandatory evacuation to escape the storm. Following the storm, residents of the area were subjected to enforced curfews and quarantined from returning by the National Guard. Rita caused extensive property damage that required FEMA to install blue tarps on over 20,000 roofs and lease over 4,000 trailers to homeless families ("Rita Captured," 2005). Rita caused extensive damage to southeast Texas with a disaster area the size of West Virginia. Many individuals required a long time return to normal conditions ("One year since Hurricane Rita," 2006).

School Crisis

Lerner, Lindell and Volpe (2006, p. 211) defined a crisis as…"a traumatic event that seriously disrupts our coping and problem solving abilities. Learner et al. (2006) suggested that a school crisis could change the entire culture leading to feelings of vulnerability and helplessness in some individuals.

Schonfeld, Lichestein, Pruitt, and Speese-Linehan (2002) argued that a school crisis could cause emotional turmoil among students, faculty, and staff in the form of alarm, confusion, and even despair. They noted that failure to address emotional turmoil could result in a long-lasting decline of academic progress, while unresolved grief could precipitate even more serious psychological conditions throughout the school resulting in both low morale and a negative school climate.

A common effect of crisis on school leaders was disorientation as leaders attempted to minimize the impact through denial of the incident and its subsequent effects. Furthermore, an underlying reason for rationalization of leadership responses could be explained by leaders who focused upon educational goals in order to maintain an illusion of normalcy. Additionally, a potential consequence of leader disorientation resulted in a diminished sense of safety and an increased sense of alienation (Schonfeld et al., 2002).

Safe School Legislation

The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) act implemented in 2002 required states to mandate a state-wide policy including safety plans. School safety plans must include security procedures, a student code of conduct, and a crisis management plan for responding to emerging events on school grounds (Wright, D., Wright, P., & Heath, 2004).

The Safe Schools Act of the Texas Education Code (2007) marked the first legislative requirements for districts to provide and implement a multi-hazard emergency operations plan. For example, this act required emergency operation plans to provide training to district employees, emergency drills, measures to ensure coordination with local agencies, and implementation of security audits.

Preparedness

Collins (2003) described two school tragedies in American history: the New London, Texas school explosion in 1937 and the Chicago, Illinois school fire of 1957. Collins concluded that individuals failed to perceive danger because of a false sense of security within a school building where activities were viewed as routine and normal. This author noted that in these instances, lives were lost because school officials failed to prepare for emergencies and a lack of preparedness appeared common. Additional safety concerns, such as toxic exposure, gas leaks, weather, and natural disasters were noted by Trump (2007).

Recognizing school administrators' limited amount of time, Brumer and Lewis (2005, pp 22-23) developed a list of 10 school safety behaviors. Several safety behaviors appeared relevant for hurricane preparedness as follows: (a) do not underestimate the value of strategic supervision; (b) do not assume, as the principal, that you will be present or in charge during an emergency; (c) do not assume that local emergency service providers will be able to provide immediate assistance during a school emergency; (d) do not fail to review the school's emergency response plan with all faculty and staff periodically throughout the school year; and (e) do not assume that parents believe that the school has done everything possible to create a safe school. These authors noted that strategic supervision offered the greatest positive impact given the limited human resources available during a crisis.

Trump (2007) found that fill-in-the blank crisis plans were ineffective. This author suggested that full-scale drills, although important, should be carefully weighed against the commitment of time and labor. Relationship building, emergency planning, promoting collaborations and partnerships, and a culture of safety were most effective (Trump). Clarkson and Pelton (2002) argued that school administrators were responsible for budgeting district resources in a manner that ensures student safety and thereby achievement. Clarkson and Pelton (p.4) stated "safe school planning is a systematic process that should be woven into the culture of a school rather than addressed by special add-on programs."

The Study

A survey was conducted to investigate school principals' perceptions of the impact of Hurricane Ike.

Sample Characteristics

Fifty-three Texas school principals responded to an online survey. Sixty-six percent reported being a principal between one and five years, twenty-five percent reported being a principal between 6 and 15 years, while eight percent reported being a principal for more than 20 years. The majority of the respondents were White whose ages ranged between 31 and 60 years of age.

Findings

Participants were asked to rate statements using a five-point Likert-type scale with one (1) showing a decrease and five (5) showing an increase in the behavior identified in the 20 statements or question. Based on their perceptions, participants were asked to rate if students' behaviors showed an increase or decrease upon returning to school after Hurricane Ike. The responses related to students' behaviors were separated into three categories and are reported in Tables 1, 2, and 3, found in Appendix 1. The three categories of students' behaviors included: basic needs, academic focus/classroom behavior, and student social interactions. Perceptions of safety needs related to training for faculty and staff and compliance with safety regulations are reported in Table 4, found in Appendix 1. Written comments or suggestions related to the survey statements are reported under the qualitative results section.

A majority (92%) of school principals in southeast Texas who responded to this survey reported an increase in homelessness for students in their schools. A majority (94%) of the participants reported a decrease in student attendance; or said another way, these principals reported an increase in student absences from school. A majority (98%) of the participants observed a decrease in parental involvement in their child(ren)'s school activities immediately after the hurricane. A decrease in students' emotional stability during school hours and school activities was reported by a majority (96%) of the participants. Table 1 shows students' behaviors related to basic needs as perceived by the school principals who participated in this study.

The second category of student behavior reported by participants was students' academic focus and classroom behavior. A majority of participants (98%) reported a decrease in their students' ability to focus on academic and instructional activities. A majority (98%) of the participating principals noted that students were unable to work independently. A decrease in disruptive behaviors in general and behaviors that required behavioral referrals or disciplinary infractions in the classroom was observed by a majority (90%) of participants. A reduction in fighting in school was reported by 94% of the participants. Students were able to maintain their focus on extra curricular activities as reported by 90% of the participating principals who observed an increase in student interest in extra curricular activities. Table 2 shows participating school principals' perceptions of students' behaviors relative to academic focus and classroom behavior.

The third category of student behaviors reported by school principals was students' social interaction with peers, school administrators, and faculty. A majority (98%) of participants noted an increase of students' interaction with school administrators. A majority (96%) reported an increase in students' interaction with school counselors. The majority of participants (94%) reported that students' responsiveness to teachers decreased, corresponding with the decrease in students' focus on academic and instructional activities. Immediately after the hurricane, students turned to their peers for support. Specifically, 96% of the participating principals observed that many students increased their reliance on and interactions with their peers following the impact of Hurricane Ike. Table 3 shows principals' perceptions of students' behaviors related to student social interaction.

Two safety issues emerged from this survey. The participating principals' perceptions of safety concerns and focus on facilities management increased immediately after the extensive damage inflicted by Hurricane Ike. All of the participants reported an increase in safety training for faculty and staff. All participants noted an increase in compliance with safety regulations. Because of the significant physical damage to property and buildings, all participants reported a decrease in class facilities and resources at their schools. Table 4 shows principals' perceptions relative to safety and facilities management concerns.

Qualitative Findings

Participants were invited to address their concerns and to make recommendations for improvement for schools to be responsive after a natural disaster. Four themes emerged from the principals' statements:

concern for students, concern for school safety, preparedness and training concerns, and frustration with state and federal issues. Selected quotes representing each of these areas are included below.

Concern for Students

Participants expressed concern about students' ability to recover from the hurricane that impacted behavior in the classroom. Additionally, the participating principals commented on students' basic needs and general welfare:

> "Regarding Ike we had to start and restart school three times within a very short span of time. This was an unnerving experience for the students, resulting in a persistent malaise from which the students may just now be emerging, with predictable effects on academic achievement. It was easy to 'get back to normal' once but the need to do it three times really set our students back. The students have really lacked focus during the first semester."
>
> "The state would not penalize [a] campus if their AEIS rating dropped due to natural disasters and did not require the make-up of so many days – many educators and parents use their holidays to rebuild homes and students help in the process or need the brief time off for a stress relief, but instead provide districts funding to offer summer programs for those students that were not able to close academic gaps due to the disaster."
>
> "A reintroduction into normal routine with an emphasis on identifying struggling students."
>
> "Homeless children. Unfed children. Disease form lack of clean water or ability to boil or purify water. Overall general well being of children outside or school. We can feed, clean clothes, and provide showers at school, but what are they getting at home when power and utilities are out."

Concern for Safety/Preparedness

Participating principals wrote the following statements concerning school safety and the ability to keep students, their families, and the community safe:

> "I am concerned about the safety of the buildings used for shelters."
>
> "That we may get caught at a time when we cannot get our students home safely."
>
> "The safety of students and community in the area affected by the disaster."
>
> "Major concern on advanced warning systems so that we are informed well in advance of any possible disasters and can prepare to evacuate to a safer area."

Several participating principals commented about the ability for schools and communities to be prepared specifically for natural disasters, such as hurricanes, and the impact being prepared has on children.

> "Lack of preparedness. Our district lies along the coast of South Texas. A situation very similar to Ike could occur in our community."
>
> "Continue to work on preparedness. Returning from a hurricane needs to promote an air of calmness and routine…students work best when the adults in charge illustrate 'control' of the situation."
>
> "Having as much as possible-prepared to withstand another disaster without losing as much vital resources."

Training Concerns

Participating school principals identified training needs for both adults and children through the following statements:

> "Increase training on emergency preparedness in case of the disasters."
>
> "Training…what to expect after a natural disaster. How to prepare children before, during, and after; discussion questions etc."
>
> "I would like to see more opportunities for staff development relating to school disruptions relating to natural disasters."
>
> "To educate adults."

"Place emphasis on learning coping skills!"
"Better preplanning;"
"To educate students how to adapt and overcome."

Frustration about State and Federal Issues

Some respondents expressed frustration with state requirements and perceived lack of state concern as follows:

> "Meeting the Texas requirements for testing when school has been out of session due to a natural disaster and it is unrealistic to make up all days missed and given that a large population are now homeless."
> "The lost instructional days and the push to cover material before the testing begins is one of the most significant stressors on campus. I am concern[ed] for the safety and well-being of my students and staff."
> "Texas Education Agency be more understanding of what actually occurs in disaster areas after a major storm like Ike or Rita. Not one single representative from this agency toured the destruction of SETX after Ike."
> "More federal and state funding. Later start date to avoid hurricane season."
> "Encouragement from the state of always be prepared for the unexpected."

Conclusions

This study used online survey methodology and qualitative reflections to examine the perceptions of 53 Texas principals following the aftermath of Hurricane Ike. The majority of participants were White school principals with experience ranging from one to five years.

Four major areas of concern emerged from this study: concern for student welfare, concern for school safety and preparedness, lack of training, and lack of support from the state agency along with funding support. The majority of these principals appeared concerned about student homelessness and decreased daily school attendance. Other areas of concern included decreased student emotional stability and decreased academic focus and learning. Academic achievement and state testing requirements appeared a real concern for some who noted more time to get back to normal may be needed for students as well as support for summer programs to fill in learning gaps caused by the hurricane. Principals' concern about decreased student emotional stability appeared to be supported by such authors as Schonfeld et al. and Speese-Linehan (2002) who noted emotional turmoil among students, faculty and staff following school crisis.

Some of the participating principals expressed concern about the safety of buildings used for shelters, lack of advanced warning systems, and a lack of hurricane preparedness in general. Authors such as Collins (2003) and Trump (2007) supported concern about schools having a false sense of security and not being prepared for disasters. Brumer and Lewis (2005) made suggestions for school administrators concerning safety behaviors and reiterated the value of strategic supervision when there were limited resources available in crisis situations.

It may be helpful to adhere to the advice of Trump (2007) and emphasize relationship building and collaborative partnerships in emergency planning. Further, Clarkson and Pelton (2002) noted that emergency planning was a continued process that should be part of a schools' culture rather than used only for special add-on programs.

Training issues appeared to be a concern for some respondents. Several requested additional training on emergency preparedness. These principals wanted to know what to expect during and after disasters as well as having coping skills specifically taught. About half of the respondents noted that faculty and staff safety training increased in the aftermath of the hurricane. About one-third of the principals noted that safety regulation compliance also increased in the hurricane aftermath, suggesting an increased awareness of the value of both training and compliance.

Some of the principals appeared frustrated or perhaps angry about the lack of perceived support given by the Texas Education Agency. Principals appeared to be concerned about meeting state accountability requirements after the hurricane disruption. Lack of funding to meet additional tutoring or summer school

for students experiencing significant achievement gaps because of inability to focus and learn after the hurricane was another expressed concern.

Recommendations

The following are recommendations based on the survey responses of school principals who experienced a natural disaster's impact on their students, faculty, and school facilities.

1. Because of the small number of principals, the researchers recommend replication of this study encompassing a larger geographic area and a larger number of participants.
2. An investigation of the coping skills used by school administration and faculty after a hurricane may be beneficial in the development of training for preparedness for such disasters.

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Appendix 1

Table 1

Principals' Perceptions of Student Behavior Issues: Basic Needs N = 53

Student Behavior: Basic Needs			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Homelessness	√		92
Daily attendance		√	94
Emotional stability		√	96
Parental involvement		√	98

Table 2

Principals' Perceptions of Student Behavior Issues: Academic focus/Classroom Behavior N = 53

Student Behavior: Academic Focus/Classroom Behavior			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Academic focus		√	98
Working independently		√	98
Behavior referrals/disciplinary infractions in the classroom		√	90
Fighting in school		√	94
Referrals for disruptive behavior		√	90
Interest in extra curricular activities	√		90

Table 3

Principals' Perceptions of Student Behavior Issues: Student Social Interaction N = 53

Student Behavior: Student Social Interaction			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Interaction with school administrators	√		98
Responsiveness to teachers		√	94
Interaction with school counselors	√		96
Social interaction with peers	√		96
Responsiveness to peers	√		96

Table 4

Principals' Perceptions of Safety and Facilities Management N = 53

Safety and Facilities Management			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Class facilities and resources		√	100
Faculty/staff training	√		100
Safety regulation compliance	√		100

The Evolving Concept Instructional Strategy: Students Reflecting on Their Processing of Multiple, Conflicting, Historical Sources

Jeffery D Nokes
Brigham Young University

Healthy skepticism is a useful attribute in historical inquiry. In a discipline that is full of controversy, historians carefully question each piece of evidence. Does it come from a reliable source? Who was the intended audience? How does it compare to other evidence? Does it make sense given the context of its creation (Wineburg, 1991)? In addition, historians also question themselves and other historians (Wineburg, 1998). Is my background sufficient to fully comprehend the message in this document? Do we have enough evidence to be confident in this interpretation? Whose voices are missing from our evidence? How might a new historical find alter even our most basic understanding of an event? Historical inquiry is driven by the notion that no source can be taken at face value, no interpretation can be certain, and no idea is above critique.

One of the great ironies of secondary history classrooms is the lack of skepticism on the part of adolescent students, who otherwise tend to be doubtful by nature. These same students, who developmentally have a tendency to distrust authority and question what they are told, seem to check their skepticism at the door of their history classroom. They submit to the authority of the teacher and textbook, viewing their role as simply to listen or read and remember. Research on secondary history students has shown that they place great confidence in an objective sounding textbook (Paxton, 1997; Wineburg, 1991); fail to think critically about the documents that they read (Stahl, Hynd, Britton, McNish, & Bosquet, 1996); believe information found on bogus websites (Leu, et al., 2007); and are overconfident in their naïve understandings of the past (Wineburg, 2001). Secondary students uncritically accept (Leu, et al. 2007), and stubbornly cling to (Stahl et al., 1996) information that they read.

Traditional methods in history classrooms are partly to blame for the failure to help adolescents find healthy outlets for their natural skepticism. Textbooks continue to be the most commonly used resource in history classes, having been labeled by the American Textbook Council as the "de facto curriculum" (American Textbook Council, 1994-1995). Much research has shown that the objective, authoritative language of textbooks discourages students from doubting or even questioning the accuracy of its content (Paxton, 1997; Luke, de Castell, & Luke, 1989; Winburg 1991, 2001). Overexposed to textbooks, students begin to view all texts as "bearers of information" rather than pieces of evidence about the past (Stahl & Shanahan, 2004). Moreover, traditional lectures, activities, and assessments convince students that learning history is a matter of remembering information that has been transmitted to them.

There is a danger in failing to foster a healthy skepticism in secondary students. Participation as a consumer and voter in our democratic society demands individuals who can think critically about the ideas to which they are exposed. The Internet has made it easy to publish misinformation in an increasingly convincing manner. Advertisers stretch the truth about their products. Politicians give conflicting messages about themselves and their opponents. Adult readers, like historians, have the challenge of mining "truth from the quicksand of innuendo, half-truth, and falsehood that seeks to engulf us each day" (Wineburg, 2001, p. 83). The success of individuals and of American democracy as a whole

hinges on the ability of individuals to think critically. A healthy skepticism is a key element of critical thinking.

Secondary history classrooms provide a suitable context for the development of healthy skepticism and critical thinking in adolescents. After all, the nature of historical inquiry requires these attributes from historians. Well-designed history lessons can help students engage in critical analysis. Moreover, teachers can discuss explicitly with their students the habits of mind that are essential in historical reasoning. This paper will describe an instructional method that has been used with success among middle school and high school students to help them think deeply and critically about historical controversies. This activity, labeled the evolving concept lesson plan, is designed to help students question their sources of information, avoid jumping to conclusions, and maintain an open but critical mind as their understanding of an event evolves. Further, it creates a record of their reasoning, which allows them to engage in metacognition by reflecting on the processes they have used as they have analyzed multiple historical texts.

Background

In order to understand the evolving concept lesson plan it is important to recognize a) the challenges faced by young people in reading multiple historical texts, b) what research suggests about teaching young people to effectively read multiple historical texts, and c) the role of metacognition in young people's literacy development.

Challenges in Reading Multiple Historical Texts

In recent years researchers have expressed numerous concerns about the way secondary students read multiple historical documents. In a comparison of the way historians and students analyzed multiple historical texts Wineburg (1991) found that high school students did not consistently use the same heuristics that historians used to make sense of documents. In an analysis of think aloud protocols he found that historians repeatedly used three heuristics to understand what they read. First, before reading the document they looked at the source, and they attempted to understand the document with that source in mind. Second, they made direct comparisons between the multiple documents, looking for similarities and differences. Third, they attempted to place themselves in the historical, physical, and social context of the document's creation. These three strategies, sourcing, corroboration, and contextualization, were not used by the students in Wineburg's study. Instead, students tended to accept the information in the documents at face value. They viewed their role in the process as that of remembering the information. Instead of using source information to make sense of discrepancies between documents, they became frustrated by contradictions in the various accounts. They wondered how they could be expected to learn the facts if the facts changed from one text to the next. In their minds the textbook was a welcomed source because, as Derek put it, it was "just reporting the facts" (Winenurg, 2001, p. 68).

Although differences in the strategies used by students and historians are interesting and important, there appears to be some underlying epistemological differences between the two sets of readers that may be more significant. Wineburg uses an analogy of a courtroom to consider these differences (2001). He argues that the historians read like attorneys. In their minds they question texts seeking evidence that the source is reliable and the content verifiable by other witnesses. There rests with the text some burden of proof—the need to convince the historian that its story is plausible. High school students' reading is more like jurors. They tend to become the passive recipients of information. They ask no questions, but merely collect the information from the witnesses. Thus, one of the biggest differences between historians and students is the way they approached a text. Historians come with a healthy skepticism, and it is up to the text, in connection with other texts, to convince them that it contains accurate information. Students approach each text with the idea that it contains the facts, and they accept those facts as they are written.

Other researchers have identified additional challenges faced by students. Stahl and his colleagues (1996) presented high school students with multiple historical texts and found that they noticed similarities between the texts but failed to notice differences. It appeared that students developed an understanding of an event as they read the first document. In subsequent documents they focused their attention on information that reinforced their original interpretation and failed to notice information that disagreed with their understanding. The implication was that students failed to maintain an open mind as

they work with documents. Unlike historians, who recognized the tentative nature of all historical understandings, students quickly became committed to their first impressions, clinging to their original understandings of an event even in the face of contradictory evidence. These findings are similar to those of other studies. When Wineburg (1991) compared the way students and historians analyzed multiple historical documents, he found that students were more confident in their knowledge of an event than historians were, this after the students had engaged in a much less sophisticated analysis of the evidence than the historians.

Part of the reason for students' inability to effectively analyze multiple historical documents may be that they have few opportunities to do so (Stahl & Shanahan, 2004). Nokes and Hansen (2007) observed 8 high school history teachers for 9 hours each recording the types of texts that students were exposed two. During the 72 hours of observation teachers provided only two activities where students were expected to compare or contrast multiple texts, in one case comparing two songs on immigration and in the other case contrasting two speeches about the United States' involvement in World War I.

Another reason for students' struggles to analyze multiple texts could be that they lack the cognitive ability to conduct such an analysis. Wineburg contended, "historical thinking, in its deepest forms, is neither a natural process nor something that springs automatically from psychological development. Its achievement … actually goes against the grain of how we ordinarily think…" (2001, p. 7). The reading of multiple texts requires young people to explore unfamiliar time periods with unfamiliar texts, often written above their reading level, using unfamiliar strategies. It may be foolish to expect such extraordinary thinking from young people, unless we provide considerable support and the instruction that fosters such thought.

Teaching Young People to Read Multiple Historical Texts

Support for students' analysis of multiple historical texts comes in a number of formats, which researchers have shown help students read more critically. For example, Nokes, Dole, and Hacker (2007) found that high school students who were explicitly taught to use historians' heuristics in their history classes began to use sourcing and corroboration but not contextualization. Additionally, computer software that was developed to help students practice sourcing has been shown to improve students' ability to use source information (Britt & Aglinskas, 2002). In other research I-charts, graphic organizers that help students maintain a record of their analysis of multiple documents, were found to promote sourcing and to facilitate the direct comparison of information contained in the documents (Hoffman, 1992). Even young students have begun to demonstrate more sophisticated analysis of historical texts when they are taught to look for bias in writing (Ferretti, MacArthur, & Okolo, 2001).

One of the most successful studies was conducted by Hynd, Holschuh, and Hubbard (2004). Researchers theorized that individuals' ability to think critically could be improved by being taught a systematic method of processing multiple texts that included the development of cross-textual links (corroboration), an analysis of the bias of the author (sourcing), contextualization, and by providing support for students' use of these strategies in the form of a comparison/contrast chart. Students began to have a changed perspective on the nature of historical inquiry. Researchers found that when college students were given explicit instruction on what it meant to engage in historical reading and writing, combined with opportunities to reflect on their own historical thinking through questionnaires and interviews, students began to view texts as resources and their own historical understandings as tentative. During post-treatment interviews one commented that "I'm learning more that you can form your own interpretations…You have to make up your own mind" (p. 167). Researchers were uncertain whether students' changed perceptions were a result of the treatment, engaging in the activity, or in the assessment, completing the questionnaires and interviews about the activity. They conclude that, "dialogue aimed at understanding what historians do, how they do it, and what their texts represent helped these students take responsibility for reading at deeper, more critical levels, as historians do. The role of reflection was a central element in this study" (p. 168). Taking the time to reflect on one's thinking, as these students did, is called metacognition.

The Role of Metacognition

Researchers contend that one way to improve students' general reading abilities is to help them engage in metacognition (Baker, 2002). When students engage in metacognition during reading they monitor their own comprehension of a text. When they engage in metacognition after reading they critically consider the effectiveness of the cognitive action they took during an activity. Hynd, Holschuh, and Hubbard (2004) believed that students' reflection on their thought processes was a key to students' improvements in historical analysis. Students who engage in metacognition often realize when there is a problem in their thinking and take measures to correct that problem. With practice over time metacognition becomes second nature for developing readers. But when metacognition is new students need instruction, time for reflection, and structure to support and direct their thinking. The evolving concept lesson plan provides support by creating a record of their thinking so that they can then go back and review their thought processes.

The Evolving Concept Lesson Plan

The evolving concept lesson plan is designed to help students trace their evolving understanding of an event through exposure to multiple, conflicting, historical accounts. The evolving concept lesson model is similar to a strategy developed by Manderino (2007), who asked students to synthesize information from multiple texts by writing progressively more complex summaries after each reading of a new text related to a single historical event. After reading the first text, students wrote a short summary. After a second text they wrote a slightly longer summary synthesizing information from both texts. The stages of reading a text and writing longer summaries was repeated through all of the available texts. The evolving concept lesson plan differs from Maderino's approach in that in addition to writing summaries, students are asked to trace their evolving opinion of the event and to track their level of certainty in that opinion.

The activity starts with the teacher giving some background information on a controversial historical event. The teacher passes out a study guide that provides structure and support for the reading/analysis process (see Appendix A) and he or she explains how this form is to be completed. This study guide is used by students to keep a record of their study including the sources of the texts they read, a summary of each text, a record of agreements and disagreements between each text and those previously studied, a record of their opinion on the controversial topic, and their confidence level, which is updated after each text. Students are given the first text, and are asked to find the source and analyze it on the study guide. They then read the document and write a summary on the study guide. Students then record their opinion on the controversial topic and confidence level in that opinion. They record a brief explanation for their opinion and confidence level. They are then exposed to a new document and they repeat the process of recording the source, reading and summarizing the document, recording their opinion and confidence level. In addition, with each new text they record similarities and differences between it and those previously read. This same process is repeated through all of the sources that are available. After the last text has been read and analyzed, students record their final opinion and the confidence level. Each step in this process will be described in detail.

Choosing a Topic

The evolving concept lesson plan is designed to help students analyze controversial topics in history. Because one of the purposes of the activity is to help students recognize the tentative nature of historical understanding, the best topics allow classrooms of students to develop a mix of opinions. At the end of the activity students in a class should continue to disagree about the controversy.

Teachers should choose a topic that is appropriate for the students' cognitive level. When the activity and the type of thinking that is expected is unfamiliar, or with students that are particularly young, teachers should frame controversies in simple terms. For example, if considering the Boston Massacre, a teacher might ask students to consider whether Captain Preston, leader of the British guard, should have been held criminally responsible for the deaths of the colonists. Or, in even simpler terms, was the massacre his fault? With students that are more mature or more experienced with the types of thinking that this activity requires, controversies can be framed in more sophisticated terms. For example, what percentage of the blame for the Boston Massacre should be placed on the different participants: the Americans present; revolutionary leaders, who may not have been present but whose fiery speech had

stirred up the crowd; Captain Preston; British troops; King George III, and others who were involved directly or indirectly in the incident.

Introducing the Event

Students typically need some background information in order to comprehend the context and the controversy surrounding an historical event. The teacher does not share all that he or she knows about the event, but provides just the basic background information that is essential in understanding the controversy and the texts to which the students will be exposed. In providing this background information the teacher must be careful not to sway the students' opinion in any way. Instead, the teacher must provide, in written or oral form, a brief overview of the facts that would not be disputed by experts who stand on either side of the controversy.

The Study Guide

Research suggests that when students are learning new skills teachers should provide temporary support, often referred to in the literature as "scaffolding" (Rosenshine & Meister, 1997). The study guide in the evolving concept lesson plan provides this support in several ways (see Appendix A). It reminds students that they should look at the source of a document and keep it in mind as they read. It reminds students to consider the bias of the source. In addition, trying to remember all of the facts of the various texts could overwhelm students' limited cognitive resources, particularly when they are trying to engage in sophisticated critical thinking with multiple texts using unfamiliar strategies (Sinatra, Brown. & Reynolds, 2002). The study guide scaffolds student learning by providing a place for them to record a summary of the documents, thus freeing up working memory for other cognitive tasks.

In addition to providing scaffolding, the study guide provides a record of the students' thoughts across the multiple texts. The study guide gives students multiple opportunities to express their opinion, thus signaling to them that it is appropriate and even expected that they will continually update their understanding based on the new evidence they encounter. In addition, by reviewing this record students can see how their ideas evolved as a result of this evidence. This element of the study guide promotes metacognition, providing a record that allows students to reflect on their thought processes across the texts. They have the opportunity to engage in a critique of their own thinking, particularly their level of confidence at each stage of the activity.

Choosing Texts

The selection of texts and the order that texts are presented makes a difference in the effectiveness of this activity. Stahl and his colleagues (1996) found that students' understanding of an event was entrenched after reading the first text. Texts that followed, even those that contained conflicting information, served primarily to reinforce students' original ideas. Students ignored conflicting information. A growing body of research, particularly in the field of science education shows that students stubbornly hold on to prior conceptions even in the face of powerful evidence that opposes their view (Chinn & Brewer, 1993).

It has been suggested that exposure to texts that are rhetorically compelling is more likely to change existing conceptions (Dole & Sinatra, 1998). It seems reasonable that exposure to rhetorically compelling texts would also create a conception that is resistant to future change, something that teachers want to avoid in the early stages of the evolving concept lesson. The implication is that if teachers want students to maintain an open mind they should use texts that are less compelling at first. These texts might come from sources with an obvious bias or those that give grossly exaggerated accounts—accounts that are strongly contested in other documents. Although students might not realize the flaws of these texts at first, when exposed to more reliable and balanced accounts they begin to question the reliability of the texts to which they were first exposed. As they question the validity of these first texts they begin to engage in the critical thinking that eventually may extend to texts in which the bias is less evident.

Because of the confusion students face in working with textbooks, it is not recommended that textbook accounts be used, particularly at the start of this activity. As described above, even highly skilled students have a difficult time thinking critically about textbook accounts. They place great trust in textbooks and are unlikely to demonstrate the desired open-mindedness when the textbook has given them what they perceive as a clear and unbiased understanding of the facts surrounding an event. If textbook accounts are

to be included in the activity, they should be used after students have constructed their own understanding of the event. Then, if a textbook account contradicts their understanding they may question the accuracy of the textbook.

Working as a Class, as Small Groups, or Individuals

Vygotsky (1978) proposed that learning is a social endeavor and that individuals learn when they are supported while engaging in an activity that is slightly above their ability to do alone. The teacher and fellow students can provide necessary social support, or "scaffolding" for students as they experiment with unfamiliar ways of thinking and learning, such as those described in this paper. The metaphor of scaffolding implies temporary support that can later be removed. Thus, in the early stages of this activity it is suggested that the teacher work with the whole class and during the later stages of the activity students work in small groups before working individually. Social interaction allows the teacher and students to test hypotheses and critique each others' ideas as well as to provide support as students develop new skills and habits of mind. The teacher can lead the class in the metacognition that is essential in improving skills.

At the start of the lesson, working with the entire class, the teacher introduces the topic and provides students with some background knowledge in oral or written form. The teacher passes out the study guide and makes sure that students understand what is being asked for in each section. The teacher should study the first document with the students modeling the analysis of the source, reading the document out loud with the students, helping students summarize the document, and thinking out loud as the document is analyzed in connection with the controversy that is being considered. The teacher should also model the completion of the first stage of the study guide, recording the source information and the summary, and then showing students how people with different opinions would record those opinions and their level of certainty. The teacher can lead the class in the analysis of other documents doing less modeling but allowing students to express their thought processes. When the teacher is confident that students understand the nature of the activity she can assign students in small groups to continue the analysis of documents. The teacher should encourage students to develop their own opinion, letting them know that it is appropriate and desired that they have different points of view on the controversy. If students have already engaged in the activity earlier in the year to study different topics the teacher might want them to work on their own rather than in small groups.

At the conclusion of the activity the teacher can call the class together for a debriefing discussion. He or she can lead the class in a discussion of the thought processes that students used. By doing so, students can learn effective strategies from each other, be exposed to alternative viewpoints, and critique one another's thinking. For example, why did some students find some texts particularly compelling? How confident were they in their ideas early in the activity? Did this change as they were exposed to more texts? In this way, the class engages in metacognition: an analysis of their thinking across texts.

Students' Evolving Conception and Confidence Level

One of the essential elements of the evolving concept lesson model is the opportunity for students to record their opinion on the controversial topic at regular intervals. The study guide provides a structure for them to do this. In addition, students are asked to record their level of confidence in this opinion. This is typically done by asking the students to place themselves on a continuum that ranges from "not sure at all" to "absolutely certain".

After each exposure to a new text, students must rate their confidence in their understanding. The opportunity to see how their understanding and confidence level changes is intended to demonstrate for students that historical understanding is tentative and that exposure to new evidence can and should change one's understanding of the past. In addition, the chance to rate one's confidence level is intended to demonstrate for students that skepticism is a helpful attribute in historical analysis.

An Evolving Concept Lesson: The Boston Massacre

The Boston Massacre is rich enough in controversy to make it a good topic for an evolving concept lesson. Teachers start by giving students some background information on the Boston Massacre. The teacher must be careful to use language that does not imply that anyone in particular was to blame for the incident (for an example, see the introduction in Appendix A). The teacher informs students that they are

going to try to decide whether Captain Preston, commander of the British troops, should have been held responsible for the deaths of the colonists. Students are given the study guide and the procedures used to complete it are explained to them. Students then look at an engraving created by Paul Revere (1770a) showing a row of British troops firing into a group of blood-stained Americans as Captain Preston appears to give the command to fire. This resource has been selected because it represents patriot propaganda, and does not match most of the accounts of either the British, American patriot, or American loyalist eye-witnesses. The teacher asks the class to consider the source of the engraving and record on the study guide their thoughts about the source. In so doing questions should be asked such as who was Paul Revere? Which perspective does he represent? How did he know about the massacre? Was he present when it occurred? Then the teacher spends some time with the class making observations and inferences about the depiction shown in the engraving. What does it show happening? What does Captain Preston appear to be doing as the shots are fired? What are the colonists doing? What are the British soldiers doing? Once the engraving has been analyzed students can record a summary of what the painting shows, and then record their opinion on the question: Was Captain Preston responsible for the deaths of the Americans? Students mark on the spectrum how certain they are in that opinion, and write a short explanation of how they came to this conclusion.

A second document is then shown to the students: the poem that accompanied Revere's engraving (1770b). This text, like the engraving, is passionate but contains very little information about the incident that it laments. With the teacher's help students analyze the poem keeping in mind and recording on their study guide that Revere is again the source. After the poem has been analyzed students are given the chance to record their summary of it, as well as how it agrees and disagrees with the engraving. It should be noted that its agreement with the engraving can be attributed to the fact that they have the same source. Students are then given the chance to record their opinion on Preston's guilt, the level of certainty in their opinion, and the reasons for their opinion. The teacher can expose students to a third document, Captain Preston's account of the incident (The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1905), and repeat the process of considering the source, summarizing the content of the text, synthesizing the new evidence with that of the previous texts. Exposure to Preston's account should raise questions about the accuracy of Revere's version of the massacre. Preston gives a completely different story that appears to be more factual, although his bias can be perceived in a careful reading. This new source may or may not change students' opinion but it should certainly cause them to have some doubts about his guilt, if they had been convinced of it earlier. The teacher leads the class in a discussion on why their understanding of the event has changed after this new text has been analyzed. If students are resistance to the change the teacher can use the new evidence to confront their former conception and promote a new view of the event.

When the teacher feels that students understand the process of analyzing the documents and completing the study guide he or she can assign students to consider several more texts in small groups or as individuals. Students continue to complete the study guide as they work through the remaining texts. These texts should include both American patriot, American loyalist, and British points of view. They could also include primary and secondary sources. After many texts have been reviewed the teacher can call the class back together for a debriefing on the activity. Students can submit a written verdict with the level of confidence that they have and a spectrum with all of the class members' responses can be created on the chalkboard. Students can be asked which texts were most convincing and which were least accurate in their opinion. Most importantly, the teacher should discuss with them their thought processes. It should be shown that the best way to engage in this activity was to remain open minded at first and develop an opinion as more documents from more perspectives were considered. Even at the end of the activity there should be some doubt in the minds of the students concerning the controversy.

Examples of Student Materials

The evolving concept lesson plan described above was recently used with an adult high school class. An example of a student's study guide is included in Appendix A and charts showing the class members' evolving opinions are shown in Appendix B. Students in the class range in age from 16 to 42 and all had originally not finished high school with their graduating class and were returning to complete high school graduation requirements. In the weeks prior to this lesson the class had been exposed to primary source

documents on several occasions and had been explicitly taught the strategy of sourcing. Evidence of this instruction, as well as a healthy skepticism is evident in many of the students' study guides. For example when David (pseudonym, as are all other names) was asked why he was unsure about Preston's guilt after exposure to Revere's engraving he wrote, "Pictures don't mean anything. [I] need to know more about this from other people's point of view." After exposure to a second document by Revere, David was skeptical about its content and his opinion was unchanged. He explained, "[I] still need to hear someone else's opinion and story about what happened." After analyzing the engraving another student, Sandra, wrote, "If we are basing if he is guilty or not just on this [picture], we are not even sure if the person who did it was really a witness." In all, 21 of the 28 students in the class reported that they were "not sure at all" after exposure to the first document, and 19 of them continued to be "not sure at all" after the second document. This seems to indicate that most students were skeptical about Revere's passionate condemnation of Preston and maintained an open mind about his guilt.

In contrast, after the third document, an eye-witness account, only 6 of the 28 students reported that they were "not sure at all". Nineteen students leaned toward Preston's guilt, with 6 absolutely certain or almost absolutely certain he was guilty and only 3 leaning toward not guilty. Students' perceptions of Preston's guilt continued to evolve across the 7 documents that they studied. For example, after reading Preston's account of what happened many class members who had been fairly certain he was guilty were once again uncertain of his guilt. Several students exhibited signs of corroboration in their writing. For example, Sandra wrote, "Most of the witnesses—even Preston's statement—stated that he had time to say 'stop' and control the situation. He was responsible for that control." Noteworthy were students' responses to the textbook account, to which they were exposed last. Fewer students changed their opinion after reading the textbook account than had changed their opinion after reading any other document. With few exceptions, those who had considered Preston guilty before reading the textbook continued to consider him guilty after reading that account. Similar consistency existed with those who considered him not guilty. This may indicate that the students did not consider the textbook very compelling, or that their opinions were becoming more firmly established by the end of the activity. At the end of class students were fairly evenly distributed with 9 leaning toward Preston's guilt, 11 uncertain, and 8 leaning toward his innocence.

Not all students exhibited this same skepticism, sourcing, or corroboration during the activity. For example, after studying Revere's engraving Diane, who was leaning toward Preston's guilt wrote, "Captain Preston looks like he is commanding them to shoot, and is smiling." Her explanation seems to indicate that she uncritically accepted the engraving as a representation of the event. She was similarly uncritical of the other documents that she read. And Diane was not alone. This seems to indicate that some students might need more scaffolding, more opportunities to reflect on their own thinking, and/or more direct instruction to accompany the evolving concept lesson plan.

Conclusion

In today's Information Age it is important for individuals to think critically about the ideas to which they are exposed. Secondary history classrooms are an ideal location to teach these types of critical thinking skills. The evolving concept lesson plan is one approach to helping students begin to see the influence of perspective and bias on what a person says. It can help students develop important habits of independent thinking that will help them become better citizens of our democratic society. It will instill in them a healthy skepticism that will lead them to ask important questions before they accept information at face value.

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Appendix A: An Example of a Student's Completed Evolving Concept Study Guide

United States History

Name: _____

Period 7:30 pm.

The Boston Massacre and the Trial of Captain Preston

On March 5, 1770 an incident occurred outside of the Boston Customs House that would become known as the Boston Massacre. The Customs House was where taxes were collected. While the details of what happened are somewhat controversial, here are the things that we know for certain. There was an angry exchange between a crowd of colonists and a group of British troops. As the confrontation became worse some British soldiers fired their guns and five Americans were killed. Captain Thomas Preston was in command of the British troops. He was put on trial, charged for the deaths of the five Americans.

You are going to look at several texts that have been produced to give information about this incident. You are trying to determine whether Captain Preston should have been found guilty, responsible for the deaths of the Americans. As you read each text you will need to complete the study guide below. First, even before reading the text, record the source information: Who produced it? What was his/her perspective? What type of text is it? When was it prepared? What was its purpose? Second, read the text and summarize it. Third, record ways that this text agrees with and/or disagrees with other texts that have you have read. Fourth, record your opinion of whether Captain Preston was guilty or not on the spectrum. Fifth, write a short explanation for your opinion and your level of certainty.

Text 1: An Engraving by Paul Revere, colonist (Revere, P. The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street. [engraving]. (1770). In http://www.paulauger.com/images/BostonMassacre1Lg.jpg. Retrieved October 2, 2008.)

1. Source information	2. Summary	X How does it compare?
Paul Revere (1770) Eyewitness?	The British are killing a bunch of Americans. Thomas Preston looks like he's enjoying himself	

absolutely certain he's guilty — not sure at all — absolutely certain he's not

4. Your opinion: 1 2 3 4 (5) 6 7 8 9 10

5. Reason for opinion and level of certainty:

Pictures don't mean anything. Need to know more about this event. Maples point of view.

Text 2: A poem recorded by Paul Revere, colonist (Revere, P. The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street. [engraving]. (1770). In http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/cartoon/revere.html on October 2, 2008

1. Source information	2. Summary	3. How does it compare?
PAUL REVERE (1770)	A POEM IS ABOUT HOW BRITISH SOLDIERS WERE A BUNCH OF SAVAGES. THE SECOND IS HIM BEING SAD ABOUT WHAT HAPPEN, THE THIRD IS HIM EXPRESSING HIS ANGER ABOUT WHAT HAPPEN.	MAKES PRESTON LOOK LIKE AN EVIL MAN, ANGRY SOUNDING

absolutely certain he's guilty — not sure at all — absolutely certain he's not

4. Your opinion: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. Reason for opinion and level of certainty:

STILL NEED TO HEAR SOMEONE ELSE'S OPINION & STORY ABOUT WHAT HAPPEN

Text 3: A sworn statement of Thomas Marshall, colonist (Hiller, B. Z. (Ed.) (1965). *The legal papers of John Adams*, (Vol. III, pp. 46-98). Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press).

1. Source information	2. Summary	3. How does it compare?
THOMAS MARSHALL COLONIST (1965) EYE WITNESS	HE WAS AN EYEWITNESS, SAYING THAT HIS HEARD GUNSHOTS THAT WERE SPREAD OUT. AND THAT THE CAPTAIN TOLD OF STOPPED IT	PUTS SOME BLAME ON PRESTON NOT AS AGGRESSIVE AS THE OTHER AND PRESTON DIDN'T COMMAND TO FIRE.

absolutely certain he's guilty — not sure at all — absolutely certain he's not

4. Your opinion: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. Reason for opinion and level of certainty:

BETTER BUT STILL UNSURE

Text 4: A sworn statement by Captain Thomas Preston, the accused (The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, (1905). *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. VII. Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts).

1. Source information	2. Summary	3. How does it compare?
THOMAS PRESTON BRITISH OFFICER (1105)	THOMAS EXPLAINES HIS SIDE OF HIS STORY. SAYING THAT HE WAS THREATEND BEFORE THREATEND BY JOHN PAUL. HE'S MAKING HIMSELF SOUND INOCENT	SHOTS WERE HEARD. PEOPLE DYING SOLDIER'S WERE BEATEN. PEOPLE WERE MAKING THREATS. HE DIDN'T WANT BLOODSHED. HE NEVER TOLD HIS MEN TO LOAD THEIR GUNS. SO MANY DIFFERENCES FROM REVERE'S

4. Your opinion: absolutely certain he's guilty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 not sure at all absolutely certain he's not

5. Reason for opinion and level of certainty:

SOME PARTS OF THE STORY DON'T MAKE SENCE BUT STILL KINDA NOT SURE

Text 5: A sworn statement of Richard Palmes, colonist (Hiller, B. Z. (Ed.) (1965). *The legal papers of John Adams*, (Vol. III, pp. 46-98). Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press).

1. Source information	2. Summary	3. How does it compare?
RICHARD PALMES (1965) EYE WITNESS	HE AGREES WITH PRESTONS THEORY OF NOT GIVING THE ORDERS	RIOT'S HE DIDN'T HEAR THE SHOT ALL SOLDIER TRY TO STAND AN AMERICAN

4. Your opinion: absolutely certain he's guilty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 not sure at all absolutely certain he's not

5. Reason for opinion and level of certainty:

STILL NO CLUE

Text 6: A sworn statement by Thomas Handaside Peck, colonist (Hiller, B. Z. (Ed.) (1965). *The legal papers of John Adams*, (Vol. III, pp. 46-98). Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press).

1. Source information	2. Summary	3. How does it compare?
THOMAS HANDASIDE PECK (1965) COLONIST NOW EYE WITNESS	HE JUST ASKED WHAT HAPPEN	HE THINKS PRESTON IS A GOOD MAN

absolutely certain he's guilty — not sure at all — absolutely certain he's not

4. Your opinion: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. Reason for opinion and level of certainty:

STILL UNSURE

Text 7: An account from an American textbook (May, E. R. (1989). *A Proud Nation*. New York: McDougal, Littell, & Company)

1. Source information	2. Summary	3. How does it compare?
AN AMERICAN TEXT BOOK (1989)	A TEXT BOOK SAYING HIM SAM ADAMS WROTE STUFF ABOUT THE RED COATS, AMERICANS THREW SNOW BALLS INSULTS.	DEATH AMERICANS THREW SNOW BALLS DEATH OF 6 MEN

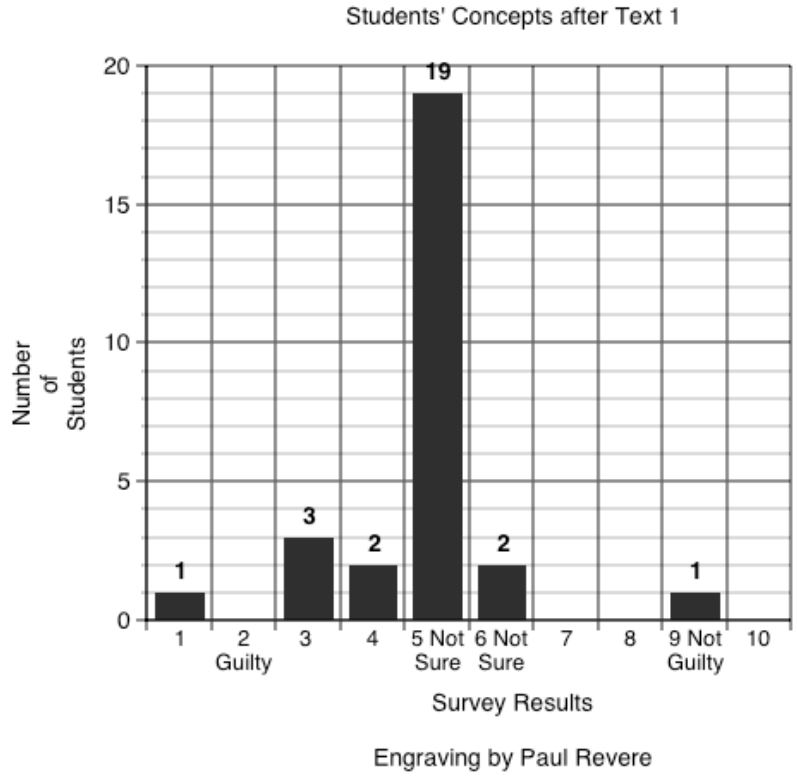
absolutely certain he's guilty — not sure at all — absolutely certain he's not

4. Your opinion: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

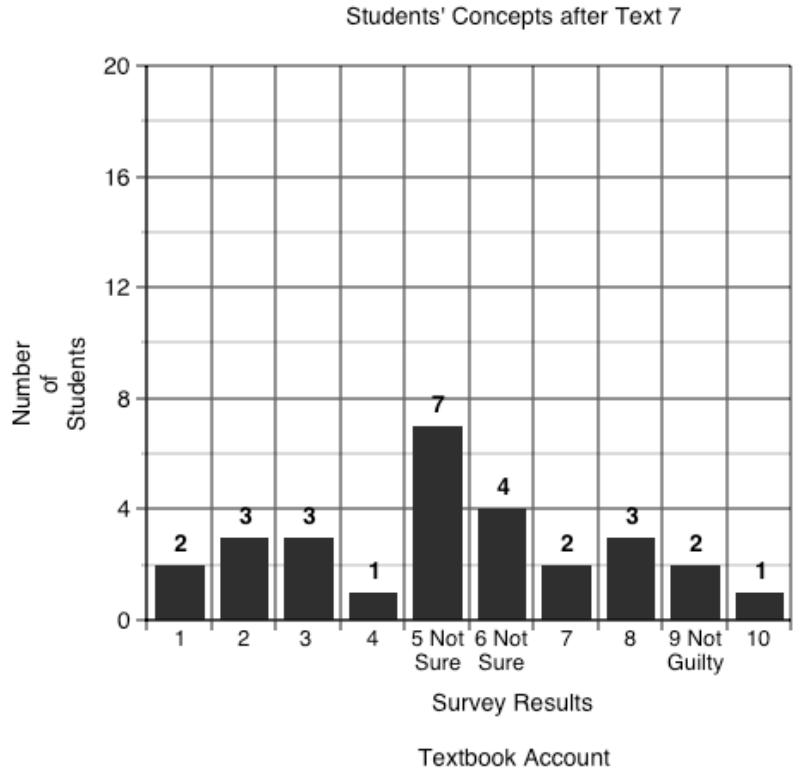
5. Reason for opinion and level of certainty:

DON'T KNOW

Appendix B: An Example of a Class' Evolving Concepts



Engraving by Paul Revere



Textbook Account

The More Things Change the More They Stay the Same: Race on the Cover of *Sports Illustrated*

Eric Primm, Pikeville College
Robert R. Preuhs, Metropolitan State College of Denver
Robert M. Regoli, University of Colorado
John D. Hewitt, Grand Valley State University

Introduction

Which of the following fictitious headlines would more quickly grab the average American's attention: "Iran joins the nuclear club," "Dollar hits all time low," "Jinx is over, Cubbies win the Series," or "(Barry) Bonds cleared of all steroid allegations?" In our estimation, the sports-related headlines would more readily move a sizable minority and perhaps even a majority of Americans to read further; for good or ill, we are a nation of sports fanatics.

Sports are woven into the fabric of everyday life. How many people save their "sick days" in order to recover from a late night of revelry while watching their favorite team in the big game? How many people limp into work on Mondays because their aging bodies can no longer take the "pounding" absorbed in the Saturday afternoon softball game? How many parents rearrange significant portions of their lives around their children's practice and game schedules? Scores of people recall *their* moment from high school or college when they made the big hit, catch, goal, tackle, etc. and were heroes (at least for a few days). Many more remember the big hit, catch, or goal made by their favorite player. Millions of us develop deep, personal connections to "our" teams and the triumphs and failures of people we have never met and know little about often become our triumphs and failures.

Similarly, sport as a social institution is interwoven with other prominent social institutions. Billions of dollars are spent each year on everything from tickets to live sporting events and pay-per-view packages to a seemingly infinite selection of sports memorabilia to suit nearly every taste. There are more than a few high schools and colleges where parents and students alike care more about the football or basketball teams' records than drop-out rates or falling test scores. People's devotion to sports is often cultivated by countless childhood hours spent with mom or dad watching their favorite team or by just playing catch in the back yard.

Sports have also played a significant part in the ideological, political, and legal battles in the struggle for civil rights in the United States. Sport, as a social institution, has both been complicit in maintaining racial boundaries and instrumental in combating these practices. This disparate relationship sport has had with civil rights and the legacy of racism is the main focus of this work. Despite the gains that have been made in recent decades, sport remains "contested terrain:" an arena where ideas about race and its meanings, or lack thereof, are continually constructed and reconstructed (Hartmann 2003, p. 452).

With the growing body of literature pointing to declining levels of racism (e.g., Avery & Rendall 2002; Butler 1991; Downey 2007; Farkas 2003; Farley 1984; Farley & Allen 1987; Grodsky & Pager 2001; McCall 2001; Moskos & Butler 1996; Sakamoto, Wu, & Tzeng 2000; Wilson 1981; Zeng & Xie 2004) we admit we were a bit skeptical upon reading in Joe Feagin's *Racist America* (2000, p. 16) that "the United States (is) a 'total racist society' in which every major aspect of life is shaped to some degree by the core racist realities." Upon further investigation into the claims of Feagin and the works of other

critical race theorists (e.g., Bonilla-Silva 2003; Coates, 2008; Dovidio & Gaertner 1986; Feagin & Sikes 1994) a clearer picture and better understanding of the arguments began to emerge. According to several of these theorists, the racism that is widespread today is not of the same variety as that of even a generation or two ago. In no small part because of the political and social changes that occurred as a result of the Civil Rights Movement, the overt and egregious forms of racism that are easily recognized and almost universally denounced began to wane. The gains made by the CRM did not herald the end to racial bias; rather, a new form emerged to take the place of the old.

The "new" racism is subtle, muted, and largely hidden. It remains concealed by a "new racetalk" (Bonilla-Silva 2003). This racetalk employs the rhetoric of color-blindness and extols the ideals of individualism and meritocracy. The new racism specifically ignores race, therefore ignoring many of the problems associated with racial bias, and the simple practice of discussing racial inequities is criticized for exacerbating the problem (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Coates 2008). In this process, racial bias is transformed into an individual problem with individual causes and solutions. In the meantime, those employing the new racetalk (and the larger society) are absolved of all wrongdoing or responsibility (Bonilla-Silva 2003). The structural and institutional forms of racism go unrecognized and unacknowledged, and racism becomes narrowly and erroneously defined as merely the overt acts of racist skinheads or Klansmen (Coates 2008). Of course today, the overt forms of racism are routinely and regularly denounced, but the covert forms—if recognized at all—are seen more like "racism lite" in comparison (Bonilla-Silva 2003, p. 3). If the claims of critical race theorists are correct and racism is a continuing and pervasive problem in modern American society, racial bias will also be pervasive in its institutions. In this paper we examine sport and the sports media in order to more closely examine these claims.

Race and Sport

Sport was one of the first social institutions to integrate and accept minority participants. Sports fans (and even non-fans) recognize the name Jackie Robinson if for no other reason than he was the first black man to break professional baseball's "color barrier" in 1947. Other sports experienced similar firsts both before and after Robinson's: Jack Johnson (boxing) in 1897, Kenny Washington (football) in 1946, Althea Gibson (tennis) and Earl Lloyd (basketball) in 1950, and Lee Elder (golf) in 1975. Beyond their contributions to their respective sports, these pioneering athletes were significant because, in the words of Patrick Miller (2004), "they offered a measure of hope" (p. 147). As the walls of segregation began to crumble, minority participation in sports skyrocketed. Additionally, and perhaps more notably, white Americans accepted and *celebrated* minority athletes and their achievements in ways once inconceivable (Price 1997b; Thomas 2002).

Despite the pioneering integration efforts and other progress made, the institution of sport has had a checkered past in terms of the struggle for racial equality. Historically sports helped preserve and support the racial status quo, meaning among other things, strict racial segregation. Moreover, even as the days of segregation in sports were ending, minority athletes faced restricted access. For example, Major League Baseball operated under an informal "rule" during the early 1950s known as the "50 percent color line" (Kahn 1972). Essentially, this meant that a team could field up to, but no more than, four black players at any one time. Fielding five or more black players on a nine-man team would cross that 50 percent color line and threaten the status quo of white dominance in the sport. Owners and league officials considered this an intolerable prospect for "America's pastime" and wanted no part if it (Kahn 1972).

Another practice that has functioned to restrict minority athletes' participation was "stacking:" limiting (or granting) access to certain positions based on race (see Coakley 2007; Frey & Eitzen 1991; Jibou 1988; Knee 2003; Lomax 1999; Medoff 1976; Spence 2000). In various sports, some positions require high levels of intelligence, leadership, and decision-making ability while others emphasize dominant physical skills like speed, strength, and agility. Furthermore, it was commonly believed that these qualities and skills were differentially distributed according to race. In football, for instance, the quarterback is typically a team leader and acts as the offensive "general" on the field; a quarterback needs to be smart and make sound, quick decisions. Until relatively recently—because of the requirements of the position coupled with antiquated, essentialist, racist beliefs—young black athletes were actively discouraged from learning and playing the quarterback position. These same young black athletes were

guided into other positions where their supposed "natural" physical skills could best be utilized: running back or defensive end, for example. Although the practice of stacking has largely abated, its residual effects will likely be felt well into the future as opinions about athletes, their roles in the outcomes of games, and contributions to their respective sports are written and remembered.

Just as people in the general public tend to be evaluated differently based on race, so too are athletes (Helmreich 1982). For example, González and here colleagues (2007) found that people attribute the success of athletes to different factors depending on the athletes' race. Evans (1997) reported that black athletes were more likely to be seen as arrogant or insolent by both teammates and coaches. Gabriel and his associates (1999) found that media reports of minor behavioral transgressions differed depending on the race of an athlete. The manner in which race is presented is significant because neither sport nor the sports media operate in a vacuum, they interact with other major components of society (Majors 1998). Sports magazines are excellent resources for examining the interplay that occurs in defining and redefining our beliefs about the social world considering the power of visual images in forming our perceptions of reality (Eberhardt et al. 2006; Hawkins 1998).

Current Study

For the purposes of this paper we chose to study the oldest and most prestigious of the sports news magazines, *Sports Illustrated* (*SI*), to see whether images portrayed on its covers, in relation to race, have changed over the years. Even observers who are not intimately familiar with *SI* would note that there has been a substantial increase in the number of minority athletes appearing on its covers since the first issue hit newsstands in 1954. We, however, wanted to more closely examine the rate of increase, especially in relation to the proportional increase of minority athletes participating in sports in general. Specifically, we focus on the percentage of black and white athletes playing professional football and basketball who appear on *SI* covers, and compare that to participation rates in each sport.[1] If the rate of black athletes appearing on *SI* covers has not increased proportionally to their rates of participation, this may indicate a continued bias in sport and the sports media.

Clearly, sport is a topic worthy of study by sociologists (Edwards 1973; Lüschen 1980). Our analysis examines not only shifts in minority athlete portrayals and acceptance, but also the broader issue of racial bias in modern-day society. Sport and the sports media are prominent and powerful institutions that produce, define, replicate, and reflect broader societal ideals. If critical race theorists are correct and these systems operate within a new form of racism, cloaked in the rhetoric of color-blindness, it seems possible that American society as a whole could function under a similar arrangement.

Methods

Data were obtained from a content analysis of the covers of *Sports Illustrated* magazine, 1954 through 2004 obtained from *Sports Illustrated 50 Years: The Anniversary Book* (Fleder 2004). To achieve a more coherent analysis, the study was limited to covers that featured professional basketball and football players who were the only athletes on the cover.[2] Once the data were sorted using these criteria, there was a total of 802 covers.

The Variables

1. **Race**: The race of the athletes was coded into two categories: black (n = 409) and white (n = 393). This was accomplished by utilizing a visual inspection of the physical characteristics of the athletes.[3] If there was still a question as to the athlete's race after the visual inspection, a more detailed investigation into the athlete's personal biography was conducted, such as consulting sports experts and additional published resources for a confirmation of race.
2. **Sport**: This variable was the sport each athlete played: football (n = 491) or basketball (n = 311).
3. **Representation**: Data were produced to document the changing participation rates of black and white athletes in professional basketball and football. Since the percentages of black and white athletes were virtually mirror images of one another only the percentage of black athletes in each sport was used in the analysis. Lapchick's *2003 Racial and Gender Report Card* provided data from 1989 to 2002 on the racial composition for the two sports. To estimate the participation rates of blacks before 1989 in football, we examined trading cards for each sport and coded the race of each player. These data were obtained from *Topps Football Cards: A Complete Picture Collection 1956-1986* (Clary & Kirshbaum 1986). However,

no similar data source exists for professional basketball. Therefore, to estimate minority participation in basketball, the number of black and white players on championship-winning teams was counted. These data were derived from photos of the championship teams in *The Pro Basketball Encyclopedia* (Hollander 1978).[4] *After* these data sets were combined, there still were a few years with missing information (1979-1988 in basketball; 2000 and 2002 in football). In these cases, the missing data were estimated based on the linear trend of the available data.

4. **Time**: This variable represents the year of publication from 1954-2004 and is coded as a count, starting with 1 for 1954.

5. **Time-Squared**: Preliminary analysis suggested the variable, Time, may be non-linear in nature. This interaction variable was created to test that possibility, and as the name suggests, is Time multiplied by itself.

Analysis

The dependent variable, Race, was regressed onto the variables Sport, Representation, Time, and Time-Squared. Because of the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable, binary logistic regression was utilized. The unstandardized regression coefficients, standard errors, Wald χ^2s and significance levels for each variable in the model are shown in Table 1.

(Table 1 about here)

Examining the overall model fit and strength, we find that the likelihood of correctly predicting the race of the athlete on the cover of *SI* increases from 51 percent in the naïve model, to 66 percent. This represents a proportional increase in predictive accuracy of 29 percent. Moreover, an inspection of the common measures of pseudo R-squared (i.e., Cox and Snell, Nagelkerke, McFadden)[5] shows that 20, 27, and 16 percent (respectively) of the variance in predicting the race of athletes appearing on *SI* covers can be accounted for by the independent variables in the model.

When the coefficients for the independent variables are studied a few items stand out. First, the variable with one of the strongest influences on predicting the race of an athlete appearing on *SI* covers is the sport played. There is a 1.64 unit decrease in the logged odds of a black athlete appearing the cover if he is a football rather than a basketball player ($p < .001$). A more intuitive interpretation would be that across the 51 years of covers examined and controlling for the racial representation in each sport, if the athlete on the cover of *SI* was a football player, the odds of that athlete being black are 81 percent lower than if the athlete were a basketball player.

A somewhat unanticipated finding was that the proportion of blacks playing in each sport had no significant effect on the ability to predict the race of athletes appearing on *SI* covers. Note, however, that the direction of the relationship is in the opposite direction of what we would have predicted. Controlling for the other variables in the equation, for each percentage point increase of black athletes in football and basketball leagues, there was a .025 decrease in the logged odds of blacks appearing on the cover of *SI* ($p = .087$). More intuitively, the odds of a black athlete appearing on *SI* covers are 2.5 percent lower for each percentage point increase in black representation in the sports studied. Though we are wary about attributing too much importance to this variable considering the lack of statistical significance, we believe this could be an interesting area to explore in future research: first, the variable is approaching significance and second, the coefficients are in, what "common sense" would say, the "wrong direction."

The last variables in the model are: Time, representing the years of publication, and the interaction term, Time-Squared. An examination of Table 1 shows that both variables achieve statistical significance ($p < .001$). In addition, our initial suspicions were confirmed concerning the non-linearity the Time variable. Over time there was an increased likelihood of black athletes appearing on *SI* covers, however, the magnitude of that increase steadily diminished until the inflection point was reached in about 1993. Thereafter, there were ever *decreasing* odds of black athletes appearing on the covers.

(Figure 1 about here)

To illustrate these effects, Figure 1 presents the probabilities of a black athlete being on the cover of *SI* by converting the unstandardized coefficients reported in Table 1.[6] The probabilities are estimated by varying the years in the 51-year time frame, while holding all other variables at their means. Figure 1 also

presents the probabilities for football and basketball players separately to more clearly highlight the findings discussed above.

The probabilities over a few major time points in the sampling frame demonstrates the curvilinear nature of the relationship found between the probability of a black athlete being featured on the cover and time. In 1954, the probability of a black athlete, either a football or basketball player, being featured on the cover was .006, or 6 out of 1000 covers. In 1964, the probability increased to .08, or about 8 out of 100 covers. Fifteen years later, in 1979, that rose to .53, and thus *SI* covers were about as likely to feature black football or basketball players as white players. In about 1993, the likelihood of a black athlete being the featured football or basketball player peaks with a probability of .694, or just shy of 7 out of 10 times. However, a decade later in 2004, the probability of a black athlete being featured on the cover instead of a white athlete had dropped to .569, or about 5.7 out of 10 football or basketball covers, holding all other factors constant. This is about the same probability of a black being featured on the cover as we estimated for 1981 (.574).

Figure 1 also highlights the findings regarding the difference in black athletes being featured on the cover across sports, and the extent to which this difference depends on time. In the early decades of our time frame, the difference attributed to the sport played is relatively small. By about 1975, however, the probability of a black athlete on the cover is .649 if they played basketball, but only .264 if they played football—a difference of .385. The difference diminishes as time goes on, until about 1993, when the gap increases once again. Thus, time not only affects the probability of a black athlete being featured on the cover, it also affects the influence of the sport played on the dependent variable. Both relationships, as we have shown, are non-linear.[7]

Discussion

Our analysis provided both expected and unexpected results. One outcome that was somewhat surprising was that when controlling for representation levels and the effects of time, the sport an athlete played had a strong influence on predicting the race of those featured on *SI*'s covers: if an athlete played football as opposed to basketball the cover was much less likely to feature a black athlete. However, after further reflection we feel this relationship has a rather straightforward explanation. As discussed earlier, various sports have had a history of "stacking" or placing players in specific positions based on beliefs rooted in biological essentialism (i.e., whites are smarter or better leaders whereas blacks are faster or more powerful).[8] The one position that perhaps was most resistant to changes in our collective beliefs about athletic and intellectual capabilities based on race, and therefore the one where the lingering effects of stacking are still readily apparent, is the position of quarterback in football. This also happens to be the position that typically receives the most attention or has the highest profile. Consequently, we feel that at least part of the difference between the sports of football and basketball in predicting the race of athletes on *SI* covers can be explained by the high status and profile that quarterbacks occupy coupled with the history of excluding black athletes from that position.

Looking over our analysis, the finding that perhaps raised the most eyebrows was that racial representation in the sports examined had little influence on predicting the race of athletes featured on the covers of *SI*. In fact, what little effect the variable does have is in the opposite direction of what we predicted: as the level of participation or representation by black athletes in football and basketball increased, the likelihood of black athletes appearing on *SI* covers decreased. As noted above, this "relationship" is not statistically significant so we feel any explanations would be premature at this time; however, since the variable is approaching significance and because the nature of the relationship is counterintuitive it deserves more careful consideration and suggests an intriguing avenue for future study.

The final overall findings involved the effects of time. In the first few years of its publication, the vast majority (90 percent) of athletes gracing *SI* covers were white. This is not all that surprising when we consider that: (1) the overwhelming majority of athletes in the major sports (baseball, football, and basketball) were white (81, 86, and 74 percent respectively), and (2) American society was divided sharply along racial lines (Dubois & Regoli 2006). Slowly but surely black representation levels in the major sports began to rise, and outpacing those rising representation levels was the proportion of black athletes featured individually on the front of the nation's premiere sporting news magazine. As noted

above, however, this increase as a function of time is not linear and there are a few significant points in this timeline that warrant more careful scrutiny.

When football and basketball are combined, a slow increase in the probability of black athletes appearing on *SI* covers is observed until approximately 1961-1962 (see Figure 1). At this time there is an appreciable upswing in the slope of the probability curve which continues for another decade until approximately 1972. From 1972 until around 1978-1979, the probability curve is fairly linear at which point it begins to flatten until it reaches its inflection point in roughly 1993. Thereafter, the probability of blacks appearing on *SI* covers begins to decline with time. There are no doubt several explanations that could account for these "turning points" in the slope of the probability curve, so we will focus on only a few.

One explanation for the rapid increase observed in our probability curve is that it occurred as a result of the growing momentum of, and support for, the Civil Rights Movement. In a very real sense, there were two Americas in 1954 when *SI* first hit newsstands around the country. Later, after many of the legal and social reforms advanced by the Civil Rights Movement were implemented, the ever increasing slope of the probability curve halts and remains steady for several years until the slope begins to slowly decline reaching the inflection point in 1993. We doubt the editors of *SI* would say their choice of who to place on their covers was based in any way on race of the athlete; however, it is reasonable to assume that *SI*'s editors were sensitive to the shifting attitudes and demands of its readers.

Perhaps the changes observed on the covers of *SI* were, at least partially related to the "new" racial bias described by Bonilla-Silva (2003) and others. Similar to the 50-percent-rule described earlier, there appears to be a critical "tipping" or "saturation" point, after which there are diminishing returns in terms of black athletes appearing on the magazine's covers. Whether this is related to the preferences of *SI*'s (largely white) readership, the popularity of certain athletes, or some other explanation, it seems as though a subtle bias may be at work. As a society, issues of race today tend to be discussed in terms of color-blindness ignoring race and skin tone (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Hunter 2005). Yet, the avoidance of race does nothing to address lingering problems associated with race. Examples abound of successful minority athletes; however, this success does not necessarily mean that American society has transcended race, nor is the good fortune of the few indicative of the lived experiences of the many (Rowe 1999; Spence 2000).

Sport and the sports media have been instrumental and important arenas in the struggle for civil rights. They have also been complicit in maintaining the racial status quo. Our analysis suggests that great progress was made during *SI*'s first quarter-century of publication in terms of the featuring of black athletes on the cover of its magazine. During the next 26 years this trend slowed and began to reverse. According to Scott Price, the fact that "a white majority calmly accepts minority status in one of its most cherished social institutions [sport] is itself a measure of progress" (1997b, p. 33). Perhaps Price is only partially correct: the white majority may accept minority status in sports, *but only to a point*.

This work indicates several areas worth further study. First, this paper examines only black and white athletes. Future work should go beyond issues of black and white. In what ways are the portrayals of Latinos, Asian, or Native American athletes similar or different than the ones we found for black and white athletes? Second, the curious non-influence of representation levels discussed above deserves further study. In addition, we limited our work to football and basketball players. Does a different pattern emerge when baseball, soccer, or other sports are added? Do gender and race intersect in decisions regarding opportunities for being placed on the cover of *SI*? A separate analysis of race of female athletes included on the covers, either alone or within groups, seems warranted. Another area to explore would be to expand the study beyond the covers and pages of *Sports Illustrated*. How is race portrayed in other sports magazines or newspapers? Is there a difference between the print media and television in the way race is presented? We feel that these and other question can offer a more thorough understanding not only of race and subtle racial bias in sports, but the manner in which these phenomena impact, and operate in, contemporary society as a whole.

Notes

1. To make meaningful comparisons we limited this study to black and white athletes who played basketball or football. For all three sports combined (baseball, football, and basketball) there were a total

of 35 athletes of Latino, Asian, Native American, or other ancestry, 27 of which were Latino. This was out of a total of 1,171 covers. Furthermore, there were only 6 athletes from these racial categories appearing individually on *SI* covers prior to 1979. These numbers were simply too small for any substantive analysis.

2. Group photographs or multiple separate photographs of players on the same cover were excluded. Covers that did not portray people (e.g., dogs, birds, horses, boats, or only text) were also excluded.

3. While this coding scheme is not a perfect measure of the racial identification the athletes may have of themselves, it does reflect the way the athletes are perceived by the general public (i.e., Tiger Woods and Derek Jeter were coded as black) and is one of the most common methods of coding race in sport research (Brown & Bear 1999; Hewitt, Muñoz, Jr., Oliver, & Regoli 2005; Primm, DuBois, & Regoli 2007; Regoli, Hewitt, Muñoz, Jr., & Regoli 2004).

4. This method of producing data for the race of professional basketball players may reflect some bias; however, the trend of minority participation based on this method was similar to the trends we observed in football.

5. The Cox and Snell and Nagelkerke pseudo R-squared are provided in the standard SPSS printout and the McFadden pseudo R-squared is based on a simple calculation with information provided in the same printout (see Cox & Snell 1989; McFadden 1974; Nagelkerke 1991).

6. Transformation of the unstandardized coefficients to probabilities is based on the following equation: $\text{Prob(Black on Cover)} = (\exp^{\text{Constant} - 1.641*\text{Sport-football}) - .025*(\text{Representation}) + .315*(\text{Time}) - .004*(\text{Time-Squared})})/(1+ \exp^{\text{Constant} - 1.641*\text{Sport-football}) - .025*(\text{Representation}) + .315*(\text{Time}) - .004*(\text{Time-Squared})})$. Sport-football was set to its mean (.612), 1 or 0 for all athletes, football and basketball players, respectively; Representation was set to 55.717 (its mean); the Constant is -2.987; and Time varies from 1 to 51.

7. The sample includes observations over a number of years and thus there is a potential for serial autocorrelation to bias the results reported in Table 1. Since the number of *SI* covers in each year varies, and there is no consistent interval between observations, we cannot conduct a traditional time series model to control for these effects. However, we did conduct a fixed-effects analysis that included yearly dummy variables in the model to account for yearly effects and the substantive results remained the same as reported in Table 1. Additionally, we collapsed the dataset into yearly aggregate observations for the fifty-one years in the data to examine the model using a less precise method, but one that can account for AR1 effects. Durbin-Watson and Breusch-Godfrey tests for this aggregate model suggest that there is no serial autocorrelation in the data. Moreover, the results from this aggregate analysis were substantive the same as those reported in Table 1 even when accounting for an AR1 process. The results of both of these alternative methodological approaches confirm the robustness of the results reported.

8. Some researchers have examined the arguments surrounding the beliefs in, and origins of, biological differences between blacks and whites (see Helmreich 1982; Price 1997a; Sailes 1991; 1998), whereas others scrutinize more nuanced explanations that the athletic prowess exhibited by blacks is a result of cultural influences (see Hoberman 1997; Majors 1998; Spence 2000; St. Louis 2004).

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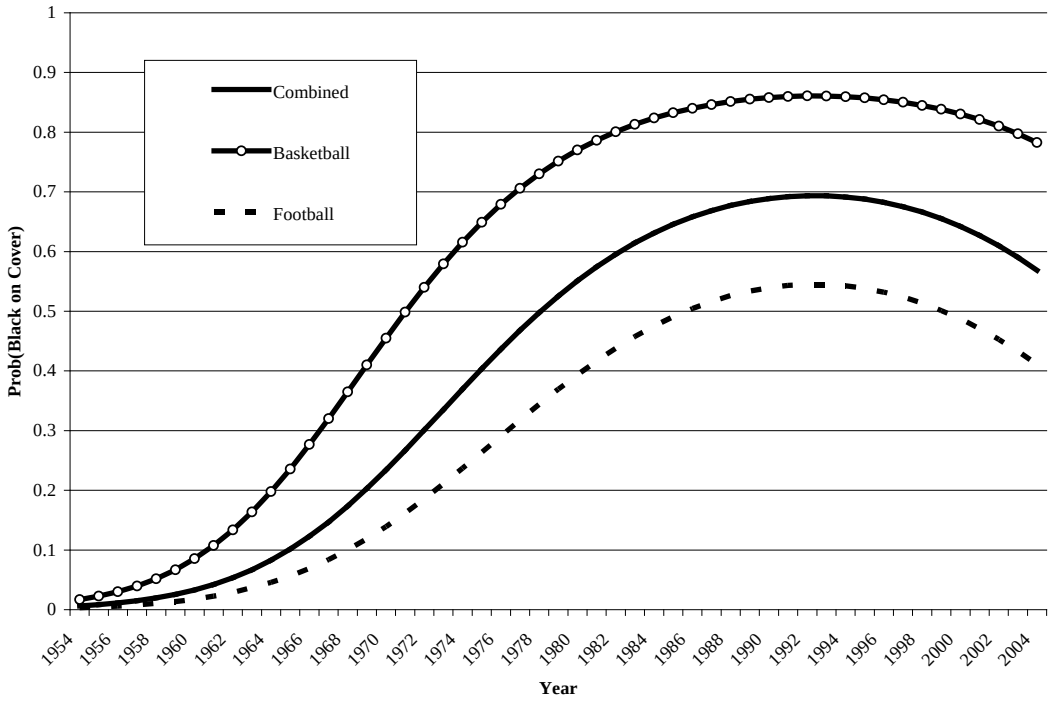
Table 1

Regression Coefficients for Predicting Race on *Sports Illustrated* Covers

	Unstandardized coefficients	Standard error	Wald	Significance
(Constant)	-2.987	.620	23.233	.000
Sport-football[a]	-1.641	.284	33.461	.000
Representation (black)	-.025	.015	2.926	.087
Time	.315	.052	36.862	.000
Time-Squared	-.004	.001	32.053	.000

Cox and Snell pseudo R^2 = .204
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 = .272
McFadden pseudo R^2 = .164
[a] Basketball players are reference group.

Figure 1. Estimated Probability of a Black Athlete on the Cover of Sports Illustrated, By Sport, 1954-2004



Texas and Texans in Children's Literature

Frances Gates Rhodes
Texas A&M International University

January 3, 1959 was a day of deepest mourning for students of Stephen F. Austin Elementary School in Eagle Pass, Texas. Our Christmas break was over and we were back in school after all of the joys of the holidays. But, even more significant was the fact that the United States Congress had chosen that day to officially declare Alaska to be the 49th state. Children draw comfort from simple things: Texas was, up till that fatal day, the largest state and, therefore, the grandest and best state. How could we cope? I don't recall which adult first reassured us by telling us that were the ice to melt, Alaska would be about half the size it claimed to be. We relaxed and had a naughty little laugh every time Alaska was described as being the largest state in the entire Union. We KNEW the truth. Now, some fifty years later, I would venture to surmise that each of us who had been in such deep mourning has gotten over the anguish. Sadly, with the rate of Global Warming which IS melting much of Alaska's ice, we might learn whether the jokesters were right or not.

Even after being knocked so unceremoniously from the Largest State slot, Texans, as a general rule, are still "state proud." We never lost that. Many of us were raised by people who firmly believed that we were Texans first, Americans second, and Citizens of the World third. Texas is not perfect, for example, July, August, and September are WAY TOO hot, but the rest of the year is more often lovely. We do have some pockets of prejudice, against just about any group, in fact, but most Texans have worked very hard to eliminate prejudices… or tone them down if they are too deeply rooted, at least. We do have some very worthwhile positive aspects of our state and our people, which outweigh the negative aspects.

Looking at how Texas and Texans are depicted in Children's Literature has been a delightful task for me. Trying to limit the number of books I want to discuss has been the most difficult part of this research. I was reminded of my Dissertation Chairman, Dr. John Bordie, who gently told me that although those new data were fascinating, I had to put them aside for another project else I would never finish my Dissertation within my life time.

HISTORY OF TEXAS IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Texas schools teach heavy doses of Texas history and those Texans who are now between the ages of 65 and 95 most likely learned, really learned, their Texas History from a little book provided, free of charge, to Junior High students by the Magnolia Petroleum Company (later Mobil Oil Company). Texas History Movies: A Cartoon History of the Lone Star State,[i] is unique because it was a collection of four-framed cartoon strips that had originally been issued in the Dallas News in 1926. Unlike most books, the pictures were the major emphasis and the subscript text below the four frames were reminiscent of the text shown in silent movies (thus, the title's reference to "Movies.") Although largely accurate from a historical point of view, today's audiences find some of the text to be non-PC. For example, in one frame, a Texan refers to the Mexicans as "pepper bellies" and all of African decent looked more like Al Jolson's blackface minstrel character than a real person. After Pepper Jones Martinez, Inc. acquired the publication rights (Magnolia had earlier donated the rights to the Texas Historical Society in 1961), a group of Texas historians and advisors produced a revised edition that they asserted was more accurate Historically, and definitely more Politically Correct! In other words, the revised version was bowdlerized.

Reminiscent of a Japanese Manga, The New Texas History Movies was written and illustrated by the late Jack Jackson. This large sized book contains multiple frames of black and white drawings with script squares and/or dialogue bubbles crowding each page. The drawings are far more intricate and detailed than the earlier original Texas History Movies. As a person suffering with macular degeneration, I find the book difficult to read. Younger readers who are more accustomed to the Manga format do not seem to have any difficulties. Jackson, like so many of us, had experienced the original Texas History Movies during his childhood in South Texas. He had always dreamt of creating an improved version (without the stereotypes and racial slurs of the original) and during the last year or so of his life, he devoted himself to the project. The best part of the book, in my opinion, is the final essay placed after the cartoon section entitled "A Bit of History About Texas History Movies."[ii]

TRADITIONAL LITERATURE

The Legend of the Bluebonnet, [iii]written and illustrated by Tomie dePaola may or may not have been written with Texas in mind, but Texans claim in as ours for several reasons: Comanches once roamed throughout the high plains of Central and West Texas and the Texas Bluebonnet Lupinus texensis (Fabaceae) is our State Flower. She-Who-Is-Alone, a young orphaned Indian girl, is being raised by her tribe during a time of dreadful famine exacerbated by a serious drought. Ultimately, the Shaman is sent to commune with the Great Spirits to learn what the People must do in order to regain harmony with nature. A "great sacrifice" needs to be made. No one in the tribe is willing to part with his/her important things, they all have excuses why their sacrifices would not be needed. She-Who-is-Alone bravely sacrifices her warrior doll, the last link to her loving parents. The Great Spirits, of course, are pleased and the following morning, the hills and valleys are covered with beautiful Bluebonnets. Some have felt that this story is too sad and too frightening (it does speak of a child's worst nightmare – abandonment) for a very young child, but a slightly older child can, however, learn that heroism is attainable even by young children such as themselves

CONTEMPORARY REALISTIC FICTION

Contemporary Realistic Fiction is a popular genre at almost every age. Whereas the book Rules of the Road[iv] by Joan Bauer does not originate in Texas, its main characters do travel from Chicago to Dallas and back, and thus, in a stretch could qualify as a "Texas" book. The main character, tall, gangly sixteen-year-old Jenna works after school selling shoes at Gladstone's. Jenna is a cracker-jack shoe saleswoman. She can really sell shoes. Elderly Mrs. Madeline Gladstone, the company President, decides that it will be Jenna, with her brand new driver's license, who will drive her, in her huge old Cadillac, on a business trip to visit other Gladstone stores and attend an important shareholder's meeting in Dallas. Jenna learns a lot about life on the trip, "Never eat at a place called Mom's, because it's a safe bet Mom's been dead for years." And she also discovers that Mrs. Gladstone's slimy son is plotting a stock take-over to shove his mother aside in a proposed merger with an inferior quality shoe company. That nefarious plot is thwarted, thanks to Jenna.

The Tequila Worm[v] by Viola Canales is based on the author's own experiences as an Hispanic girl going to school in McAllen, Texas and then being offered a full scholarship to the prestigious St. Stephen's Episcopal School, a boarding school in Austin, Texas. In the book, the school is called "St. Luke's." The main character, Sofia, is a full participant in the Hispanic culture of her family and community. She is embarrassed to be a Mexican American with her lunch of bean tacos while the Anglo kids have these wonderful looking lunches made with white bread. After she is called a "Taco Head," a very understanding Anglo coach helps her take pride in her heritage. Sofia uses the taunt "Taco Head" as the impetus to study even harder and "beats" her tormenter by earning the highest grades in her class. Her excellent academic record earns her, in turn, an offer of a full scholarship to St. Luke's Episcopal School in Austin. Sofia wants to go very badly but she has to convince herself, her parents, the "*comadres*," and all of her extended family that such a move would be the best for her in the long run. Each chapter of this charming book rings true since it focuses on a vivid Mexican American tradition or value.

Nothing happens in Antler, Texas. However, for Toby Wilson that changed When Zachary Beaver Came to Town.[vi] Kimberly Willis Holt addresses issues of coming-of-age, disabilities, grief, and abandonment. It is summer and Toby and his best friend, Cal McKnight, are thirteen-years-old with

nothing interesting and new to do. Toby's mother has gone off to Nashville to become the next "Tammy Wynette" and Cole's older brother is fighting in Vietnam. Then it happens. The biggest excitement to hit town arrives in the form of a small aluminum travel trailer pulled by a powder-blue Thunderbird. A sign on the trailer invites the curious to see the fattest boy in the world, for a small price of $2.00. Of course, in no time at all, half of the town is in the parking lot of the Dairy Maid clutching their $2.00, waiting patiently to see the world's fattest boy, Zachary Beaver. When Zachary Beaver's "keeper" drives off and leaves him alone in the small trailer in the parking lot, Toby and Cal, become concerned and begin leaving bags of eatables on the trailer porch. Slowly, the barriers are lowered and the three boys become friends and, each, in his own way, helps the others through difficult times.

Louis Sachar's Holes[vii] is Contemporary Realistic Fiction with hints of Modern Fantasy. This Newbery Award winning novel tells of Stanley Yelnats who has been sent to serve time at Camp Green Lake in West Texas.

> Stanley was not a bad kid. He was innocent of the crime for which he was convicted. He'd just been at the wrong place at the wrong time. It was all because of his no-good-dirty-rotten-pig-stealing-great-great-grandfather.[viii]

Stanley and the other boys at Camp Green Lake (there is no lake, nothing is green, and it certainly isn't a pleasant summer camp) must dig a hole five feet in diameter by five feet deep every day. No one tells them why, only that doing so will build character. Oh, yes, by the way, if they should find anything interesting they are to take it to the Warden or her staff immediately. At first, Stanley is a soft, slightly chubby boy who has never done anything like hard labour in his life. Campmates, with their colourful nicknames ("Armpit," "X-Ray," "Barf Bag," and "Zero") are, in comparison to Stanley, street-wise and, even hardened. When he is unable to complete his first few holes, the silent one, Zero, a veritable teenaged digging machine, helps him. In exchange for teaching Zero how to read, Stanley begins to get assistance digging his daily holes. The story has several embedded flashback stories, which keep the lively pace going. Although they are not aware of the fact, Zero is the great-great-grandson of the one-legged Gypsy woman who had so thoroughly cursed Stanley's "no-good-dirty-rotten-pig-stealing-great-great-grandfather" and his entire line. At the end, by Stanley's helping Zero -- carrying him uphill on his back to a place where the water runs up-hill -- during their escape from Camp Green Lake, the Gypsy woman's curse is finally broken.

Small Steps[ix] is the sequel to Holes. This time, however, the story is not about Stanley, or even Zero, but, instead, it is about Theodore Jordan, formerly known as "Armpit." Theodore had been sent to Camp Green Lake because of anger issues. He had lost his temper in a theatre when a boy had tripped him thus causing him to spill his bucket of popcorn and his soda. In response, he then proceeds to beat his tormenter unconscious. He has now served his time and has returned to his family home, a duplex in East Austin. One of his counselors at the halfway house stressed to him that he must take "small steps." He is to remember that, if he is trying to cross a fast running stream, he can get safely across, eventually by taking small steps. However, if he tries to rush and takes large steps, the rush of water can knock him off balance and sweep him away. Theodore's goals are to get his GED, go to college, lose the nickname "Armpit," and continue to take small steps. His job with a local landscaper installing underground sprinkler systems for wealth homeowners in West Austin is almost child's play for the large muscular, slightly menacing looking African American teenager after his time serving his sentence at Camp Green Lake. Theodore has a genuine kind heart and is learning how to control his anger. His inability to say "no" to another former Camp Green Lake boy, X-Ray, lands him in a lot of dangerous, upsetting trouble. Ultimately, it is Theodore's basic goodness that enables him to bounce back -- a stronger, wiser, young man.

HISTORICAL FICTION

Texans are often described as being of Mexican, African, Native American, or Anglo ancestry. At one time, in fact, anyone who was not either Mexican American, African American or Native American was automatically identified as an "Anglo." Of course, the fact that many of these so-called "Anglos" are actually German American, Irish American, Czech American, or even Jewish American, was not

sufficient to keep them from being called "Anglo." Several excellent Historical Fiction books have been written about, for example, the Germans, Jews, and Irish who fled discrimination and /or oppression in their home countries. Such a book is With the Wind, Kevin Dolan: A Novel of Ireland and Texas by Bryce Milligan.[x] In the 1830s the Irish suffered grievously at the hands of the English under harsh and unfair penal codes. Almost every family had members who had emigrated hoping for a better life elsewhere. The only private landowner in the neighborhood, Patrick Donohue, has offered to pay the passage, food, and tools for Kevin's older brother, young Tom Dolan, to go to Texas with the Donovan family and, in exchange, work for Mr. Donohue for a year in Texas. Ma decides that she wants twelve-year-old Kevin to go, too, and says:

> "…I'll not be sending out one of my boys into the world without someone to look after him."
>
> That was Ma/s kind of logic. She would not send one because the dangers were too great, but she would send two because the Lord would not grieve her so by letting her lose them both.[xi]

After a vindictive nighttime raid by the British, the Donohues and the two Dolan boys leave to begin their new lives in Texas. The steerage class passage and the landing in New Orleans are arduous and, for some unlucky souls, fatal. Kevin contracts cholera and almost dies. The early days are rough, less than half of the Irish who had left with the Donohues and Dolans survived to actually reach Texas. The Irish land in Copano Bay and go to Refugio to await the Spanish governor who will be, if all goes well, issuing land grants to the immigrants. Eventually, the Donohues are granted a large number of acres while the Dolans, because they are minors, are granted much smaller adjoining acreage. Of the two brothers, Kevin has always been the more analytical and keener observer, thus Pa entrusted him with the responsibility of finding the best place to settle. Kevin explores the entire area and identifies the two best home sites. First the Donohue's house is built and then the Dolan's. Snakes, Indians, and the Spanish keep the colonists on their toes. Tom's betrothed, Mary O'Reilly, has sent word that she could not wait any longer and would be there in December. The book ends on Christmas night as the two families build a huge Irish bonfire to welcome the Christ Child, and, by chance, to serve as the beacon for the wagon delivering Mary to them. With folk such as these, one knows that the Irish in Texas would be (and have been) successful.

Much of what went on in the Alamo during the famous battle that ended on March 6, 1836 has entered the realm of legend. Fully aware of this fact, Margaret Cousins consulted with the distinguished, historian, Walter Prescott Webb, while writing The Boy in the Alamo (first published as We Were There at the Battle of the Alamo)[xii]. The story begins in Nacogdoches, Texas, in the smithy as blacksmith Todd Hunter and his orphaned nephews go about their daily work. Suddenly, some strangers ride up. The leader of the men is Davy Crockett who, with his group of Tennessee Volunteers, is on his way to Bexar (San Antonio) to join forces with the "Texians" awaiting the advancing Mexican army headed by Mexican dictator, General Santa Ana. Buck, whose girlfriend has recently run off to marry another fellow, joins the group and becomes a Crockett Volunteer. Billy wants to go with them but Buck refused, stressing Billy's tender age. Of course, Billy runs away to follow Buck and join in the upcoming battles. He is a stowaway, hidden between the trunks lashed to the roof of the stagecoach leaving Nacogdoches heading south and is not discovered until the following morning, miles from home. One of the passengers, a Virginia gentleman, Col. Gray, admires the boy's courage and buys him food and pays for him to travel as close to Bexar as the coachman dares to go. Billy does meet up with Buck and the Crockett Volunteers. Davy Crockett decides that leaving the boy alone in the unknown, dangerous area around Bexar would be worse than taking him with them, so Billy becomes an actor in one of the most famous battles in Texas history. The details of the days leading up to the battle, the battle itself, and the days following the end of the battle are sobering and should cure most young boys of romanticizing war. Billy eventually returns home to Uncle Todd and Aunt Elvira in Nacogdoches, a mature, responsible young man, no longer just a carefree boy

In the Acknowledgement page of Battle of the Alamo: You are There[xiii], Bryce Milligan[xiv] gives "…thanks to Margaret Cousins, whose children's novel The Boy in the Alamo first inspired my interest in Texas History."[xv] Milligan's book is a "Plot-your-own" story. The book begins with some basic history

of Texas and important dates for background information. The reader is then introduced to the main character, fourteen-year-old Thomas Benton, an Arkansas farm boy who, at the insistence of his immediately older brother, fifteen-year-old Robert who has just gotten married, takes the gift of Robert's canoe, a long dirk knife, and four dollars in coins and heads down the Ouachita river to the Red River to the Mississippi River to New Orleans and adventure. The reader engages in an interactive relationship with the text since select passages of text are interrupted by two choices such as:

If you decide to go by sea, turn to page 11.

If you want to join Sterne on the riverboat, turn to page 43.[xvi]

Other toggle points do not require the reader to make choices, but merely to turn to a specific page. Young boys are often the biggest fans of this format since, among other reasons, the actual reading of the text involves a greater degree of physical activity than reading a standard book could ever provide. Many youngsters have reported to me that they enjoy not only reading this kind of book, but they also enjoy re-reading the book and making different choices. I assume that a mathematician could calculate the possible number of outcomes in this sort of book, but those calculations are far beyond the scope of most English teachers.

After Texas gained its Independence from Mexico, it continued to attract European immigrants. Janice Jordan Shefelman researched her own German family who settled in the Texas Hill Country around 1845. From her research, she wrote The Texas Trilogy[xvii], a fictionalized account of how her great-grandfather, Wilhelm Jordan, and his daughter, Ernestine Wilhelmine Jordan (nicknamed "Mina") lived. The first two books, A Paradise Called Texas [xviii]and Willow Creek Home[xix] followed the family storyline quite faithfully. The third book, however, Spirit of Iron is totally fictional, but, as Shefelman says, this "…could have happened." [xx]

A Paradise Called Texas begins in Germany. Mina and her parents live with her Opa (her father's father) and her Uncle Christian. The year is 1841. The family is peasant farmers and Christian, the older son, is about to get married. A promoter working for the Adelsuerein or Verein, a group of idealistic German nobles who are offering German immigrants the opportunity to start anew in the west with homesteads of 320 acres per family in a paradise called "Texas" (hence the title.) The German legal system determined inheritance by primogenitor, thus Uncle Christian (who fought and argued constantly with his younger brother, Ernst) would be the sole heir to Opa's farm and house. The passage to Texas was Opa's gift for the future of his younger son and his family. The sea voyage to Texas in steerage was as harsh and brutal as any you have ever read about. The peasants were definitely landlubbers. Arrival in Galveston was not at all what the German immigrants had been led to expect. Unfortunately, worse was yet to come. Those who had survived the ocean trip were soon herded onto yet another ship and taken further down the Texas coast to Indian Point which proved to be an open beach inhabited by a wan, hungry, sickly group of German immigrants who had been dumped ashore some time earlier to await supplies and transportation to be sent by the Verein. Their first Christmas in Texas a few days after their arrival was a cold, miserable time, only made bearable by Mina who improvised a Tannenbaum out of driftwood and some of her hair ribbons. Pioneer life was not easy for anyone, but especially so for young children and delicate women. Mina's mother became ill and died of a raging fever in January. In March, Herr Jordan and their friend, Herr Kaufman, were able to pool their resources together to purchase an ox team and wagon from a German family fleeing Texas and wanting enough money for passage back home. Getting away from the mosquito ridden gulf coast was tantamount to salvation for all but the newborn Kaufman baby who died en route to Victoria, Texas. From there, the family traveled to New Braunfels and then to Fredericksburg where they received ten acres each but not the 320 acres promised. Hard work, Indian problems, and illness continued to plague the Germans, but the book ends cheerfully– Papa is going to marry the gentle young Lisette Bickenbach.

In the second book, Willow Creek Home[xxi], a summer drought, and epidemic illness in 1847 force Mina, Papa, and his new wife, Lisette, to move to a larger land grant deep in Comanche territory. The land they settle along with other German immigrants is more fertile than their original land had been. Among the excitement Mina faces is the birth of a baby brother, then during Papa's absence Mina chases off a Comanche with a shotgun blast, and later she escapes from a would-be Comanche kidnapper. She

attends school for the first time in several years and is increasingly more interested in a good-looking neighbor boy, Daniel.

The third book in the series, Spirit of Iron,[xxii] continues with the same characters and locations. Mina is now fifteen-years-old, but all of her experiences in this book are totally fictional. When Comanches kidnap her Lipan Apache friend, Amaya, along with a very young German boy named Max, the Texas Rangers set out to recover them. Mina, who does not want a dowry, does not want to be a proper lady, chops off her long blond braids, convinces Amaya's injured father Chief Custaleta, to allow his son, Nakona, to guide her in following the Rangers. Mina's subsequent adventures would be exciting for a boy, but even more so since she has broken many of the social conventions required of young women of her socio-economic class. Mina is, at first, rejected by the Texas Rangers, then, accepted. Her assistance in rescuing Amaya and Max is invaluable.

Another book about the German immigration experience in Texas is Letters to Oma: A Young German Girl's Account of her first Year in Texas, 1847.[1] by Marj Gurasich. The author is of German (but not of Texas-German) ancestry. She lived in the Houston area for over thirty years and became interested in the strong German influence in Texas. [xxiii] After extensive research on "the history of Industry, Texas, for an article on the 150th anniversary of town founder Frederich Ernst's arrival in Texas,"[xxiv] she undertook to write a story that begins about the same time as the 2nd of the Texas Trilogy, 1847. There is a vast difference between the two families' backgrounds in the Fatherland. The Jordans were farming peasants in Germany. They left to come to Texas with very few possessions and, ultimately, settled in the frontier wilderness of Central Texas. The von Schotts, on the other hand, are well-educated city folk forced, in East Texas, into a difficult rural life they knew little about. This second family brings many lovely things (most of which they lose to fire or flood) with them that should have made their lives easier and far more graceful. In Germany, Professor Max von Schell had written papers condemning the German government and was forced, with other "free-thinkers," to flee for his very life. These mostly University students and professors also suffered as a result of the failure of the Adelsuerein or Verein to make good their promise of land, tools, seeds, and help for new German immigrants. Christina Eudora von Schott, her parents, and two young brothers endure similar hardships to those of the Jordan family, but their suffering seems to be less raw-bone, and, although Frau von Schott is stronger, at her very core, than Frau Jordan, she, too is run-down, exhausted, and unable to ward off infection and dies soon after giving birth to her fourth child, Louisa. Mina shoulders the responsibilities of primary caregiver for her siblings, the home, and her father. The band of Lipan Indians, which Mina meets, is a far cry from the almost noble Lipan Apaches who become friends of Tina Jordan and her family. This group of nomadic traders go from settlement to settlement trading, accepting charity of all kinds, and sadly, kidnapping babies, Louisa in particular. When she realizes that her baby sister has been taken, Mina mounts her mare and bravely enters the Lipan camp before the Indians are able to move on. She gains entry with an English speaking young warrior as translator into the teepee of Chief Big Owl whose squaw has the stolen baby. Mina's stubborn streak which had been the bane of her much more traditionally female mother enables her to remain firm and calm to persist until she is able to persuade Big Owl to swap her most prized possession, the carved cuckoo clock given to her as a parting gift from her Oma, for the "useless female" infant. After a breathless moment, the swap is accepted and Tina leaves the Lipan camp with her beloved baby sister. The book ends with Mina looking forward to a successful future as an American. She, like Tina, also has a young man with whom the future is assumed to be shared.

Slavery represents our nation's greatest shame. Texas, sadly, was one of the states that allowed slavery and it became the western-most state of the Confederate States of America. Nevertheless, Texas had its share of citizens who did not own slaves and who deplored the institution. Muddy Banks by Ruby C. Tolliver[xxv], begins two years before the end of the Civil War (1863), when a young twelve-year-old slave known simply as "Boy" slips over the side of a Confederate steamer headed south through the Sabine Pass between Texas and Louisiana. He swims to the Texas side and emerges thoroughly covered

in thick, sticky mud from the wide mudflats bordering the shore north of Sabine City. Boy is found and given refuge by the widow Miz Banks, a transplanted Yankee, who, although she is categorically opposed to slavery, buys him, for his own protection, from his Master, the Captain of the steamer. Miz Banks disapproves of the fact that the youth does not have an actual name, but she tells him that she will call him "Muddy Boy Banks" until he chooses his own name. Muddy had given his dying mother a promise that he would escape from slavery. This become increasingly more difficult to do because Miz Banks is good to him in ways no other white person had ever been in his experience. She treats him like a thinking, feeling human person. Muddy proves, in many small ways that he is a fast learner and an honourable person. While he is secretly preparing to run away, again, in order to fulfill his promise to his mother, he does not realize that Miz Banks has already given him his freedom. She, however, does not tell him since she knows that, until the Civil War is truly over, Muddy can only be safe from unscrupulous slave sellers while he is known to be her slave. The growth and development of the young Muddy Banks (slaves were often called by their Master's surnames) is a worthwhile story, but the most fascinating part of the book is best expressed by Tolliver, herself, in the Epilogue: `

> Perhaps historians have neglected to record the Civil War battle of Sabine Pass, Texas, because it was so unbelievable. How could forty-one Irishmen, one cavalry surgeon, and a young engineer, behind crudely- built ramparts with only four thirty-two pounders and two twenty-four pounders accomplish all this in only one hour and forty minutes?
> Capture two gunboats carrying fourteen guns,
> Capture over six hundred prisoners,
> Retrieve many rounds of ammunition plus a quantity of small arms,
> Send three gunboats, seven transports carrying six thousand troops and a general back to sea,
> Completely rout the remainder of an armada of twenty-seven ships,
> And halt the long-planned invasion of Texas by Union forces for several months.
> BUT THEY DID![xxvi]

At the end, Muddy has chosen his name, which is then inked onto his freedom papers. He has not had to abandon the Widow Banks while still fulfilling his promise to his mother.

First published in 1956, Old Yeller by Fred Gipson[xxvii] has gained the status of "Classic." Virtually all Americans know the story of the ugly "ole" yellow dog and the boy who loved him, either from reading the book or seeing the Disney movie. Times are rough in the late 1860s; the economy is suffering after the disruptions of the Civil War and people have to work hard just merely to survive. Fourteen-year-old Travis has been left in charge to help his Mama watch out for Little Arliss and care for their frontier home near Salt Lick, Texas, after Papa and a group of their neighbors have pooled their resources and gone north on a cattle drive to Abilene, Kansas. What Travis wants is a horse, but what Travis needs is a dog, and, sure enough, a dog soon appears -- a stray dog, a wily dog, a smart dog, a brave dog, a strong dog, a loyal dog, a loving dog, a big ugly yellow dog. At first, the dog seems to cause as many problems as he solves, but soon, he and Travis become an inseparable team and Old Yeller saves Little Arliss from a bear, Travis from a herd of wild hogs, and Mama and the neighbor girl Lisbeth from a rabid wolf's attack. The certainty of Old Yeller contracting rabies, himself, is instrumental in Travis's ultimate coming-of-age experience. After Old Yeller's death, Travis goes through a period of intense mourning that is only broken by the sight of Old Yeller's spotted pup (which acts more and more like his father) and Little Arliss playing together. Travis says," the way I figured it, if he [the pup] was
big enough to act like Old Yeller, he was big enough to start learning to earn his keep."[xxviii]

Losing a parent can be one of the most devastating experiences in the life of a child as twelve-year-old Elizabeth James discovers in After Pa Was Shot by Judy Alter[xxix] when a drunkard guns down her father the day after Christmas, 1904. In order to support her growing family, Elizabeth, B.J. and Henry, the pregnant Mrs. James must walk to town each day to work as a seamstress in one of the clothing stores in Center, Texas. But, when baby Maggie is born, she can no longer spend the long hours away from home. Against the wishes of her brother-in-law, Charlie James, and other relatives, she is determined to move

into town and operate a boarding house. When a tornado takes much of the roof off of their little country home, and Uncle Charlie braves the storm in order to check on the little family, Ma says, "Wasn't it a good thing Charlie came to see after us! It just shows how much we need a man around the house, even if he is only a boarder."[xxx] Soon after, she finds a two-story house in Center that will work perfectly. Uncle Charlie helps the family move and he and Ma discuss the fact that she will have to either board all women or all men. Since she believes she needs a man around the house, she chooses to rent to men only. The boarders begin to appear: First, Mr. Beaver, an oil field worker; second, Mr. Andrews, a bookkeeper for Ben Short, the man who had murdered Pa, but was never punished for the crime; third, Mr. Eastman, B. J.'s teacher come Fall, and fourth, Mr. Millard who has come to town to work in the bank. Of the four men, Elizabeth really distrusts and dislikes Mr. Joseph Millard who soon begins courting Ma and persuades her to marry him. After the wedding, Mr. Millard changes drastically and, when he discovers that the house is not Ma's property but is only rented, he really turns ugly. This con man has embezzled from the bank and, in his effort to escape, kidnaps baby Maggie to use as a shield and protection. Brave Elizabeth is part of the rescue team that snatches Maggie back and bags Mr. Millard. Ma is wiser and announces that she will seek a divorce (not as common a step in 1905 as it is today) because "It won't be any worse than being married to a bank robber who is in jail." [xxxi] Indeed, she is much less likely to feel she needs a man around the house after this unpleasant experience.

Jewish immigration to Texas has followed the general patterns of Jewish immigration to the entire Western Hemisphere. Many Ashkenazi Jews and "*Conversos*" (Jews who converted to Roman Catholicism during the Spanish Inquisition) have come through Mexico, the Caribbean, as well as Central and South America beginning with the Spanish Conquistadores. The Pogroms carried out in Czarist Russia inspired a wave of Jewish immigrants seeking freedom at the turn of the 19th/20th Centuries, and, of course, the Nazi Holocaust of World War II brought many more Jews to the Americas during the mid-20th Century. Dede Fox Ducharme did not write of her own Jewish family's immigration experiences in The Treasure in the Tiny Blue Tin[xxxii] However, her research and the pride she feels as a Jewish Texan enabled her to write an exciting story of Max Miller, a twelve-year-old boy whose family has recently immigrated from Russia to Texas in order to escape the persecution. The year is 1912 and, unlike most of the boys in the small East Texas town, Max actually enjoys going to school. He is constantly badgered and bullied by the blacksmith's son, Joe. The Miller family lives over his Uncle's store and Max helps out by delivering groceries to customers. His uncle buys a beautiful new bicycle so that Max can deliver the orders faster. With intense determination, Max teaches himself to ride by going up and down the alley between the back of the store and the blacksmith's shop. Joe heckles and harasses him every step of the way. The Miller family are observant Jews and many of the Jewish rituals and customs are explained in the book, thus allowing non-Jewish children the opportunity to understand what is really going on when Max is determined to look for his peddler father after he does not come home for Passover. In Max's mind, only a grave illness or accident could keep his father away. After writing a note explaining where he has gone, Max sneaks out the back of the store and sets out on the new bicycle to find his father. Joe follows him on his mare, Maggie -- the last tie to his deceased Mother. At first, Max does not want Joe tagging along since all of his previous experiences with him have been less than pleasant. Joe, however, won't leave and shares food and resources with Max. After awhile, the two boys accept each other and then they become good friends. Their search for the missing father is both exciting and tragic, but ultimately victorious.

BIOGRAPHPIES

Known more for his adult novels of historic multi-volume family chronicles, John Jakes wrote Susanna of the Alamo: A True Story, illustrated by Paul Bacon[xxxiii] This fascinating picture book recounts the story of the only adult Anglo survivor of the battle of the Alamo, Mrs. Susanna Dickinson. After the battle, Mrs. Dickinson, her infant daughter, the other Mexican Texan women and children, and two African Americans, one a slave and one a freeman are taken before General Santa Ana who is quite taken by the lovely young widow and her infant daughter. He offers to adopt the baby girl, take her to Mexico City with him, and educate her. Naturally the grieving young widow refuses. The women are then each given a blanket and $2.00 in silver coins. Mrs. Dickinson is sent east with the two black men to

protect and guide her to General Samuel Houston to tell of Santa Ana's prowess and military might. She is portrayed as a noble, brave, patriotic woman. Unfortunately (or fortunately depending upon ones viewpoint), the part of her story, which is not told, is really the part that is inappropriate for young children. After Texas won its independence, her lot in life was unfortunate. She married four additional times, was poverty stricken, and lived a truly sad, pathetic life until her death in 1888.[xxxiv]

Tales of a Texas Boy by Marva Dasef[xxxv] is a collection of twenty vignettes, interspersed with period photographs. The author had heard her father tell stories of his childhood and young adulthood spent growing up in West Texas during the Great Depression, but she did not begin to seriously collect those stories until he was 84 years old. She admits to taking a bit of artistic freedom in some of the details in order to flesh out certain parts in some stories, but she also cites two excellent website addresses where she checked facts to be certain that her accounts are accurate to the time and location. The dialect is right on the mark for West Texas and, when read aloud, sounds completely authentic. For example:

Pa tol' me to get to sleep early so we could leave before dawn. I was excited, so didn't know how I'd get to sleep, but I didn't want to argue with him none. Pa was takin' me along with him to visit with a friend of his, name of Mr. Norfleet. He owned a big ranch down south east of us in Hale Country.[xxxvi]

Reading a book such as this one can often inspire kids of all ages to begin recording their own family stories before anyone reaches the age of eighty-four.

CONCLUSIONS

The corpus of book written and published each year about Texas and Texans continues to increase and children are, thus, able to enjoy the state through many genres. Many of those books deal with Multicultural issues, and, as such should be of interest to teachers, parents, and librarians from all over our Great Nation, not just those of us in the Great State of Texas.

[i] Texas History Movies
[ii] New Texas History Movies
[iii] The Legend of the Texas Bluebonnet
[iv] Rules of the Road
[v] The Tequila Worm
[vi] When Zachary Beaver Came to Town
[vii] Holes
[viii] Holes, p. 7
[ix] Small Steps
[x] With the Wind Kevin, Dolan: A Novel of Ireland and Texas
[xi] With the Wind Kevin, Dolan: A Novel of Ireland and Texas p. 12
[xii] The Boy in the Alamo
[xiii] Battle of the Alamo: You are There

[xv] Battle of the Alamo: You are There, Acknowledgement Page
[xvi] Battle of the Alamo: You are There, p. 25
[xvii] The Texas Trilogy
[xviii] A Paradise Called Texas
[xix] Willow Creek Home
[xx] A Paradise Called Texas, p. iv
[xxi] Willow Creek Home
[xxii] Spirit of Iron
[xxiii] Letters to Oma, p. x
[xxiv] Letters to Oma, p. 162
[xxv] Muddy Banks
[xxvi] Muddy Banks, p. 153
[xxvii] Old Yeller
[xxviii] Old Yeller, p. 184

[xxix] After Pa Was Shot
[xxx] After Pa Was Shot, p. 81
[xxxi] After Pa Was Shot, p. 187
[xxxii] The Treasure in the Tiny Blue Tin
[xxxiii] Susanna of the Alamo: A True Story
[xxxiv] www.tamu.edu/…/dickinson_susannah.html
[xxxv] Tales of a Texas Boy
[xxxvi] Tales of a Texas Boy, p. 38

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The Role of Deviant Subcultures and Crowd Psychology in the Escalation of Riots

Athena Smith
Hillsborough Community College, Tampa

Introduction

The purpose of the present paper is to assess the factors that seem to have sparked the riots in Los Angeles in 1992, in France in 2005 and in Greece in December 2008. The theory widely supported by the press and a few academics that "social injustice" was to be blamed for the destructive behavior of the rioters, does not explain adequately the phenomenon. A closer examination of the behavior of rioters in general seems to indicate the existence of other causative agents, related to deviant subcultures and crowd behavior. Prevention remains of pivotal importance and an interview with Lt. Stephen M. Hartnett of the Tampa Police has demonstrated the dimensions of the preventive mechanisms.

Federal, state, and municipal criminal law have defined riots as "mobs, mob action, unlawful assembly, and routs" or "gatherings of three or more people who share a clear intent to do violence, to terrorize, and to otherwise disturb the peace to achieve their ends" (Miller, 2000, 342). Therefore riots could be classified as acts of terrorism which the US Department of Defense has defined as "the calculated use of unlawful violence to inculcate fear, intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological" (2001, p.531). The FBI and the State Department have given similar definitions (Terrorism in the US…, 1999, Patterns of global terrorism, 2002).

Riots in Greece

The Greek riots of December 2008 were sparked after a 15-year-old boy was fatally shot during a confrontation between police and youth in the area of Exarchia, known mostly for its drug subculture and the clashes between far-left youth and the police. The total damage in lost business, damages insurance payouts and tourist cancellations has been estimated in the hundreds of millions while the cost of the damages in Athens alone where 565 shops were attacked has approached 200 million Euros (Greek riots…, 2008). After watching the scenes on TV and seeing the published photos of the destruction and the attacks in the Boston Globe (2008) one may conclude that the owners who suffered the losses were terrorized while the youth who set the policemen on fire had the clear intention of causing bodily harm.

Students of civil disorder look to such events for signs of an incipient tradition in the growth of urban terrorism, but the relation between these two forms of collective violence remains unclear (Monti, 1980). The Italian Interior Minister, Giuseppe Pisanu, in 2003 warned of a growing climate of "widespread political illegality" comprised by Islamic terrorist groups, endogenous left-wing armed groups, anarchist insurrectionaries, and right-wing groups. Pisanu argued that vandalism and looting resulting from civil disorders, although are "demonstrative" in nature, at the same time they show that "organised elements and groups" have chosen violence "as a means of political struggle" in order to "arouse insecurity and alarm among citizens, intimidate victims, openly challenge the authority of the institutions, ... impose the message that it is possible to infringe the law without being punished." Accordingly, Pisanu indicated that a "future interrelation between the milieu of political illegality and the terrorist-subversive milieu cannot be excluded" drawing a comparison with the relationship between Autonomia Operaia and the Red Brigades in the 70´s and 80´s (Interior minister…, 2003). Many shop-owners in Athens talked about

being terrorized and the desire to obtain guns for protection. However the media in Greece characterized the attacks as “protests” while at the same time the majority of TV commentators and the newspapers spoke of “public rage” against “police terror.” It was also added that social injustices, corruption and poverty were the fuel behind the protests whereas many spoke of an impending revolution set to re-arrange the social order.

It is indeed true that the country’s ranking on the 2008 Corruption Perception Index is a dismal 57,with Malaysia and Costa Rica faring better (Transparency International, 2008). However it is also true that the Greek economy grew by 4.0% in 2007 while the unemployment rate dropped to 8.3% in 2007, from 10.4% in 2004 (Garganas, 2008). Furthermore 50% of the Greek economy appears to be flourishing underground, thus making it impossible to calculate the true income of those who grossly underreport it. Accordingly, in 2006 the Greek government was forced to revise upward its gross domestic product for the previous six years by as much as 25% in order to include parts of the illegal economy (Greece revises…, 2006). It should also be mentioned that tertiary education is free to students (they pay no fees nor the cost of texts), they are free to take as many years as they wish to graduate, while the university grounds enjoy a peculiar status of “asylum” which forbids the police from entering. The “asylum” status has allowed various rioters in the past to take over university buildings and wreck the premises, while demands for the nullification of asylum were treated as threats against the free flow of ideas and democracy itself. An attempt by Prime Minister Karamanlis two years ago to modernize higher education was foiled by three months of student protests, backed by professors unwilling to upgrade teaching standards and face peer reviews. The prime minister was also unable to win cross-party support to lift a constitutional ban on police entering university premises (Kerin, 2008).

Within this frame of events, the coverage by the foreign press used more accurate terminology as they spoke of “riots” and not a “social movement.” The main arguments however still focused on the fuelling contribution of “social injustices.” A simple correlation is often mistaken by the media as causation, and as social injustices have been considerable at the time of the killing and the riots, the co-existence was treated as a causal chain of events. But just because two variables co-exist or move together one errs to label the correlation as causation. To prove indeed that one variable caused the other one would have to control for all other possible variables involved, which in social settings is close to impossible. The repetition of the alleged causal relationship was strongly supported by the press and appeared to be a self-evident truth. The obvious question arising and questioning the logic of destroying somebody’s property as a form of protesting against corruption was not posed as it would appear politically insensitive.

Commonalities with the riots in France and Los Angeles

The issue of “public rage” has been discussed in other riots as well, more serious than the ones in Greece and accordingly a comparison appears useful. In the Los Angeles riots of 1992, after the not-guilty verdict of four white policemen who had been videotaped beating a black suspect, and in France in 2005, after the accidental death of two Muslim teens while they were chased by the police, the rioting and destruction that followed was attributed to “public rage.” At the same time issues of racism, poverty and lack of domestic equalitarian policies formulated the explanations of the destructiveness and aggression. Alec Hargreaves, author of "Immigration, Race and Ethnicity in Contemporary France” and a professor at Florida State University explained the riots in terms of “deep-seated social inequalities, problems of discrimination and it should be said, political neglect” (Rioting continues in France, 2005). The same ideas were put forward by Lorentzsen (2005). However, not all agreed. Some researchers saw it through the gang-violence spectrum that was prevalent in the country. A week earlier, Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy had declared in the newspaper *Le Monde*: “Violence in French suburbs is a daily fact of life. Since the beginning of the year stones were thrown at 9,000 police cars and each night 20 to 40 cars are torched. For some years, vehicle burning has been a favorite way to celebrate New Year’s Eve. If only 30 cars are set ablaze on an ordinary night and just 300 on New Year’s, the French police consider the situation to be “stable” (Belien, 2005).

The situation is similar in many European cities where police officers and firemen are used to having stones thrown at them in high-crime neighborhoods. Andrew Osborn after visiting Borgerhout, the largely Moroccan suburb of the Flemish city of Antwerp, wrote that he was greeted with the following:

"Outsiders aren't welcome. 'Go home before we beat your f------g white ass." At the same time police cars were hit with a barrage of expletives and spittle (Osborn, 2002). Both Osborn and Belien make the point of gangs grasping an opportunity to start a riot in order to demonstrate their power. When the rioters are joined by others, unrelated to gangs, crowd psychology should be applied for a better understanding.
Back in France, the rioters appeared to have developed a "neighbourhood identity." They were known by the name of the estates: *Cité des 4000* at la Courneuve; *La Madeleine* at Evreux; *Les Minguettes* at Vénissieux, near Lyon. The hard core was often involved in drug dealing and petty delinquency. The rest were often school drop-outs and unemployed youth. The whole group would join to protect the territory from intruders, like a rival gang, police but also journalists. Many youngsters although not affiliated with these gangs, went to school, might work part-time, but stayed in touch and could be mobilized. Fathers have lost social control because they did not work, were absent, or brought in less money than the youngsters. Poverty should not be exaggerated as these young people have often expensive clothes, iPods, and sometimes new cars. They considered the street their property and settled their feuds through a "coded" violence. "Attitude," "aggressive manhood," "rites of passage" based on violence and confrontations with the police constituted their social order (Roy, 2005).

Furthermore, the bulk of the rioters were second generation immigrants, more ethnically mixed than one could have expected as there were North Africans, some Turks and Africans, many non-Muslim Africans as well as people with French, Spanish or Portuguese names. The rioters were mostly French citizens with only 7% foreigners (Roy, 2005). According to Storper (2005) the riots evolved in three waves: the first, a spontaneous expression of anger in the Paris region; the second, an imitation in the rest of the country; and a third, involving organized riots "ordered" by gang leaders in certain neighborhoods, using their younger "staff" to burn public facilities as part of an ongoing war to get the State (education, police, anything involving public sector intervention) out of the neighborhood so as to facilitate their underground economic activities – the creation of "law-free, free trade zones").

The events in Los Angeles in 1992 evolved along similar lines. The very first night TV viewers watched in horror as the cab driver Reginald Denny was pulled out of his car and beaten savagely on prime TV. Reverend Cecil Murray remembers low-class neighbors watching their house burn to the ground. During the three days, 55 people were killed, more than 2,300 injured and 1,100 buildings destroyed (Gutierrez, Feldman & McDermott, 2002). Again the debate on "public rage" dominated and although the unjust social conditions in Los Angeles were indisputable, they could not explain the depth and kind of destruction that mainly occurred in the poorer areas of the city, hit by high unemployment and attacked savagely by the rioters. To many, the unemployment seemed to have caused the rage, and the rage led to the destruction of the neighbor's property. However, unemployment, poverty, racism and social injustice are conditions that have existed for centuries. Millions of unemployed, poor people do not resort to riots. Moreover, many riots follow happy events, like those after a football team's victory. In Los Angeles, the joy on the face of the looters was evident. While at the same time, those who did try to stop the looters were also black, poor and often unemployed. For these reasons the theory that attributes the riots to unjust social conditions can only accommodate parts of the phenomenon. Therefore one should co-assess the interaction of deviant subcultures accepting criminality and crowd behavior as more encompassing causes.

Gangs, deviant subcultures and crowd psychology as causal factors

It should be noted that the city of Los Angeles in 1991 had over 100,000 gang members while 771 gang-related homicides were reported that year. Many police officers had admitted losing the streets years before with many neighborhoods dominated by rival gangs. Drug deals were often conducted openly, without even a pretense of cover-up. Gunshots and fires routinely occurred in certain areas that were carefully avoided by the rest of the citizens (Delk, 1994). The author has cited various confrontations with gang members during the riots.

Such groups exist in Athens as well while the anarchists play a pivotal role. Clashes with the police are common as is swearing at the policemen who patrol Exarchia (Anarchy in Athens, 2008), an area that has become the center for drugs and weapons dealings. In the previously mentioned article the anarchists

were blamed for breaking shop windows and throwing Molotov bombs inside as well as setting cars on fire.

The deviant subculture dynamics may be applied to explain the dynamics of growth for such groups. Albert Cohen (1955) assessed the forces behind the overrepresentation of young males in delinquent behavior and behind the growth of "non-economic" forms of crime (like vandalism and hooliganism). Cohen argued that a desirable social status was denied to a certain group of people because they invariably failed in the educational system, which led to failure at work that could be found in low-pay low-skill jobs. The status deprivation was resolved by the formation of primary groups like gangs that offered them new status positions through an alternative social setting. The rejection from both those in authority and the majority of their peers, led some boys to develop a deviant sub-culture that coalesces around an explicit rejection of things that appear "normal, decent and good". The rejection may lead to a reversal of accepted forms of behavior. Therefore the group may adopt rudeness to those in authority, lack of punctuality and adherence to school norms, petty crime, vandalism and violence.

Walter Miller (1958) shed more light in the dynamics of a deviant subculture by identifying the core values governing the members' lives. First, there was a pre-occupation with getting into or staying out of trouble. Second, there was an emphasis on toughness, which was expressed through acts demonstrating the ability to stand up to adversity, like confrontations with the police or other gangs. Third, there was an emphasis on street-smarts or the ability to handle oneself. Fourth, excitement played a pivotal role, as life was about the thrill of engaging in conflict and ripping others off. Fifth, there was a belief in fate, or inability to control one's future. And finally, there was a desire for autonomy, demonstrated through the intolerance of challenges towards one's being.

Having discussed the formation of the initial gangs, one may expect these groups to start the rioting after an incendiary event. All three riots started in a similar way. The event, known to cause violent behavior is used by an initial group belonging to a deviant subculture to start a fight and they call upon others to join. A British national who followed one of the demonstrations in Athens spoke of a "carnival atmosphere" as the demonstrators chanted slogans and invited young Greeks to put down their drinks and join the group…There were elements who wanted to cause trouble, but others on the demo were trying to stop it" (Brabant, 2008). Given the fact that often these protests lead to violent episodes, whoever conscientiously joins the demonstration is aware of the risk of a violent outcome.

How did the crowds gather? There seemed to be a system of internal communications. In Los Angeles the rioters were getting their cues from the TV broadcasting. In France and Greece the cell phones assisted the rioters greatly. An efficient system of internal communications helps the rioters raise their numbers to such an extent that they may outnumber the police. Their acts are usually characterized by speedy developments. Their security is dependent on their number. The higher the number, the lower the probability of arrest is. The use of personal cameras transmits the events to the local media. Media attention seems to be a significant boosting mechanism for gaining fame or showing their cause to the world. Use of alcohol, hatred of police, excitement, "importance of their cause," out-of-control horseplay, false rumors, and perceived unfair police action all encourage the volatile nature of the crowd (Beene, 2006). Anonymity plays a large role for the bottle or rock throwers. At one point the rioters have to be assured of their power over the police. Therefore, one throws the first stone or Molotov and the rest assess the reaction. Faced with a high number of rioters, the police may turn from insufficient to incapacitated. The word is spread over the first victory encouraging greater distribution of the riots. If TV coverage is already taking place at one spot, this spot is very likely to gather an even greater number of rioters. Central streets in Athens and central banks were looted on prime TV. In Los Angeles the police at some point withdrew totally when they realized they could do nothing constructive.

When the vandalism starts, the police may find it hard to restore order because of their insufficient numbers. This obstacle is not easy to overcome as citizens are not willing to foot the bill of a hike in hiring a greater number of policemen who would remain idle for the greater part of the year. Furthermore, even if everyone were arrested, there would be not enough jail space or enough prosecutors to process the cases. The rioters are aware of these deficiencies in the system and have realized that they may act under a state of immunity.

Description of the development of events and partial insights tell us little as to why, otherwise ordinary people with ordinary lives join the initial gang-related inciters, become “mobs” and proceed to vandalize, loot and throw Molotov bombs at policemen. The effect of crowd psychology is significant as it unfolds the power of group behavior and mentality. Gustave Le Bon, a French sociologist and social psychologist who lived in the 20th century contributed significantly to the enrichment of the field. His thesis became that the progress of a group of people is determined by their “character” that slowly takes a form of an unconscious "collective mind." This collective mind may emerge in a crowd and shape its behavior in ways drastically different to the up to that point behavior of the individual members. Accordingly, crowd behavior is based on emotions and not on intellect. One should emphasize that a crowd is not any gathering of people, but a group whose ideas at that moment have turned to a specific direction while individual personalities have disappeared. A crowd is characterized by the lowering of the intelligence and the complete transformation of the sentiments, for better or worse than those of the individual members. Therefore, a crowd can be either heroic or criminal. The impulses directing the crowd are imperious enough to annihilate feelings of personal interest. Crowds do not admit doubt or uncertainty, and may easily go to extremes (Le Bon, 2002). Le Bon’s thesis has been widely adopted by advertisers and propagandists with quite successful results.

When the crowd mentality takes over in “protests” the results can be catastrophic. Given the little awareness of the crowd psychology among the analysts, often “public rage” is cited as a cause, indirectly justifying the events, intensifying the friction between certain groups and the police and perpetuating a mentality of inevitability, since unjust social conditions will always be with us. However, certain measures can be taken in order to diminish the possibility of joining the crowd when an incendiary event takes place.

Prevention

There have been numerous “incendiary” incidents around the country that did not evolve to riots however. Lt. Stephen M. Hartnett emphasized the role of good relationships between the police and the community and described a number of preventive guidelines (personal communication, 2008, December 27). Although protests can be initiated by any group with a common cause, the majority of protesters in the US have not been violent. The danger exists when the sensationalism of the initial wrong-doing escalates the protest. Officers are familiarized with crowd control and containment. The response may range from line formation to the use of less than lethal weapons, depending on how the crowd responds and whether the crowd is aggressive. The importance of a swift response can not be overemphasized. “You have to douche the flame as quick as possible. You have to be willing and ready to use your force. If the crowd believes you are not going to respond forcefully they will act more brazen.” The key is to get them off an area before they become too large to contain. An unpleasant scenario would be to have so many gatherings that you exhaust your police. Under horrific instances, the Governor will call for the National Guard. However, the use of the National Guard would be a last resort mechanism due to the unpleasantness of having the military of a country fighting against its own citizens. Lt. Hartnett also spoke of the ability of the police to deny TV crews from entering in certain areas if such entry compromises security. However, he clarified that broadcasting would probably still go on through alternative means of coverage. Disabling cell phones was not possible as the police did not have the right to deprive people of communications.

A very effective prevention mechanism is the cultivation of good relations with the community. Lt. Hartnett emphasized the importance of enlisting the support of people who are important in a community in order to calm down those who feel marginalized. The police reach out to pastors and that comes out to the community. Furthermore, the police are publicly accountable for their acts. As knowledge is power, the more knowledge the citizens have of what is going on, the more cooperation the police have with the public.

Also volunteer organizations are bridging the gap between police and public. The Citizens’ Academy allows citizens to get a portion of the police training and the different ways they may respond depending on the circumstance. Such programs may promote understanding of how and why a policeman may proceed to a particular type of apprehension and why may have to be defensively offensive at times.

There are Citizenry Advisory groups whose members are picked by the municipality to review incidents like shootings or police conduct. Citizens Volunteer Assistance Programs allow the public to assist the police with various tasks or to ride along with an officer so to observe from up close the reality and challenges of police work.

Conclusion

Prevention or successful containment of riots in Greece could be enhanced in various ways: One should study carefully the events that led to the looting and catastrophe of the December riots and formulate a set of guidelines that could contain future gatherings. Similarly one should study the police action adopted –in Greece and elsewhere- when incendiary events took place but riots were prevented. Stott, Adang, Livingstone and Schreiber (2008) evaluated the causes behind the "calm" at the Finals of the 2004 European Football Championships in Portugal. The quantitative study indicated the preventive significance of the non-paramilitary policing style adopted in cities hosting tournament matches. Evidence was presented suggesting that this style of policing supported forms of non-violent collective psychology that, in turn, served to psychologically marginalize violent groups from the wider community of fans.

A body of citizens-volunteers could be created and trained to assist the police with the initial stages of riot containment along the same lines a body of citizens-volunteers has been created to assist the regular firemen when need arises. Strong communication channels with the community should be cultivated by adopting programs similar to the ones in place by the Tampa police. Among the programs mentioned, the importance of a Citizens' Academy and of the Citizenry Advisory Board may prove to be of pivotal significance in enhancing mutual understanding and ensuring police accountability.

Finally, Pisanu's contention on the possible future interrelation between the milieu of political illegality and the terrorist-subversive milieu should be evaluated and assessed for events where the looting and vandalism gain horrific proportions and terrorize the population.

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The Relationship of Administrative Behaviors and Characteristics with Teachers' General and Personal Efficacy

Dennis M. Szal
Central Washington University

Background

A great deal of discussion and debate concerning improving education has taken place in recent decades. The United States was put on alert with the publication *A Nation at Risk* (1983). According to the report, "If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might as well have viewed it as an act of war" (p.5). This widely discussed report forecast a dim future for the United States if immediate and sustained efforts to improve education were not undertaken. More recently, Friedman (2004) describes the efforts of former technologically underdeveloped countries making tremendous strides to match and surpass the United States in the economic and intellectual world arena.

Since then, educators in many states have taken steps intended to meet the needs stated in this report. A number of these states have had legislators who have tried to address these concerns through lengthening the school day, broadening school governance, improving teaching techniques, and increasing accountability for educators.

Many of these initiatives have come and gone. The reason for these failures may be traced back to a reaction to the *Nation at Risk* (1983) report that stunned America, combined with an unclear vision of what the genesis for school improvement is. One positive aspect that emerged from the response to these initiatives may be found in the continued research focusing on specific and measurable results in school improvement.

Any school improvement efforts should consider the leadership of the organization. The importance of considering this facet of the organization cannot be overemphasized if substantive changes are to occur. Since both the largest and the smallest unit for school improvement is the individual school, the main leadership responsibilities fall upon the shoulders of the building principal. Barth (1986) clearly identified the building principal as the person who really causes schools to be the way they are. He goes even further in stating that it is not the central office personnel, university people or anyone else who is responsible for the ways a school functions; it is the building principal.

In 1986, the work of Blumberg and Greenfield further underscored the importance of the building principal in creating an attitude of concern for students. They found that, although the results of the principal's work cannot always be seen, it is evident in the attitudes of the members of the organization. Essentially, they suggested that the school reflects the beliefs, behaviors, and characteristics of the building principal.

Since it is critically important that the individual school improvement efforts stem from the building principal's leadership, what part does the principal play in improving instruction? The answer may be found in the examination of teachers' beliefs that are essential to the improvement process coupled with the part leadership plays in forming these beliefs. While academic emphasis, morale, teacher experience, and educational level contribute to personal teaching efficacy, Hoy and Woolfolk (1993) found, "Leadership variables contributed an additional significant increase in the explanation of personal teacher efficacy variance; principal influence was the most important variable" (p. 365).

While teacher efficacy has been found to impact student learning, little is known about the influence administrators may have on teachers' efficacy. If the relationship between teachers' efficacy and administrative behaviors and characteristics can be distilled, it may be possible for administrators to adopt and model actions.

According to Tschannen-Moran, et al. "A greater understanding of the factors that facilitate or inhibit development of efficacy beliefs among teachers across stages of their careers would be valuable…research could explore what events and influences teachers attributer to the development of their efficacy beliefs…Much work remains to be done, but a construct that is related to teachers' motivation to persist in the face of setbacks and their willingness to work to overcome difficulties is worth the effort. The list of positive outcomes related to a strong sense of teacher efficacy is impressive". (1998, p.242)

In 1976m RAND published a study that examined the difference in levels of success of various reading programs (Armor, et al., 1976). Researchers concluded teacher efficacy was a determining factor in reading achievement among minority students. In the RAND study, researchers found that scores on only two items, was found to be strongly related to variations in reading achievement among minority students.

The first RAND item was: *When it comes right down to it, a teacher really can't do much because most of a student's motivation and performance depends on his or her home environment.* A teacher who expresses strong agreement with this statement indicates that environmental factors overwhelm any influence that teachers can exert in the school. The RAND researchers labeled these teachers low in efficacy. Teachers with low efficacy ratings who agree that the influence of the environment overrides a teacher's ability to impact student learning, exhibit a belief that reinforcement of their teaching efforts lies outside their control, or is external to them.

The second RAND item was: *If I really try hard, I can get through to even the most difficult or unmotivated student.* . Teachers who agree with this statement indicate confidence in their abilities to overcome factors or obstacles that could make learning difficult for students. RAND researchers labeled these teachers high in efficacy. Teachers who express confidence in their ability to teach difficult or unmotivated students believe that reinforcement of teaching activities lies within the teacher's control, or is internal.

According to Bandura (1977), efficacy is a belief in one's ability to accomplish a given task. Bandura theorized that individuals vary in the degree to which they believe they have the power within themselves to bring about desired results. This degree of belief can be measured in a way that allows researchers to determine if an individual has a high degree or low degree of efficacy. It is a belief system not unlike locus of control, in which and individual feels in control of given circumstances. Self-efficacy is a belief in one's capability to execute the actions necessary to achieve a particular level of performance.

The definition of efficacy has undergone continuous revision, leading to Guskey and Passaro's definition: "In general, efficacy is perceived as teachers' belief[s] or conviction[s] that they can influence how well students learn, even those who may be considered difficult or unmotivated" (1994, p. 628). Research is abundant in supporting teacher efficacy having a strong positive correlation with student achievement. Essentially, teachers produce results that mirror their beliefs. In 1976, RAND published a study that examined the difference in levels of success of various reading programs (Armor et al., 1976) Researchers concluded teacher efficacy was a determining factor in reading achievement among minority students. Another RAND study of federal programs supporting educational change also found that a teacher's sense of efficacy was strongly associated with increased student learning (Berman et al., 1977).

Ashton, Webb, and Doda (1983) noted the impact of teacher efficacy on relationships among teachers, student-teacher interaction, and student achievement. Highly efficacious teachers maintain higher academic standards, concentrate more on academic instruction, monitor student behavior more often develop warm supportive classroom environments, and have their students score higher as a whole on achievement tests when compared to teachers with lower levels of efficacy.

In 1984, Gibson and Dembo compared four teachers identified as highly efficacious with four teachers demonstrating low efficacy beliefs. They found the low efficacious teachers criticize students more often,

while the highly efficacious teachers were more likely to continue to work with students who encountered difficulty in their learning. Gibson and Dembo also found that highly efficacious teachers repeated questions and provided more prompts than low efficacy teachers.

Many factors seem to influence individual teacher's efficacy. As early as 1984, researchers began to recommend the careful examination of variables that might influence teachers' efficacy Gibson and Dembo (1984) suggested "relationships with situational and organizational variables should be investigated because teacher efficacy is likely to be situation specific and may not generalize from one setting to another"(p.579). The importance of these factors influencing teachers' efficacy cannot be overstated. Newman, Rotter, and Smith (1989) explored the effects of organizational improvements on the alienation of teachers using a random sample of 353 public schools. They found that organization features (such as orderly student behavior, encouragement of innovations, and teachers' influence in decision making) had a much greater impact on teachers' sense of efficacy than did background features (such as urban/city, and school size).. This work underscores the importance of organizational factors impacting teachers' efficacy.

According to Schein (1985), principals can positively influence teachers' efficacy through various means. Schein maintains that administrative behaviors such as modeling, inspiring with purpose, and rewarding congruent behaviors send powerful messages to teachers and positively impact teachers' efficacy. Schien contends that principals' leadership behaviors influence their staffs much more than their words do.

Principals seem to be able to control or strongly influence most of the factors that influence teachers' efficacy. Lortie (1975) found that principals are perceived as being a greater resource than are parents or colleagues in creating the conditions needed to develop teachers' sense of efficacy.

The present study was designed to examine the relationship between teachers' efficacy and their perceptions of their building administrator's characteristics and behaviors. Although a great deal of information concerning the impact of efficacy beliefs on student achievement has been researched, little can be found concerning building administrator's impact on teachers' efficacy. This study is intended to add to the present body of knowledge on teacher efficacy and the part administrators may play in developing these beliefs.

Method

Public school teachers, kindergarten through twelfth grade, and public school administrators in Ogden, Utah were invited to participate in this study. The district has 15 elementary, four middle and three high schools. The Ogden City School District was chosen because it is a near-minority majority district, more closely reflecting the changing demographics of American public schools. Of the 12,520 students in the district about 40% were Pacific Islander, American Indian, Asian, Black, or Hispanic. Caucasians comprise the remainder of the enrollment.

Two instruments were used to gather data for this study. The Teacher Efficacy Scale (Gibson & Dembo, 1984) was used to measure teachers' perceived general efficacy and personal teaching efficacy. Gibson and Dembo developed this instrument using 208 elementary teachers to provide data for reliability and validity. Their work supported Bandura's 1977 two-factor model of efficacy. According to Bandura, one factor reflects the teachers' sense of personal responsibility in student learning. A second factor represents the teacher's ability to impact student learning significantly despite the external factors affecting the student. Analysis of Gibson and Dembo's Teachers Efficacy Scale yielded internal consistency reliabilities (Cronbach alpha coefficients) of 0.78 for personal efficacy factor, and 0.75 for general efficacy factor.

Leithwood and Jantzi's (1997) Leadership and Management of Schools instrument was used to determine teachers' perceptions of their building administrators' behaviors and characteristics. The authors divided this instrument into two subscales. The instrument contains 270 items measuring the perceived extent to which leadership practices are evident. Researchers who used this instrument collected data concerning six leadership subscales and four school management strands derived from Leithwood and Jantzi's model of transformational leadership. Reliabilities for the six factors ranged from 0.79 to 0.95.

The School Management portion contains 21 questions within four subscales. The subscales in the School Management section are; establishes effective staffing practices; provides instructional support; monitors school activities; and provides a community focus. A five-point Likert scale spanning from strongly disagrees to strongly agree was used to elicit teachers' responses. Analysis of internal consistency reliabilities yielded Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.93 for the School Management portion of this instrument. Their factor analysis done for both sections of this instrument support the validity.

Each individual school supplied a roster of their teachers. Ten teachers from each building were randomly selected, to participate in the study. Both survey instruments and a letter of introduction explaining the study were mailed to the Superintendent of Ogden City Schools who distributed them to building principals. The building principals distributed them to the participants who chose whether or not they wanted to participate. If a selected participant declined to participate, alternates were contacted. After the instruments were completed, they were returned to the building principal in a sealed envelope, forwarded to the superintendent, and then collected by the researchers. Ninety-six of the instruments were returned for a response rate of 90%.

The statistical program SPSS was used to analyze the responses received from teachers using regression to explain the variability in teacher efficacy that is accounted for by administrators' behaviors and demographic variables. The intent of the analysis was to scrutinize the relationship between teachers' beliefs and administrator's practices that may impact teacher's **beliefs.**

Results

Demographic data were used to describe the sample. The following demographic categories were used to disaggregate the data: gender; years of teaching experience; last degree earned; level of grade taught; and years worked with current building administrators.

(See Table 1)

Total scores for general teacher efficacy and personal teacher efficacy were the criterion variables in this study. The total scores from the leadership and management of schools instrument were used as the predictor variables. Correlations were found between each individual subscale in the nature of school leadership section and the school management section with general teacher efficacy and personal teacher efficacy data for the sample.

Linear regressions were performed with general teacher efficacy and personal teacher efficacy as criterion variables. Demographic variables and subscales of the Leadership and Management of Schools survey were used as predictor variables. Demographic variables included years of teaching experience, gender, years worked with current principal, and last degree earned. Six subscales totals from the Nature of School Leadership and four subscale totals from the School Management section were also used.

Table 2 shows that one subscale, symbolizing good professional practices, accounts for 20.8% of the variability in general teacher efficacy. The largest R2, based upon a combination of six subscales of school leadership, was found to be 37.9%, explaining the most variability in general teacher efficacy.

(See Table 2)

Table 3 describes the individual and combined subscales accounting for the most variability in personal teacher efficacy, based on the nature of school leadership subscales and demographic data. The largest R^2, based upon a combination of seven subscales of school leadership, was found to be 40.3%, explaining the most variability in personal teacher efficacy.

(See Table 3)

Table 4 describes the individual and combined subscales accounting for the most variability in general teacher efficacy based on the management subscales and demographic data. The largest R^2, based upon a combination of four subscales of school management, was found to be 20.4%, explaining the most variability in general teacher efficacy.

(See Table 4)

Table 5 describes the individual and combined subscales accounting for the most variability in personal teachers' efficacy based on the school management subscales and demographic data. The largest R^2, based upon a four subscales of school management, was found to be 32.2%, explaining the most variability in personal teacher efficacy.

(See Table 5)

Discussion and conclusion

Variability in general efficacy and personal efficacy can be accounted for by perceptions of specific administrator behaviors and teachers' characteristics.

The results of the data suggest that 37.9% of the differences in general teacher efficacy can be accounted for by teachers who perceive their building administrator as a person who symbolizes good professional practices, develops a collaborative decision-making structure, provides individual support, holds high expectations and fosters development of vision and goals combined with demographic data. Furthermore, 40.3% of the variance in personal teacher efficacy can be accounted for by teachers who perceive their building administrators as symbolizing good professional practices, developing a collaborative decision-making structure, providing individualized support, providing intellectual stimulation, holding high performance expectations and fostering development of vision and goals, combined with demographic data.

The data further suggests that 20.4% of the variances in general teacher efficacy can be accounted for by teachers who perceive the building administrator as a person who establishes effective staffing practices, provides instructional support, monitors school activities and provides a community focus combined with demographic data. Furthermore, 32.2% of the variances in personal teacher efficacy can be accounted for by teachers who perceive their building administrator as a person who establishes effective staffing practices, provides instructional support, monitors student activities, and provides a community focus combined with demographic data. The data yielded by this research lends itself to specific summations, conclusions and recommendations.

From the statistical analysis of responses received from teachers participating in this study, several finds became evident. From multiple regression analyses the following conclusions were made. Variance in personal teacher efficacy can be accounted for by teachers' perceptions of their building principal's behavior and characteristics when combined with teachers' demographic characteristics The results suggest that 37.9% in general teacher efficacy can be accounted for by teachers' perceptions of their building administrator's behaviors and characteristics, when combined with teachers' demographics. Furthermore the results suggest that 40.3% of the variance in personal teacher efficacy can be accounted for by teachers' perceptions of their building principal's behaviors and characteristics, when combined with teachers' demographics.

District administrators, and more specifically building principals, should understand the importance of the relationship between teacher beliefs and student learning, as evidenced in the 1976 RAND study. Principals should understand the overt and covert ramifications of their behaviors and teachers' characteristics and how these can account for the differences in teachers' levels of efficacy.

If we as practitioners of the teaching profession reflect upon our responsibilities it becomes critically important to question our beliefs. To accept anything but the best of ourselves and our students is to transgress the moral and ethical standards we should embrace.

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Table 1
Demographics of Sample

Gender

	Male	Female
Percent	25%	75%
Number	24	72

Years of Teaching Experience

	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	20+
Percent	26.8%	18.5%	18.5%	15.4%	20.6%
Number	26	18	18	15	20

Last Degree Earned

	Bachelor's	Master's
Percent	71.6%	28.4%
Number	63	25

School Level Taught

	Elementary	Middle	High
Percent	64%	16.3%	19.8%
Number	63	17	20

Years Worked With Current Principal

	1 -3 years	4-6 years	7- 9 years
Percent	17.6%	10.1%	.03%
Number	17	11	4

Table 2

Summary of Regression Analyses for Nature of School Leadership Subscales that Account for the Largest Variances in General Teacher Efficacy

Variable	Predictor Variable Item Description	R^2
	Symbolizing Good Professional Practices	37.9%
	Developing a Collaborative Decision-Making Structure	
	Providing Individualized Support	
	Providing Intellectual Stimulation	
	Fostering Development of Vision and Goals	
	Holding High Performance Expectations	

Table 3

Summary of Regression Analyses for Nature of School Leadership Subscales and Demographic Variables that Account for the Largest Variances in Personal Teacher Efficacy.

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable Item Description	R^2
	Symbolizing Good Professional Practice	40.3%
	Developing a Collaborative Decision-Making Structure	
	Providing Individualized Support	
	Providing Intellectual Stimulation	
	Holding High Performance Expectations	
	Fostering Development of Vision and Goals	

Table 4

Summary of Regression Analyses for School Management Subscales that Account for the Largest Variances in General Teacher Efficacy

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables Item Description	R^2
	Establishes Effective Staffing Practices	20.4%
	Providing Instructional Support	
	Monitoring School Activities	
	Providing a Community Focus	

Table 5
Summary of Regression Analyses for School Management Subscales that Account for Largest Variances in Personal Efficacy

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable Item Description	R^2
Personal Efficacy	Teacher Monitoring School Activities	14.0%
	Providing Instructional Support Monitoring School Activities	23.0%
	Establishes Effective Staffing Practices Providing Instructional Support Monitoring School Activities	29.7%
	Establishes Effective Staffing Practices Providing Instructional Support Monitoring School Activities Providing a Community Focus	32.2%

The Impact of Hurricane Ike on our Public Schools: Implications for School Counseling

Carlo P. Walker, Nancy Leffel Carlson, Pamela E. Monk, E. Jane Irons
Lamar University

Researchers studying children after hurricanes found that children frequently experienced traumatic symptoms of (a) intrusive thoughts causing inattentiveness and irritability; (b) hyper-arousal causing aggression and sleeplessness; and (c) avoidance of reminders of the traumatic event causing clinginess, fear, depression, and regression (Lonigan, Anthony, & Shannon, 1998; Vogel & Vernberg, 1993).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of hurricanes on public school children and adolescents. This study explores perceptions of public school counselors regarding the impact of Hurricane Ike and its aftermath on public school children and adolescents to provide beneficial implications to practitioners of school counseling and mental health.

Literature Review

The Impact of Hurricanes

Hurricanes and other natural disasters have significantly impacted the lives of thousands of U.S. citizens within the North American continent. The most prominent natural disaster of 2005, Hurricane Katrina, was identified as the most costly hurricane in United States history with over $81 billion in damage. It was the deadliest in 77 years with approximately 1,833 fatalities (Knabb, Rhome, & Brown, 2005). Children and adolescents were often seriously affected by hurricanes and other natural disasters. Children's typical symptoms after natural disasters included fear, depression, self-blame, guilt, loss of interest in school and other activities, regressive behavior, sleep and appetite disturbance, night terrors, aggressiveness, poor concentration, and separation anxiety (Speier, 2000).

Children under the age of 12 were one of the most vulnerable populations during traumatic events because their neuro-physiological systems were subjected to permanent changes and their coping skills were not developed sufficiently to manage catastrophic events (Perry, Pollard, Blakely, Baker, & Vigilante, 1995; Speier, 2000). According to Shannon, Lonigan, Fitch, and Taylor (1994), there was a significant drop in self-reported school performance by school-aged children exposed to Hurricane Hugo. Three months after Hurricane Andrew, 55% of elementary school children surveyed exhibited moderate to very severe symptoms such as avoidance of trauma-related stimuli and intrusion of traumatic images and 30% met criteria for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (LeGreca, Silverman, Vernberg, & Prinstein, 1996). Even a single traumatic incident caused the brain to activate a continual "fight or flight" response and made learning in a classroom difficult (Kagan, 2004). Trauma decreased brain functioning in Broca's area that controls speaking and Wernicke's area that controls the ability to comprehend language (Siegel, 1999; Tinnin, 1996).

Treatment Modalities for Children and Adolescents Exposed to Trauma

About 15% to 43% of children will be exposed to a traumatic event including abuse, car accidents, or natural disasters. Of children who experienced a traumatic event, 3% to 15% of girls and 1% to 6% of boys experienced heightened psychological distress, typically in the form of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 1998). The primary treatment

modality for (PTSD) is Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT). Stallard (2006) suggested CBT interventions were the most commonly researched and supported treatment model for childhood trauma.

The use of CBT interventions were used successfully with preschool children ages 2 to 8 years old and school-age children and adolescents between the ages of 7 to 18. CBT treatment typically involved one or more of the following: (a) exposure to the traumatic material, (b) cognitive reprocessing and reframing, (c) stress management, and (d) parent treatment. Exposure techniques for children varied from talking about the traumatic events, drawing pictures about the trauma, writing about the traumatic events, or recounting the events into recorder (Gilman & Chard, 2007). Gilman and Chard noted the most commonly used stress reduction interventions involved diaphragmatic breathing, muscle relaxation, and thought stopping," where the child was given a replacement thought to say every time a distressing thought occurred.

CBT was effective in the treatment of depression and anxiety in children and adolescents who experienced a traumatic event. Lewinsohn and Clark (1999) and Velting, Setzer, and Albano (2004) provided a summary of specific components of CBT used successfully with adolescent depression and anxiety. For depression, essential components included psycho-education (i.e. teaching the adolescent and his or her family about the disorder, including how depression is conceptualized from the standpoint of CBT), replacement of self-defeating thoughts with more constructive and positive thinking, increased participation in pleasant activities, instruction in adaptive and constructive social and communication skills, conflict resolution skills, self-monitoring and goal-setting skills. For anxiety, essential components included psych-education (i.e. teaching the child and family how and why excessive levels of anxiety are learned and maintained, and the rationale for various techniques), somatic management techniques (i.e. deep breathing and relaxation training), and cognitive restructuring (i.e. identifying unhelpful, anxiety provoking thoughts, challenging these thoughts and replacing thoughts with more proactive and adaptive thinking).

Group therapy was considered a treatment for both acutely and chronically traumatized individuals. The primary task of group therapy and community interventions was to help victims regain a sense of safety and of mastery (Van Der Kolk, McFarlane, & Van Der Hart, 2007). CBT was used in group settings with children and adolescents who experienced a traumatic event. Some advantages of CBT in group settings included (a) the ability to mimic real-world interactions with other people, (b) the possibility of practicing newly learned behaviors in session under the guidance of a therapist prior to trying them in the non-therapy world, (c) the potential for role-plays where the therapist can be the observer instead of participant, and (d) the ability for clients to test hypotheses surrounding their beliefs using feedback from other group members experiences (Gilman & Chard, 2007).

Play therapy was shown to be an effective treatment for children exposed to traumatic events. When children could not clearly articulate thoughts and feeling, play was thought to be the most effective approach to trauma resolution (Drewes, 2001; Van Dyke & Wiedis, 2001; Webb, 2001). After Hurricane Katrina, one child used the figures of a mother and child in a dollhouse to act out incidents that occurred during the storm. She pretended that a tree fell through the roof of a dollhouse. She hid the figures under the bed when the tree fell, and then acted as if they were terrified. Thus, she was able to play out the traumatic incident in a safe environment without having to specifically articulate her feelings and thoughts (Hebert & Ballard, 2007).

The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH, 2001) suggested counselors needed to provide psycho-educational training to parents and teachers to respond to their child's nightmares related to a natural disaster. Children in middle to late childhood were more likely to experience sleep disturbances as they began to understand the finality of loss.

The Study

A survey study was conducted to investigate school counselors' perceptions of the impact of Hurricane Ike on public school children. Fifty-two school counselors responded to an online survey. Thirty-seven percent of the respondents had 6 to 10 years experience as a school counselor. Forty percent of the respondents were 51 to 60 years old. The ethnic diversity of the respondents was dominantly White (79%); other groups represented were African American (15%), American Indian (2%), and Asian (2%).

Findings

Participants were asked to rate statements using a five-point Likert scale with one (1) representing an increase and five (5) representing a decrease in students' behavior at school. Based on their perceptions, participants were asked to rate if students' behaviors showed an increase or decrease upon returning to school after Hurricane Ike. The responses related to students' behaviors were separated into three categories and are reported in Tables 1, 2, and 3, found in Appendix 1. The three categories of students' behaviors included: basic needs, academic focus/classroom behavior, and student social interactions. Perceptions of safety needs related to training for faculty and staff and compliance with safety regulations are reported in Table 4, found in Appendix 1. Written comments or suggestions related to the survey statements are reported under the qualitative results section.

All school counselors who responded to this survey reported an increase in homelessness for students in their schools. Over 90% of the participants reported a decrease in students' daily attendance and parental involvement in their child(ren)'s school activities. Participants reported a decrease in students' emotional stability immediately after Hurricane Ike. Table 1 shows the students' behaviors related to basic needs as perceived by school counselors who responded to this survey.

All participants reported a decrease in children's ability to focus on academic activities and work independently after Hurricane Ike. The majority of participants reported an increase in disruptive behaviors and fighting in school. Participating school counselors noted a decrease in students' interest in extra curricular activities. Table 2 shows participating school counselors' perceptions of students' behaviors related to academic focus and classroom behavior.

The participating school counselors observed an increase in students' interactions with school administrators which corresponds with the increase in disruptive behaviors. All participants noted an increase in students' contact with school counselors. The majority (over 80%) of school counselors responding to this survey noted that students preferred interaction with their peers, while interaction with classroom teachers decreased. Table 3 shows school counselors' perceptions of students' behaviors related to social interactions.

Safety issues emerged from this study. The majority (91%) of participating school counselors reported a decrease in the school facilities and resources after the devastation of property by Hurricane Ike. All participants noted an increase in faculty and staff training on safety concerns. Increased compliance with safety regulations was reported by 95% of school counselors responding to this survey. Table 4 shows perceptions of safety concerns of the participating school counselors.

Qualitative Findings

The participants of this study were invited to share their concerns and recommendations for schools to be responsive to students' behaviors and needs. Four themes emerged: concern for students, concern for students' safety, concerns for preparedness and training, and concerns about state and federal agencies. Selected quotes that represent these areas are as follows:

Concern for Students

Concern for students was expressed by participating school counselors in the statements below:

> "I am concerned that the symptoms of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in children due to Hurricane Ike are being overlooked or dismissed for various reasons both at home and at school. Not all children know how to express what they are feeling, and sadly enough they are not always given the opportunity to learn. I fear that the effects of the storm and its aftermath on our children may not be detected immediately and could be dismissed or misread once they surface."
>
> "I am concerned that there are students living in less than safe circumstances for extended periods of time."
>
> "[I am concerned about] our students losing their homes, clothes, and supplies."
>
> "I am concerned about the lack of provision of counseling services to families in devastated communities."

"Family stress is a concern. Some families are still displaced and many have lost income or jobs. I am concerned about how children will react [during the] next hurricane season. Teachers have also dealt with stress, more illness, depression, and days missed to deal with the loss, rebuilding or move."
"[I see a need for] group support for children and adults to get together and vent, and share stories. Support groups are great if done correctly."
"Our campus was a total loss and we are doing everything in our power to make things as normal for the students [as possible]. But teachers also had losses at home and it has been a difficult year for them to deal with so much destruction."

Concern for Safety/Preparedness

Participating school counselors expressed concern for general safety and community preparedness in the following statements:
"I was disturbed by the speed in which the district responded to the evacuation timeline. I feel that the school district could have released everyone [on] Wednesday at the close of the school day instead of the following day."
"School safety and information given to the public regarding city conditions after a disaster are a concern."
"[I am concerned about] the cost to tax payers for rescue and relief. And citizens who take advantage of programs designed to provide relief to the suffering – not the greedy."
"Encourage other school districts not affected by these disasters to pitch in and donate supplies, etc. Increase in [the dollar amount on] Lone Star cards for emergency uses with stipulations they be used for food and clothing."
"Individual citizens should be more prepared and self reliant – not depending on the government to support them."
"Have a flood plan in place; [have] procedures prior to evacuation from hurricanes to preserve as many materials as possible."

Training Concerns

Participating school counselors identified training need for both adults and children through the following comments:
"[I see a need for] educational programs that emphasize improving the student's resilience and hope in spite of obstacles."
"[I see a need for] educational programs, community outreach, after school activities [and] clubs, connecting [with] local churches and families."

Frustration about State and Federal Issues

Participating school counselors expressed frustration about state and federal issues through the following statements:
"[I saw a need for] co-ordination of county resources and personnel."
"[It] would be nice to have more positive involvement from agencies in helping rebuild our community."
"[I saw a need for] more information about help at the county level."
"Help make us more aware of agencies that can help in our recovery."

Summary and Conclusions

This study used online survey methodology and qualitative reflections to examine perceptions of 52 school counselors from Southeast Texas about students' behaviors following the devastating Hurricane Ike in September 2008. The majority of participants were White between the ages of 51 to 60 years of age with 6 to 10 years of school counseling experience.

Four areas of concern emerged from this study: concern for students' welfare, concern for safety and preparedness, training needs for counselors, and a lack of support and interaction among governmental agencies.

Regarding student concerns, the participants observed an increase in homelessness for students and their families. Counselors noted that parents concerns focused on repairs to homes and returning to their jobs, resulting in a decrease in involvement in students' school activities. Participants noted that students reacted to the stress of their parents and family members. The majority of participating school counselors observed that students and families needed access to counseling services to bolster emotional and psychological needs.

Participating school counselors observed that students turned to their peers for support and emotional needs corresponding with a decrease in the ability to work independently in the classroom. Counselors observed that students needed time to interact with each other and to return to normal routines.

All participants reported an increase in students' interactions with school counselors and school administrators corresponding to the increase in student behavior referrals and challenging behaviors. Students were observed decreasing interactions with teachers corresponding with the decrease in academic focus.

Participating school counselors reported a need for improved interagency interactions and cooperation to provide effective services to students and families. Participants reported a need for more information on services provided through state agencies and county government offices.

Recommendations

For Counseling in Schools

The following recommendations may be considered by school counselors and other mental health practitioners in responding to needs of students, families, and communities following a natural disaster such as Hurricane Ike. School counselors may consider training and preparation in:

1. The use of a classroom guidance curriculum with children and adolescents following a traumatic event such as a hurricane.
2. The use of small group and individual counseling with students following a traumatic event.
3. The use of the most appropriate treatment modalities for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder, Depression, and Anxiety among children and adolescents following a traumatic event.
4. The use of the Comprehensive School Guidance and Counseling Model when providing services to all students following a natural disaster.

For Community Support

To be responsive to families and community needs, school counselors may consider obtaining access to the following:

5. A list of qualified licensed psychotherapists experienced in treating children and adolescents with Posttraumatic Stress Disorder.
6. A list of agencies that provide housing and medical assistance to families following a disaster.

For Counselors' Professionalism

Regarding the professional school counselor's skills and knowledge, the following ethical guideline is emphasized:

7. Professional School Counselors should be aware of their professional limitations when providing counseling services to children and adolescents following a natural disaster.

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Appendix 1

Table 1
Counselors' Perceptions of Student Behavior Issues: Basic Needs N = 52

Student Behavior: Basic Needs			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Homelessness	√		100
Daily attendance		√	91
Emotional stability		√	95
Parental involvement		√	98

Table 2
Counselors' Perceptions of Student Behavior Issues: Academic focus/Classroom Behavior N = 52

Student Behavior: Academic Focus/Classroom Behavior			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Academic focus		√	93
Working independently		√	100
Behavior referrals/disciplinary infractions in the classroom	√		77
Fighting in school	√		86
Referrals for disruptive behavior	√		75
Interest in extra curricular activities		√	96

Table 3
Counselors' Perceptions of Student Behavior Issues: Student Social Interaction N = 52

Student Behavior: Student Social Interaction			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Interaction with school administrators	√		91
Responsiveness to teachers		√	84
Interaction with school counselors	√		100
Social interaction with peers	√		82
Responsiveness to peers	√		84

Table 4
Counselors' Perceptions of Safety and Facilities Management N = 52

Safety and Facilities Management			
Behavior	Increase	Decrease	% Participants
Class facilities and resources		√	91
Faculty/staff training	√		100
Safety regulation compliance	√		95

The Transformation of Contemporary American Higher Education

Thomas R. Whiddon and Clarence E. Burns, University of Montana
Mandy L. Whiddon, Creighton Law School

In 2008, an anthology entitled *What is Wrong with Academia Today? Essays on the Politicization of American Education* was published.[2] The collection of essays assessed trends in higher education and their impact upon the future of academia, especially, the consequences of bureaucratization and corporatization on higher education. In the "Foreword" the late Dr. Harbison Pool wrote "Corporate leaders are attempting to turn students into amendable employees. Educators should resist this intrusion and affirm the broader ideals of a democratic society."[3] Of the many trends in higher education, it is the growing influence of the corporate- model, reinforced by America's judicial system, that is markedly redefining the academy for the 21st century.

Because faculty governance is often slow and cumbersome, corporate officials, along with the support of CEO-leaning university presidents, have begun to manipulate the academy for their own gains by streamlining the university so it will be more responsive to the nuances of the market place.[4] David Kirp, in *Shakespeare, Einstein, and the Bottom Line: The Marketing of Higher Education,* contrasts the values of the academy and those of the "market" in the following quote: "Still, embedded in the very idea of the university . . . are values that the market does not honor: the belief in a community of scholars and not a confederacy of self-seekers; in the idea of openness and not ownership; in the professor as a pursuer of truth and not an entrepreneur; in the student as an acolyte whose preferences are to be formed, not a consumer whose preferences are to be satisfied."[5] With "market" values serving as the guide for institutions, the primary mission of the academy, which has historically been to foster a learning environment where students can critically pursue truths, is being threatened by corporate dogmatisms.

Higher education should be a catalyst for promoting democratic ideals.[6] In 1938, the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association (NEA) developed a statement of aims known as the *Purposes of Education in American Democracy.*[7] The central purpose promoted by NEA appeared to be a balanced education with a distinctive emphasis on character, citizenship, and democracy. The Albert Shanker Institute, endowed by the American Federation of Teachers, published *Education for Democracy:* A *Statement of Principles*, a shared endeavor by a diverse group of distinguished Americans from labor, public policy, government, education, and business that encouraged educators to instill in America's youth a deep attachment to democratic values.[8] American government also has promoted democracy through education as is evidenced by public declaration on the official U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs website where it states:

> Every society transmits its habits of mind, social norms, culture, and ideals from one generation to the next. There is a direct connection between education and democratic values: in democratic societies, educational content and practice support habits of democratic governance. This education transmission process is vital in a democracy because effective democracies are dynamic, evolving forms of government that demand independent thinking by the citizenry. Democratic norms and practices should be taught in order for people to understand and appreciate their opportunities and responsibilities as free citizens.[9]

In addition to nurturing democratic ideals, another conventional view fostered by major American social institutions is *pluralism*. Pluralism and democracy are similar in that both promote shared responsibility for propagating cultural well-being. The pluralistic image acknowledges the diversity of interests and considers the ideology of equality, co-ownership, and widespread participation fundamental components in shaping cultural tendencies. In other words, pluralism contends that ". . . a broad and diverse set of social institutions, organizations, and interest groups embodies the beliefs, values, and worldviews of society's citizens. This model asserts that power is exerted by a multitude of interests whose countervailing centers of power check each other to prevent abusive power and agenda-setting by any one group."[10]

The basic tenets of democracy are the basic tenets of pluralism. Both concepts endorse the importance of collective representation. Both maintain that America's most important principles—equality, opportunity, freedom—are the embodiment of consensus. Because widespread participation is a fundamental mechanism in democracy and pluralism, no group or class is favored significantly over others. A democratic and pluralistic framework is a model of society designed to elevate the importance of the common good and negate the excesses of elitism.

Recently, however, foundational principles of democracy and pluralism have come under extensive pressure from the court system. In 1985, Justice Lewis Powell wrote a supportive opinion in *Regents of University of Michigan v. Ewing* that initially appears to support the faculty as they conduct their academic responsibilities. However, his concurrent judgment, when it is deconstructed and examined in context, especially in light of Justice Powell's background, established an ominous precedent that redefines an institution of higher learning as a corporate entity possessing academic freedom—i.e., "a reluctance to trench on . . . state and local **educational institutions** and our responsibility to safeguard **their academic freedom,** 'a special concern of the First Amendment.'"[11] Giving educational institutions academic freedom grants them "personhood," in much the same way that U. S. Supreme Court Justice Morrison Remick Waite in the 1886 *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad Company* decision granted it to corporations."[12]

After Judge Lewis Powell inserted his opinion that "education institutions" possessed "academic freedom," some appellate judges began shifting their decisions away from the "university as a community" and toward "university possessing personhood." The shift at this point, though questionable, bestowed greater power on administrators. In *Parate v. Isabor*, the appellate court ruled that administrators do not possess the right to order or force a faculty member to alter a grade.[13] However, the court went on to say that a professor has no constitutional interest in the grade a student ultimately receives. Therefore, after a faculty member submits a grade, the administration can alter grades without interfering with that faculty member's First Amendment rights. In other words, administrators can change student grades after a professor officially registers them. This is a disconcerting ruling for all faculty members who cherish their professional responsibility in evaluating student performance.

Some recent appellate court rulings are even more disturbing, in terms of the established tradition of academic freedom, as they have accepted the interpretation of educational institutions as the "speaker" with "rights of individuals" and in some cases those that supersede rights of professors. In *Edwards v. California University of Pennsylvania*, the Appellate Judges opined: "Since the University's actions in the instant case concerned the content of the education it provides. . . .we find that the University was acting as a speaker and was entitled to make content-based choices. . . . In sum, case law from the Supreme Court and this court on academic freedom and the First Amendment compel the conclusion that Edwards does not have a constitutional right to choose curriculum materials in contravention of the University's dictates."[14] This decision is in sharp contrast to Justice Brennan's majority opinion in *Keyishian v. Board of Regents of University of State of N.Y* where he declared:

> "Our Nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom…to the teachers concerned. That freedom is thereforea special concern of the First Amendment" … [15]

In *Brown v. Armenti*, the United States Court of Appeals ruled against Robert Brown, a tenured professor, who refused to change a grade when President Angelo Armenti demanded he do so;

subsequently, Brown was fired after criticizing the president's policy.[16] The decision stated: "We concluded that no violation occurred because in the classroom, the university was the speaker and the professor was the agent of the university for First Amendment purposes."[17] This change of defining universities as the "speaker" (person) with freedoms and the faculty the "agent" (representative) of the "speaker" usurps the traditional role of the professor as the speaker with beliefs and theories that historically shaped the mission of the academy. *Brown v. Armenti* represents the realization of the agenda that Powell brought to the bench: the expansion of corporate influence and the application of corporate principles to the university, which was now fully realized in American law.[18]

These court rulings have begun to countervail what has long been the heart and soul of the academy—the faculty being primary participants in controlling academic affairs, working conditions, due process, faculty status, and scholarly merit.[19] The underlying premise for such involvement is that faculty, not administrators or students, possess the utmost expertise in these matters. Let us be reminded that it was faculty, not administrators, who most acutely perceived the toxic effect that a business mind-set could have on academic life in the early 20th century.[20] In defense of untainted intellectual inquiry, many university scholars publicly rebuked commercial imperatives during the early part of the 1900s. The number of professors being arbitrarily dismissed because they challenged the excessive industrial influence over academia or for their political views was the precursor to the eventual creation of the AAUP in 1915. With this in mind, university faculty need safeguards, not adequately provided by the Constitution, that protects them from intimidation or loss of employment when they challenge existing authority.

As corporate mentality erodes academia, corporate intervention significantly threatens the time honored democratic traditions of faculty governance and academic freedom. According to Robert Jensen, a professor of journalism at the University of Texas, with the fundamental essence of university life becoming an insatiable quest for dollars, corporations are undemocratic internally and usually hostile to democracy externally.[21] Jensen also states that at its core is the view that corporate capitalism is about concentrating power while democracy is about spreading power as widely as possible.

In the book *University Inc.: The Corporate Corruption of Higher Education*, Jennifer Washburn assesses what she considers the deteriorating state of American higher education.[22] Her primary treatise is that commercial interests are transforming every aspect of the academy. Consequently, the search for truth has been distorted due to an insatiable attack on impartial inquiry. Conflict of interest appears to be an acceptable casualty in university environments. Washburn depicts several changes in the academy that is redefining the institution of higher education into a commercialized academy. Some of those indictments are as follows:

- A growing dependence by universities to negotiate corporate contracts which benefit the private sector;
- The increased participation of universities in the military-industrial complex;
- The birth of the Market-Model University;
- The erosion of open scientific culture in favor of the proprietary corporate culture;
- Increased corporate influence and financial support and the conflicts of interest regarding ownership of data, results, discovery, and knowledge;
- The university as business; putting profits first and public interest last;
- The redefinition of faculty expectations: emphasizing the pursuit of research that has patentable commercial ends; turning over teaching responsibilities to part-time, adjunct faculty; star professors are those bring in large external grants; teaching prowess is no longer a meritorious or highly regarded quality;
- Administrators are coming directly from industry or are recruited for their corporate know-how, not their educational experience.

If the market-model university and privatization become the prevailing principle of academic funding paradigms, corporate takeover and control is inevitable. Rather than consider private sector solutions to

contemporary funding problems, higher education officials, faculty, lawmakers, and other civic-minded participants should focus their collective energies advocating full financial investiture in support of democracy and public guardianship. We must relentlessly argue for educational accessibility and affordability in support of the common good. The argument that privatization is necessary to offset eroding state appropriations is weak and rationale when proper perspective is applied—America is the most powerful and wealthiest nation in the world. Education, from this standpoint combined with its role as a social institution, is a cultural, political, economic, and democratic obligation. It should be a matter of highest priority. The commercialization of higher education is threatening the altruistic function of the academy, making it difficult to fulfill its historic purpose—to serve American society as the ultimate conduit for democratic and pluralistic nourishment. For better or worse, according to Woodruff D. Smith, a professor of history and past Dean of Liberal Arts at the University of Massachusetts Boston, American higher education, the American public sphere, and American democracy rise and fall together.[23]

Thus, the transformation to a corporate-model higher education system is being reinforced by recent court cases on student grades and academic freedom which have undercut the professor's autonomy as a citizen in the "community of American universities" and classified the professor as being an "Agent" to the "Speaker" (University). Redefining the professor's role in this light provides the administration with immense power, as was evident, in the retaliatory case where a tenured professor was fired for criticizing the President (i.e., *Brown v. Armenti*).[24] This view is contrary to a democracy where the source of authority, the legitimate basis of power, should be the majority, not an elite few. Turning the academy over to private investors and administrators, acting as corporate managers, while disregarding the university community and the fundamental significance of shared governance is antithetical to fundamental precepts of democracy. It is time to understand the mutually dependent relationship between democracy and higher education. Let us not relinquish ownership of what may be our last surviving bastion of democratic and pluralistic principles.

Footnotes

[1] This paper is an assimilation of two essays --"Pluralism and Democracy: Fading value Systems in American Higher Education" by Clarence E. Burns; "Student Grades: A Portal for Corporatizing the Academy" by Thomas R. Whiddon, Clarence E. Burns, and Mandy L. Whiddon -- in *What is Wrong with Academia Today? Essays on the Politicization of American Education.*

[2] Wirth, Wirth, Whiddon, and Manson. *What is Wrong with Academia Today?*

[3] Pool, "Shaping the Future."

[4] Sethuraman, "Corporatizing the University."

[5] Kirp, *Shakespeare, Einstein, and the Bottom Line*, 7.

[6] Dewey, *Democracy and Education*; Giroux, *Living Dangerously;* Goodlad, Mantle-Bromley and Goodlad, *Education for Everyone*; Gutmann, *Democratic Education*; Roosevelt, "Good Citizenship," 4, 94 and 97.

[7] Educational Policies Commission, *Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. In 1938, the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association (NEA) developed a Statement of aims known as the *Purposes of Education in American Democracy*

[8] American Federation of Teachers, *Education for Democracy.*

[9] Bureau of International Information Programs (IIP), *Principles of Democracy*. The quote came from one of the 21 one-page primers produced by the IIP.

[10] Sage, *Power and Ideology in American Sport*.

[11] *Regents of University of Michigan v. Ewing, 474 U.S. 214, 106 S.Ct. 507 (1985).*

[12] Project P.A.T.C.H. *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad Company 118 U.S. 394 (1886).*

[13] *Parate v. Isabor, 868 F.2d 821 (Tenn. 1989).*

[14] *Edwards v. California University of Pennsylvania, 156 F.3d 488 (3rd Cir. 1998), cert denied, 525 U.S. 1143 (1999); Edward v. California State University of Pennsylvania, 156 F. 3d 488 (3rd Cir. 1998).*

[15] *Keyishian v. Board of Regents of University of State of N.Y., 385 U.S. 589, 87 S. Ct. 675, 171, L.Ed. 2d 629 (1967).*

[16] *Brown v. Armenti, 247 F. 3d 69 (3rd Cir. 2001).* Robert Brown was a professor for 28 years at California University of Pennsylvania. He assigned a grade of "F" to a graduate student because she only attended 3 of 15 class sessions. President Angelo Armenti ordered Professor Brown to change the grade to an "I". He refused and the university suspended him from teaching the course. He wrote a scathing review of President Armenti for presentation to the University Board of Trustees. Two years later Professor Brown was terminated. Circuit Judge Mansmann held: "(1) professor had no First Amendment right to expression regarding grade assignment: (2) professor did not satisfy his burden in responding to summary judgment motion when he failed to set forth protected speech in review critical of president that allegedly led to his firing; and (3) criticism of university president did not concern.

[17] *Brown v. Armenti, 247 F. 3d 69 (3rd Cir. 2001),* 5.

[18] *Regents of University of Michigan v. Ewing, 474 U.S. 214, 106 S.Ct. 507 (1985).*

[19] Gerber, "Inextricably Linked."

[20] Washburn, *University Inc.*

[21] Jensen, "Corporate Power is the Enemy of Our Democracy," A34.

[22] Washburn, *University Inc.*

[23] Smith, "Higher Education, Democracy, and the Public Sphere."

[24] *Brown v. Armenti, 247 F. 3d 69 (3rd Cir. 2001).*

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"Last Lion: The Fall and Rise of Ted Kennedy"
Book Review

It's been said that a camel is a horse made in committee. That's meant as an insult, not only to camels but to committees generally. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of a committee effort has been recently redeemed in the form of a biography on the late senator from Massachusetts, Edward M. Kennedy. Compiled by the "Team at The Boston Globe," and edited by that newspaper's Washington Bureau chief, Peter S. Canellos, this 480 page bio—published by Simon & Schuster and titled "Last Lion: The Fall and Rise of Ted Kennedy"—is remarkably fluid and coherent in its retelling of Senator Kennedy's noteworthy life story.

It begins at 8:19 a.m. on Saturday, May 17, 2008. That was roughly the time at which Kennedy—the longtime patriarch of the storied Kennedy clan—experienced a seizure at his home in the family's Hyannis Port compound. Three days later, doctors had made their grim diagnosis: The Senator suffered from a malignant brain tumor.

Despite beginning at the end of the Senator's three-quarters of a century on earth—nearly two-thirds of which was spent as a member of the world's most exclusive club, the hundred member upper-house of the United States Congress—the crew of scribes at The Globe don't miss a nuance in describing the various personal periods and historical epochs of Kennedy's extraordinary lifetime.

Edward—who would come to be referenced in the increasingly affectionate monikers of Ted, Teddy, and (to those closest to him) Uncle Teddy—was the youngest child of Rose and Joseph Kennedy's nine children. Chubby and good-natured as a youngster, no one could have suspected that this cherub of a child, the perennial baby brother of this well-positioned New England brood, would one day be among the most powerful and influential United States Senators in American history, while also—at the youthful age of 36—becoming the Kennedy paterfamilias, as well as the standard-bearer of the Kennedy name.

As the subtitle implies—"The Fall and Rise of Ted Kennedy—the "Last Lion" doesn't avoid or pull-its-punches with regard to the more checkered events of the Senator's life. Documented here is the incident in which, at 19 years old, Kennedy was suspended from Harvard University for cheating on an exam in Spanish class. After an unremarkable stint in the army, Kennedy was readmitted to the university.

Subsequent to graduating, the young heir was accepted at the University of Virginia's law school. Though he earned his attorney's credentials within in the specified three year curricular period, it was not without complication. Known as a furious partier, and lover of fast cars, Kennedy was arrested, charged, and convicted of reckless driving in Virginia. In another instance during his stint at Virginia, Kennedy drove a car into a swimming pool. That stunt became a frat-boy legend among the legions of Kennedy hangers-on.

Also, more serious trespasses, as well as the devastating tragedies of Kennedy's life, are explored in "Last Lion." The events of Chappaquiddick—the 1969 auto mishap, wherein Kennedy ran off a bridge while transporting a campaign worker, Mary Jo Kopechne, home from a late night party—are vividly and disturbingly recounted here. Kennedy left the scene of the accident; Kopechne drowned there.

Moreover, "Last Lion" lucidly illustrates how, as the youngest of his generation of Kennedys, Ted seemed shadowed by death from early in his life until his last days. In 1944, Ted's oldest brother, Joe Jr., would lose his life in a secret military bombing mission over the skies of Europe. Four years later, Ted's beloved sister, Kathleen, died in a plane crash. Of course, in 1963, Ted's brother, President John Kennedy, was assassinated in Dallas, Texas. And, in June of 1968, Ted's only other male sibling would also die from an assassin's bullet while campaigning for the presidency. In addition, several Kennedy nephews and in-laws would die and, as was the case in the 1999 death of John Kennedy, Jr., Ted would preside in making arrangements and shouldering his huge family's grief. With John, Jr., Ted was called upon to perform the grisly task of identifying his 39 year-old nephew's remains, retrieved from the Atlantic Ocean after the small plane he was piloting crashed in route to a cousin's wedding.

Still, amidst the troubled times, there were the triumphs. As the third longest serving senator in U.S. History, Kennedy helped forge over 300 bills that became laws. Everything from the American with Disabilities Act to No Child Left Behind has been somehow shaped by the will of Senator Edward Kennedy. In 1991, after a scandalous trial in which his nephew—William Kennedy Smith (who had been out drinking cocktails with Uncle Teddy)—was acquitted of charges of rape, Senator Kennedy made a public vow to remediate his flawed behaviors. He subsequently married Victoria Reggie, 22 years his junior, and at last found marital bliss (after a controversial divorce from his first wife, Joan—with whom he had three children).

It was in the last seventeen years of his life that Kennedy became a beloved husband and a powerhouse political player, the likes of which has rarely been in the chambers of the United States Senate. In a life as charmed as it was cursed, Kennedy was a man of force, fairness, and magnanimity. Through focus and persistence Kennedy eventually evolved into his best self. After a nearly debilitating airplane crash in 1964 and a failed 1980 presidential bid, Kennedy slowly hit his stride as a politician and as a person.

The Senator's endorsement became a major factor in the election of Barack Obama to the presidency. And now, what Kennedy claimed as "the cause of my life"—an American system of universal healthcare—seems on the brink of becoming a reality. The lion's roar still echoes. In his memoir, "True Compass," Kennedy lends his own perspective to his life. "Last Lion" is, almost by definition, a more objective account of Kennedy's years, but it is nonetheless heartfelt and insightful. Ted Kennedy is an enduring figure from whom we can all learn much about direction, development, and dedication. Long live the Lion.

Ben Miles, National University