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The Relationship Between Symptoms of Posttraumatic Stress and Levels of Self-efficacy in Sexually Abused Children

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Abstract

Sexually abused children often display symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Past studies have explored the effects of childhood sexual abuse using adult samples, but little research has been conducted with children who have been sexually abused. The present study examined childhood PTSD and its relation to self-efficacy in a sample of 39 children (7 males, 32 females) ranging in age from 8 through 18 years ($M = 12.5$ years old). Each participant’s level of PTSD was assessed using the Trauma Checklist for Children, and level of self-efficacy was assessed using The General Self-Efficacy scale. Results indicated a negative relationship between levels of PTSD and self-efficacy. The authors suggested that there is a need to focus therapeutic strategies that enhance self-efficacy to lower PTSD symptoms.

Keywords: sexual abuse, PTSD, self-efficacy, children

According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV-TR; American Psychiatric Association, 2000), posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) develops after an individual experiences, witnesses, or faces an extraordinarily stressful event involving “actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others” (p. 467). The traumatic event leads to persistent re-experiencing, avoidance of stimuli associated with the stressor, and increased arousal. In children, the feelings of helplessness and fear may manifest as disorganized or agitated behavior. The lifetime prevalence of PTSD in the general population approximates 8%, with females twice as likely to meet diagnostic criteria as males (DSM-IV-TR, 2000; Maxmen, Ward, & Kilgus, 2009).

Retrospective research involving adults has linked child sexual abuse to higher prevalence rates of PTSD among women. Saunders, Villeponteaux, Lipovsky, Kilpatrick, and Veronen (1992) sampled 391 adult women to assess the risk for developing mental health disorders in victims of child sexual assault, which they categorized as rape, molestation, and noncontact assault. The results indicated that 33.5% ($n = 131$) experienced at least one sexual assault before 18 years of age. Of those respondents, 63.2% of molestation victims ($n = 57$) and 66.7% of rape victims ($n = 39$) reported a lifetime history of sexual disorders, 33.3% of molestation victims and 64.1% of rape victims reported a lifetime history of PTSD, and 45.6% of molestation victims and 48.7% of rape victims reported a lifetime history of depression. These findings ranked PTSD third in prevalence for molestation victims and second in prevalence for rape victims. Epstein, Saunders, and Kilpatrick (1997) found a lifetime prevalence rate of 26% among a sample of 288 adult women who reported childhood rape ($n = 74$). Briere (as cited in Epstein et al., 1997) noted that 54% of adult victims of child sexual abuse reported anxiety attacks, 54% reported nightmares, and 72% reported sleep disturbances.

Given the high frequency of child sexual abuse and the adverse impact on victims, several researchers have investigated PSTD symptoms among child samples. Deblinger, McLeer, Atkins, Ralphe, and Foa (1989) reviewed medical records 29 sexually abused, 29 physically abused, and 29 nonabused children admitted to a child-inpatient treatment facility. Their record review found that 20.7% of the sexually abused, 6.9% of the physically abused, and 10.3% of the nonabused children appeared to meet diagnostic criteria for PTSD. Sexually abused children displayed more re-experiencing PTSD symptoms and more
sexually inappropriate behaviors. Both sexually abused and physically abused children tended to display more avoidant/dissociative PTSD symptoms than did children in the nonabused group. King et al. (2000) included the Deblinger et al. (1989) study in their brief review of studies involving samples of sexually abused children who met diagnostic criteria for PTSD. The prevalence rates from the four cited studies in the King et al. review ranged from 26% to 50%. The extant research literature clearly indicates that children who have experienced child sexual abuse frequently display PTSD-related symptoms such as high levels of anxiety, depressive symptoms, hypervigilance, nightmares, social withdrawal, sleep problems, anger, shame or guilt, and school difficulties. Children who have experienced sexual abuse may also demonstrate other symptoms such as problems with gender identity, impaired social skills, increased aggression, mental inflexibility, disruptions in personal hygiene, compulsive compliance, and physical symptoms such as headaches and stomachaches (Deblinger et al., 1989; King et al., 2000; Reyes & Asbrand, 2005).

The trauma associated with child sexual abuse and the potentially adverse impact of PTSD symptoms combine to hinder the normal development of self-efficacy in victims of child sexual abuse (Diehl & Prout, 2002). Bandura defined perceived self-efficacy as an individual’s belief about one’s ability to engage in actions that will successfully produce a desired result or outcome (Bandura, Pastorelli, Barbaranelli, & Caprara, 1999). Diehl and Prout (2002) noted that the combination of sexual abuse and symptoms of PTSD diminished individual perceptions of self-efficacy, with victims of child sexual abuse reporting less competence, lower acceptance by others, less self-esteem, more inferiority, more negative self-evaluations, and more negative core beliefs than peers who had not experienced abuse. According to Diehl and Prout, the combination of trauma and PTSD symptoms forces a child to attend to external threats, which inhibits the child’s ability to develop self-awareness skills and hinders the development of healthy self-efficacy. Therefore, children who have experienced sexual abuse frequently report cognitive distortions such as self-blame for negative events, lack of control over positive events, lack of trust in interpersonal relationships, and heightened perceptions of personal shortcomings or flaws.

Research has linked self-efficacy to self- and emotional regulation (Bandura et al., 1999). Diehl and Prout (2002) defined self-regulation as one’s ability to direct personal actions, thoughts, and feelings in an adaptive way and emotional regulation as one’s ability to manage or modulate the intensity and duration of emotion. Luszczynska, Scholz, and Schwarzer (2005) noted that self-efficacy encompassed one’s beliefs in their capabilities to exert control over challenging situations and over their own functioning. Emotional regulation contributes to one’s ability to cope with environmental stressors (Diehl & Prout, 2002). For example, individuals who believe in their abilities experienced less stress and were not as susceptible to depression as those who did not believe that they could succeed (Bandura et al., 1999). Victims of child sexual abuse are less likely to use effective emotional regulation skills, leaving them less likely to use social support or problem-solving strategies and more likely to use emotion-focused strategies such as distraction and avoidance. If the combination of trauma and PTSD symptoms seriously hampers a child’s perception of self-efficacy and prompts the use of emotion-focused strategies, a lower sense of self-efficacy will exacerbate PTSD symptoms by increasing distraction and avoidance.

Luszczynska et al. (2005) provided empirical evidence of the negative relationship between general self-efficacy (GSE) and negative emotions. They conducted a meta-analysis to examine the relationship between GSE and several social-cognitive constructs including, among others, domain-specific optimistic beliefs, negative affect, and coping with stressful situations. Luszczynska et al. hypothesized that individuals with high GSE would demonstrate lower levels of negative affect. Additionally, they hypothesized that high GSE would be associated with more frequent use of active problem-focused coping strategies and less use of passive coping strategies. Luszczynska et al. used a combined sample of 1,933 participants in three countries (Germany, Poland, and South Korea). Participants between the ages of 15 – 86 years of age completed the General Self-Efficacy Scale-Revised (GSE-R; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1995), a measure that specifically assesses one’s sense of personal agency or beliefs about one’s ability or perceived self-efficacy to exercise control over events that impact one’s life (Bandura et al., 1999). As predicted, those who had a low self-efficacy reported higher negative affect. These findings are consistent with research that suggests that child sexual abuse potentially leads to distorted
cognitions about self and that the resulting negative self-evaluations and negative core beliefs adversely impact the development of healthy perceptions of self-efficacy (Diehl & Prout, 2002).

Most of the research investigating the relationship between PTSD symptoms and perceived self-efficacy has included adult participants who have experienced health-related trauma, effects of war, recovery from substance abuse, or natural disaster. There is limited research using child samples to investigate the relationships among child sexual abuse, PTSD symptoms, and perceived self-efficacy. We sought to extend existing literature by exploring the relationships among child sexual abuse, PTSD symptoms, and self-efficacy in a sample of children. Based on the research of Diehl and Prout (2002), we hypothesized that child sexual abuse and reported PTSD symptoms would negatively correlate with high levels of self-efficacy in child victims of sexual abuse. This study also extends the existing literature by using child participants who were just entering treatment for sexual abuse or who were already seeing a counselor.

Method
Participants
The sample included 39 (7 males, 32 females) participants ranging in age from 8 to 18 years (M = 12.5). The mean age for males in this sample was 10.3 years; the mean age for females was 13.1 years. Of the 39 participants, 20 were Hispanic (2 males, 18 females), 16 were white non-Hispanic (5 males, 11 females), and 3 were African American (3 females). The participants were assessed at the time of intake or by their counselors during one of their first sessions at a regional community rape/crisis counseling center.

Measures
Trauma Symptom Checklist for Children. Participants completed the Trauma Symptom Checklist for Children (TSCC) in order to determine the extent to which they were suffering from PTSD symptoms. The TSCC is a self-report measure of posttraumatic stress and related psychological symptomatology intended for children from 7 – 18 years of age who had experienced traumatic events such as physical or sexual abuse, major loss, natural disaster, or had witnessed violence. The reliability of the scales in the normative sample indicated a high internal consistency for five of the six clinical scales ranging from .82 to .89.

Each participant was administered the General Self-Efficacy Scale-Revised (GSE-R; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1995). According to Luszczynska at al. (2005), the GSE scale was a self-report measure originally developed in Germany and subsequently translated to 28 different languages. The GSE scale is intended for ages 12 years and older, but personal communication (February, 2008) with R. Schwarzer, Freie University of Berlin, indicated that the GSE scale would work well for children from age 8 years old and above. The GSE scale consists of 10 Likert-scale items ranging from 1 (“Not at all”) to 4 (“Exactly true”). The GSE has demonstrated high reliability; Luszczynska et al. reported internal consistency ranging from .86 to .90 in a sample of 1,933 German, South Korean, and Polish participants.

Intensity of abuse. The intensity of abuse was assessed on a four-item scale. The four-item scale included four categories: having been visually or verbally sexualized (lowest rank of 1), having been asked to touch someone in a way that made them uncomfortable (rank of 2), having someone touch them in a manner that made them uncomfortable (rank of 3), and having been penetrated (rank of 4).

Procedure
Parents or guardians signed a statement of informed consent, and assent was obtained from each child. Each child completed the TSCC and GSE scale under the supervision of the intake counselor or the participant’s own counselor. Completion of both measures took 15 – 20 minutes. The counselor ranked the severity of the reported sexual abuse using the 4-point ranking system. Participants received debriefing information upon completion of the self-report measures. The participants were all volunteers and received no compensation for participating.

Results
The overall TSCC and Self-Efficacy scale scores were calculated for each participant, and then two primary statistical analyses were conducted. First, a correlational analysis was used to examine the
relationship between reported PTSD symptoms and perceived self-efficacy. As hypothesized, the results indicated a statistically significant negative relationship between PTSD symptoms and self-efficacy \( r_{16} = 0.47, p < .05 \).

The second analysis utilized a split-half method and divided the sample into two groups according to scores on the TSCC. The median TSCC score was used to establish a high PTSD-symptom group (those above 50%) and a low PTSD-symptom group (those below 50%). Those in the high PTSD-symptom group range obtained a mean GSE score of 48.42, whereas those in the low PTSD-symptom group obtained a mean GSE score of 59.16. The difference was statistically significant \( t_{(37)} = 3.23, p < .05 \).

Subsequent analyses were conducted to explore whether the intensity of the abuse had any impact or whether there was an effect of gender or age. Two separate one-way analyses of variance were performed to ascertain if different intensities of sexual abuse influenced the level of PTSD symptoms or GSE. The results indicated that the intensity rankings of the sexual abuse did not have a statistically significant impact on PTSD symptoms \( F(1, 37) = .64, ns \) or on perceived GSE \( F(1, 37) = .015, ns \). Separate t-tests did not reveal statistically significant differences in scores between sexes for the TSCC \( t_{37} = .06, ns \) or GSE scale scores \( t_{37} = .14, ns \). Similarly, the results of two one-way analyses of variance indicated that there was no effect for age in terms of PTSD symptoms or GSE \( F(10, 28) = 1.13, ns \) and \( F(10, 28) = 1.33, ns \), respectively)

**Discussion**

The present results revealed that the magnitude of PTSD symptoms was inversely related to the children’s perceived level of self-efficacy (GSE). These results coincide with previous research with adult samples (Epstein et al., 1997; Luszczynska et al., 2005). Additionally, the results of this study fit with Diehl and Prout’s (2002) assertion that child sexual abuse adversely impacts the healthy development of self-efficacy. Finally, the present study found that reported PTSD symptoms and perceived self-efficacy did not differ by gender, which is also consistent with previous research with adults (Luszczynska et al., 2005).

The findings of this study indicated a lack of relationship between child sexual abuse severity and subsequent responses on self-report measures. This contrasts with previous research (Epstein et al., 1997; Saunders et al., 1992) utilizing adult samples, which found that different types of sexual abuse impacted PTSD symptoms and levels of self-efficacy. Although the results of this study provide some evidence that the severity of child sexual abuse is not predictive of the resulting severity of PTSD symptoms or of the degree of impairment in perceived self-efficacy in children, this study utilized clinician rankings of severity rather than children’s reported perceptions. This methodology may have diluted the detectable effects in this study.

This study has several limitations that limit its generalizability to all victims of child sexual abuse. First, the sample of children was specific to a rape/crisis counseling center, and the sample size was limited. Nevertheless, the present study extends the limited research involving PTSD symptoms and perceived feelings of self-efficacy in children who have been sexually abused. Furthermore, the results of the present study highlight the need for counselors or therapists to understand the relationship between PTSD symptoms and self-efficacy. Treatments that only address the presenting symptoms of PTSD may not provide the best outcomes for victims of child sexual abuse. Focusing on perceptions of self-efficacy may reduce the symptoms of PTSD while increasing perceptions of control and hope. While evidence provides support for the efficacy of cognitive-behavioral treatments for PTSD (King et al., 2000), future research is needed to determine whether a focus on self-efficacy skills within the cognitive therapy milieu would speed the rate of improvement and/or help maintain improvement over time.

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References


Player Development as a Common Pool Resource:  
MLB in the Dominican Republic

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Major League Baseball (MLB) has increasingly looked overseas for talent. The opening day rosters in 2011 included 234 foreign-born players, representing 27.7% of all players. The total of foreign players rises to a staggering 50% in the minor leagues, indicating that the rising role of foreign players will surely continue. But what is perhaps most fascinating about the changing face of player rosters is how waves of group-specific surges underlie the more general increase in foreign players. Cubans charted the first increase alongside a much larger boost in African-American players from the 1950s to early 1970s. Puerto Ricans offered a second wave, even as the number of African-American players dwindled. Dominicans followed in the 1990s, and the growing number of players from Venezuela may represent another dominant wave (see Table 1).

MLB has thrived as it has globalized, but the movement from one country to another threatens to decimate baseball in countries left floundering in the wake. MLB itself cannot maintain this model in the long term given the limited number of countries that embrace baseball as a national pastime. This paper problematizes the sustainability of foreign player development by casting player development as a common-pool resource. It uses the institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework developed by Elinor Ostrom and other scholars. Doing so not only exposes the relevant institutions and norms that come into play as MLB reaches outside US borders, but it also reveals how collective action dilemmas plague overseas player development.

Economic Goods and Common Pool Resources

Economists distinguish four types of goods based upon their subtractability and excludability (Levy 1995). Subtractability means that consumption leaves behind less of a good for other potential consumers. Excludability refers to the possibility that some consumers can be excluded from accessing the good, perhaps with a fence or a legal restraint. Importantly, subtractability is likely to be inherent to a good. Some goods simply are subtractable, while others are not. Excludability, however, is often more dependent on social arrangements or government regulations, and is therefore more malleable. Crossing the two attributes creates the following typology of goods:

The excludability and subtractability of a good generates distinct incentives and behaviors for producers and consumers alike. In theory, the market can manage private goods, as the abilities and desires of producers and consumers balance each other out through the pricing mechanism. But the market cannot handle a public good. No one can be excluded from using the good, so there is a tremendous incentive to consume, but little incentive to produce. Every potential producer fears that free riders will appear and enjoy the good without paying. Music can be a public good. When one listens to music, the same amount remains for an additional listener- its subtractability is almost nonexistent. But what of its excludability? One could imagine a world in which music rested entirely outside the private realm- where the very notion of ‘owning’ a tune was prohibited. In such a world, one could not make a living off music if consumers could listen for free. Any hope of revenue would be further undermined as other musicians simply listened, then replicated the same music for their own meager livelihood. Music would be a public good, and like all public goods would suffer from a problem of undersupply. But recall
that excludability can sometimes be adjusted through social arrangements. Government could create and enforce a system of intellectual property rights, and transform music into a toll good. Music retains its low subtractability, but copyright regulations establish exclusions such that the exchange of music is contained within authorized transactions between producers and consumers.

Finally, common pool resources exhibit characteristics all their own. Like public goods, there is little incentive to produce due to the fear of free riders. But because the good is subtractable, there is also an incentive to overconsume due to the fear that others may lessen the stock and leave less behind. Garritt Harden famously tagged the resultant "tragedy of the commons" in a 1968 article:

> Picture a pasture open to all….The rational herdsman concludes that the only sensible course for him to pursue is to add another animal to his herd. And another; and another... But this is the conclusion reached by each and every rational herdsman sharing a commons. Therein is the tragedy. Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his herd without limit--in a world that is limited. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all (Hardin 1968, p. 1244).

**Common Pool Resources and the IAD Framework**

Scholarship on the management of common pool resources has revolved around the pathbreaking work of Elinor Ostrom and her seminal book, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. In it and other works, Ostrom detailed the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework. At the outset, the framework notes that to sustain a common pool resource, the appropriators of that resource must work under some set of rules to regulate resource use. The effective use of these rules involves issues of supply, commitment, and monitoring. Supply refers to the very creation of the rules. If a set of rules comes into being, each appropriator must then express a credible commitment to persuade other appropriators to likewise comply. This commitment can be reinforced with effective monitoring, which entails some set of sanctions for those that disobey the rules.

But what makes the supply, commitment, and monitoring of rules more or less likely? Although there are many aspects to the IAD framework, two are particularly relevant to illuminating the conditions under which a tragedy of the commons will appear in the case of MLB player development.

**Managing Common Pool Resources: Resource and Appropriator Attributes**

Part of the answer to whether the tragedy can be avoided rests within certain attributes of the resource itself, and certain attributes of the actors. The following resource attributes are important:

1. feasible improvement- the resource is far from exhausted, or so degraded that cooperative work would be worthless
2. indicators- there exist reliable and valid indicators to evaluate the condition of the resource
3. predictability- the flow of the resource is predictable
4. spatial extent- the boundaries of the resource system are of adequate size to as to support knowledge of and access to the resource.

The following attributes of the appropriators are also conducive to collaboration on common-pool resources:

1. Dependence on the resource- the resource is closely tied to the livelihood of the appropriators;
2. Shared understanding of the resource- the appropriators have developed common ideas on how the resource works, and how their decisions affect each other;
3. Long-term view of the resource- appropriators share an assessment of the benefit of the resource over the long-term;
4. Trust and norms of reciprocity- the appropriators trust that each other will keep promises;
5. Autonomy- the appropriators are able to decide upon the appropriation rules absent outside interference
6. Prior organizational experience and leadership- appropriators have developed at least minimal skills in organization and leadership

The ten attributes together are not necessary for the rise of cooperation and the successful management of a common-pool resource. Rather, this checklist provides an indication of when collaboration is most likely to occur.
Managing Common Pool Resources: Appropriation and Provision

A second insight of the IAD framework is the distinction between appropriation rules and problems, and provision rules and problems (Ostrom, Gardner, and Walker 1994, 8-15). Appropriation refers to the level, method, and allocation of the resource. It captures the flow of the resource. Provision refers to the actual stock of the resource. Here, appropriators deal with the creation, maintenance, and improvement of a resource.

The distinction between appropriation and provision is important for two reasons. First, very actors charged with appropriation may be different than those charged with provision. Each may develop, supply, and monitor their rules differently. Second, the analytical exercise of separating appropriation and provision may reveal different types of goods. One may take on characteristics of a common pool resource, while the other may operate as a public good (Barkin and Shambaugh 1999, pp. 7-8).

MLB Player Development as a Common-Pool Resource

The market for baseball players in Latin America shares the characteristics of a common-pool resource. Access to the market is more nonexcludable than excludable. Hiring scouts and even building an academy in Latin America is a relatively inexpensive investment for most teams. The ability of wealthier teams to offer substantial signing bonuses has tapered the nonexcludability of the market somewhat, but the uncertainty of player development means that even less prosperous teams retain a chance to sign exceptional talent. Moreover, MLB has an interest in ensuring that no team gains an advantage over other teams as they recruit talent, lest the competitive play of the game suffer. Efforts by more affluent teams to corner the market triggered a recent reform that placed a $3 million cap on all foreign signings.

But MLB is not the only consumer of amateur players. National professional leagues in Latin America also compete for these players. And although they recognize that the best prospects will invariably leave the country, there is a strong interdependent link between them and MLB. On the one hand, professional leagues in Latin America can benefit from the allure MLB offers to players. More youngsters play ball when there is hope that they will sign on to a multi-million dollar contract with a MLB team. On the other hand, MLB depends on the vitality of the professional leagues to maintain a strong pool of prospects. Nothing invigorates a national pastime like the cheering crowds of capacity filled stadiums. Baseball players are thus a renewable resource, but their sustainability is not guaranteed. In so far as MLB can ‘overharvest’ institute a system that so systematically removes players that domestic leagues suffer, local interest in baseball will decline and the pool of players will spiral downward. The pool of players therefore holds subtractable attributes.

Sustainable MLB player development in a Latin American country rests on the careful balance between how MLB attracts involvement in the sport and recruits players, and the maintenance of interest in baseball within the country. The distinction between the rules of appropriation and the rules of provision in the IAD framework captures the difficulty of this balance. For several countries in Latin America, the rules of appropriation rest largely in the hands of MLB. The exceptions are Cuba, which bars appropriation, and Mexico, which aggressively regulates appropriation. But for the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, and the territory of Puerto Rico, MLB (and U.S. law, in some cases) has established its own guidelines for academy standards, age certification standards, drug testing, and the movement of players to the minor leagues in the United States. To be sure, Latin American governments regulate these rules, but MLB takes its own strong interest in how players are to be appropriated. On the other hand the rules of provision are a much more domestic affair. Dominicans, Venezuelans, and Puerto Ricans are expected to maintain the viability of baseball in their own countries. In the language of the IAD framework, the identification of who is expected and/or allowed to make the rules for appropriation and for provision differ- MLB dominates the former and largely ignores the latter. And, to make matters more difficult one could argue that while the appropriation aspects of player development take on the characteristics of a common-pool resource, the provision aspects look more like a public good in so far as we consider baseball to be a cultural resource. The dynamics are thus set such that MLB develops a strong incentive to overconsume a good (baseball players) that is dependent on a resource (baseball), which is likely to be undersupplied.
Player Development in the Dominican Republic
Why MLB has looked overseas for talent

MLB teams had always competed over prospects, but the growing profitability of baseball in the 1950s (partly due to the growing media market) triggered a surge in the signing bonuses of young recruits. Owners had informally agreed to a limit of $100,000, but a $175,000 signing in 1961, and a $205,000 signing in 1964 showed that owners would disregard the limit when faced with an opportunity. Keep in mind that salaries ran just over $14,000 at the time- and many prospects never panned out. As if the escalating costs were not concerning enough, collectively, signing bonuses also threatened the competitive balance of MLB. Larger market teams increasingly chalked up winning records by buying up prospective talent. In 1964, baseball owners could not ignore the fact that the Yankees had appeared in 14 of the past 16 World Series. In response, MLB instituted the “Amateur Free-Agent Draft.” No team could sign a player before age 18, and college players could only be touched at age 21. All prospects entered a fifty round draft that prioritized teams in the reverse order of the past season’s standings. Players had to negotiate with the team that drafted them. If they refused to sign, their only choice was to re-enter the draft the following year.

The rule changes deadened any incentives by teams to develop young players. Why invest in prospects under the age of 18, if at age 18, they could end up with any team? The rule changes effectively transformed player development into more of a private good for prospects in the United States. It was now the responsibility of underage players (more accurately, their parents) to develop their own skills through specialized training camps, tuition-based leagues, and private lessons. The lower economic standing of most African-American families (in 2011, African-American households had a 39% lower income average than white households) placed such opportunities out of reach for most. In addition, the more pronounced fracturing of African-American families (in 2011, only 42% of African-American households with children had fathers, compared to 80% in white households) made it more difficult for parents to support participation in baseball (Bailey and Shepherd 2011). The decreased interest of African-Americans in baseball curtailed the pool of US-based baseball prospects.

The precipitous increase in player salaries also affected player recruitment and development strategies. Salaries had long been stunted by the “reserve clause,” which tied players to their original team- at the discretion of the team. Through both litigation and strike activity, the players dismantled the reserve clause and replaced it with a system of free agency and salary arbitration. The system varied over the years, but at present, free agency allows a player to negotiate with any team after six seasons in MLB. Players with just two years experience can file for arbitration with the team under which they had signed. In this arrangement, both the player and the team propose a salary to an arbiter. The decision of the arbiter, which is limited to either the player or the team proposal, is binding. Salaries skyrocketed due to bidding wars for free agents. Arbitration fed the process as arbitrators looked to a constantly surging baseline of comparable worth as they decided on salaries. The average MLB salary moved from $30,000 in 1970, to $120,000 in 1979, and $245,000 in 1982. In 2010, the average salary rested at $3 million. The increase in salaries placed a premium on player recruitment. If a player’s salary surged over his first six years and judgments of comparable worth maintained them, it made sense to seek out a healthy flow of cheap, young talent.

Recruitment and player development in the United States grew more uncertain, white, and expensive, and this shifted MLB interest toward Latin America, where players could not only be developed more cheaply, but also signed at under age 18. Moreover, foreign signing bonuses rested far below those in the U.S. Although most Latinos could bargain as free agents, poverty and minimal knowledge of the contractual process kept “bonuses” to a few thousand dollars as late as the early 1990s (Ruck 2011a, 182-85). Nonetheless, it took time for these changes to make their way through major league rosters. This was due to both the career length of baseball players and the time required for recruited players to develop in the minor leagues. Hence, the ranks of African-Americans in MLB grew through the 1960s and peaked at 27% of all major leaguers in 1975, only to plummet thereafter, falling to under 10% in the 2000s. To further tax the dwindling supply, MLB expanded from 20 to 22 teams in 1969, and 26 in 1977 (4 more would be added in the 1990s). The draft was intended to cap the increase in signing bonuses, but it had...
flaws. Refusing to sign makes a player ineligible for one full year, but the prospect can simply play at the community college level for a year, continue to develop skills as if he were in the minor league system, and re-enter the draft in perhaps a stronger position. All this gives players leverage, and leads teams to offer larger and larger signing bonuses to guarantee choices, despite the draft.

**MLB Looks to the Dominican Republic**

Politics and desperate conditions placed the Dominican Republic at the center of the search for overseas talent. Mexico remained costly due to working agreements that required Mexican teams to be compensated. The embargo and migration restrictions placed Cuba off limits (Baird 2005). Puerto Rico offered a strident supply of players early on, but because its citizens had easier access to the United States and a better economy than most Caribbean countries, prospects usually had alternative career opportunities. Such was not the case in Nicaragua, one of the poorest countries in Central America, but instability under the Somoza regime during the 1970s and the Sandinista Revolution in 1979 discouraged MLB. On the other hand, the Dominican Republic had emerged as a beacon of stability in the eyes of the United States. The 1965-66 U.S. occupation left the semi-authoritarian Joaquín Balaguer in its wake. MLB felt comfortable working with a U.S. ally, and a poor economy attracted many Dominicans to baseball, regardless of their minimal chances. Things were not so desperate in Venezuela, but when the economy did sour during the 1980s, the political uncertainty surrounding Hugo Chávez tapered MLB interest. Thus the Dominican Republic became a source of bargain talent for MLB, such that today about 1 of every 10 players on MLB rosters looks to the country as a homeland. These trends should continue for some time- an astounding 1 of every 4 minor league players hails from the Dominican Republic.

**The Rules of Appropriation**

Prospects from the Dominican Republic work their way through a number of stages. After a contact and tryout with a MLB team, a player may be asked to sign a contract. The player is then invited to attend the local baseball academy of that team. Ultimately, about 3 to 5 of every 100 academy players continue their career in the United States through the minor league system. The entire process involves an increasingly narrow group of players over time (Vargas 2000). This opens MLB to criticisms of not only dashing the dreams of children, but of exploitation. The relatively cheap rate at which Dominicans can be signed has motivated teams to sign an abundance of players, more than a prudent investor would sign under more risky conditions (Vargas 2000, p. 27). As a result, players that stand little chance of making it to the big leagues intensify their interest in a baseball career, to the detriment of schooling or developing other skills to help them in the workplace.

A number of abuses developed at the point of contact. Recognizing the demand for prospects, a cottage industry of sorts developed to support the understaffed MLB scouts seeking talent. Locals known as buscones (from buscar, “to find”) made their way to distant parts of the country or neighborhoods inaccessible to MLB scouts in search of baseball talent. The children, typically found in a local league, would be taken out of play and housed by the buscón who would further develop their skills and enter players into tryouts for the MLB scouts. Up to the mid-1990s, buscones received only about $50-$100 from major league scouts for facilitating a tryout (Klein 2012, p. 11). But as signing bonuses became a greater part of the Dominican scene, the buscones began to take a proportion- often well over 30% of a number that now averages about $131,000. Competition for talent led buscónes to seek out talent as young as 12 years of age in order to not just develop but also to hide players until they developed. The drive to offer young, desirable players also led many buscónes to facilitate the falsification of documents to reduce a prospect’s age, or to offer performance enhancing drugs (PEDs) to exaggerate talent in a tryout. A player caught falsifying documents or using PEDs could be banned from MLB, but that would represent just one loss of many prospects for the buscón.

Initially, there were no regulations on signings, but in 1984, MLB adopted a rule requiring international free agents to be at least 17 before the end of their first professional season. This still allows many 16 years olds to be signed during their first professional season. The surge in signed players created a problem for MLB teams through the 1990s. Foreign baseball players require visas to work in the United States just like any other worker. Those on the roster of a major league team could apply for an O-1 or P-1 visa, granted to individuals who are among the top in their field or “outstanding” in their profession.
But all others under contract had to apply for a H-2B visa, which is given to seasonal workers and highly regulated to assure (in theory) that jobs are not taken away from U.S. citizens. For years, MLB received only about 1,200 H-2B visas, which it in turn distributed to teams. The surplus of signed players unable to receive visas created the impetus for the academy system. Teams needed a place to train players. A 2007 reform (signed into law by former part-owner of the Texas Rangers, George W. Bush) loosened the visa bottleneck by allowing minor leaguers to apply for P-1 visas, but by this time the academies were well established.

Players under contract spend about three years in a MLB team academy and playing in the Dominican Summer League, a rookie league with teams affiliated with MLB academy teams. Reportedly, many teams enrolled underage players with the intent of coaxing a player into a signing when they became eligible. In addition, a number of academies suffered from sub-standard conditions, provided inadequate medical support, and offered minimal educational services despite having removed prospects from regular schooling (Vargas 2000, pp. 28-32). These abuses were more common in the past, but proved so embarrassing that MLB has taken steps to significantly improve the academy system (Klein 2008, pp. 125-26).

The Rules of Provision

In the past, Dominican baseball was far more complementary to MLB and its interests. With play on a winter schedule, Dominicans could enter MLB and still return home to play a second season. Many felt obliged to return as a sign of allegiance to fellow Dominicans. U.S. players, on the other hand, still worked under the reserve clause and travelled to the Dominican Republic to earn extra cash- as well as to maintain their training during the winter. The Dominican government supported the use of U.S. players by subsidizing their pay (Klein 1991, pp. 39-42). Seeing MLB stars, both Dominican and U.S., in the winter leagues fed interest in baseball. It was a system that worked, and Dominican baseball thrived on it well into the early 1990s, allowing MLB teams to appropriate a strident flow of Dominican talent. Over time, Dominican professional teams hashed out working agreements with MLB teams, which gained assurances of roster spots for players they considered to be in need of further development during the winter, and which also gained important scouting information and support from coaches on the team (Klein 1991, pp. 39-40).

Applying the IAD Framework

Initially, individual MLB teams took the initiative to appropriate Dominican ballplayers, but they began to work under more unified arrangements beginning in the 1980s. Today, activity in the Dominican Republic is a dominant topic of discussion at MLB meetings coordinated under the MLB Commissioner of Baseball as working standards grow more rigorous and detailed. What changed over time to stimulate the collaboration? Will these changes avoid a tragedy of the commons scenario?

The Impact of Resource and Appropriator Attributes

Of the four resource attributes identified in the framework, ‘indicators’ and ‘spatial extent’ are particularly important. MLB can look to the baseball playing countries throughout the world, assess political conditions and/or regulations that may inhibit access to players (as in Mexico or Japan) and ‘predict’ where a source of players is likely to be found. There is little mystery to the fact that baseball players are more likely to be found in Venezuela or South Korea than in Chad or Indonesia. And given the knowledge baseball trainers have of player development practices, teams can look to a source of baseball players, and confidently assess their ‘feasible improvement.’

‘Indicators’ is another matter, because it is assessed at the individual level. Recruiters can predict that talent rests in the Dominican Republic, but identifying talented players remains difficult due to the uncertainty of player development. The result is a cooperation dilemma. All teams would be better off supporting player development collectively, and drafting players at later ages as certainty increases. But each individual team has a strong incentive to solidify a connection with undeveloped talent to prevent prospects from going to another team. In the U.S., this uncertainty manifests itself in the exorbitant signing bonuses offered to drafted players. In the Dominican Republic, the uncertainty results in a push to contact players at a younger age, and given the relatively lower signing costs, place as many as possible under contract. And even with a ‘rule’ that has pushed the minimum age to 16½, MLB teams remain
keenly aware of the uncomfortable, but ultimately accepted, relationship they have developed with buscones who seek out much younger players.

‘Spatial extent’ also affects the behavior of teams. A number of countries share the pool of prospective players. In 1989, MLB launched its Reviving Baseball in Inner Cities (RBI) initiative as an outreach program primarily directed at African-Americans in underserved communities in the U.S. In 2001, recognizing how the draft dulled team incentives to develop players in Puerto Rico (see below), the MLB Commissioner’s Office opened the Puerto Rico Academy and High School. The league has also made efforts to cull talent in the baseball playing countries of East Asia (Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan), develop baseball interest in China, and in 2009 announced a 75% ownership of the previously defunct Australian Baseball League. Even with a surging number of players, Venezuela remains somewhat untapped, due to political anxieties. In short, although MLB has its feet deep in the pool of Dominican talent, it hardly senses a long-term stake in the country. It can always go elsewhere, and this influences the motivation to thoroughly evaluate the appropriation and provision of baseball prospects in the country.

The appropriator attributes identified by the IAD framework also provide insight. Clearly, MLB teams recognize their ‘dependence on the resource,’ especially with the rising costs of players over the course of their careers. But the ‘spatial extent’ of prospective players has undercut the development of a ‘long-term view of the resource’ in the Dominican Republic specifically. The impact of ‘prior organizational experience and leadership’ in MLB has been significant, especially as the Commissioner’s Office has assumed a stronger role. MLB teams first collaborated on scouting in 1974 when they created the Major League Scouting Bureau as a cost saving move. Though the Bureau's work extended just to the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico, participating in the organization provided some experience in cooperation. In 1985, the Commissioner’s Office took over the administration of the Bureau, and in 2010 its operations were expanded to include Latin America. Further centralization of MLB operations under the Commissioner’s Office took place beginning with the tenure of current commissioner Bud Selig in 1998. The office first concentrated on functions previously controlled at the league level (American and National League), including umpire staffing, disciplining personnel, and scheduling. More moves came with the growth of digital media and internet activity, which the office placed under its umbrella. Centralization within a group of competitive actors has facilitated the resolution of cooperation dilemmas, but how that resolution takes place is illuminated by further attributes of the appropriators.

Specifically, if we consider the attribute of ‘autonomy,’ we find MLB in a position to make decisions with minimal interference. Part of this is due to the ineffectiveness of the Dominican state as a less developed country. As a case in point, recognizing the growing importance of baseball, the Dominican government created the National Commissioner of Baseball in 1983. In 1984, after the Jim Kelly signing scandal, the government expanded the power of the Commissioner to regulate all academies, create a registrar of all scouts, mandate English lessons at all academies, and require approval of all baseball contracts by the government (decree 3450). Although conditions did improve, actions by MLB may have had more effect than the force of law (Klein 2011, pp. 6-8). But the autonomy of MLB has also been affected by its relationship with the U.S. government. The organization has held an antitrust exemption since a 1922 Supreme Court decision. But the exemption has always been extended with the presumption that baseball could regulate itself. The validity of the exemption fell into question as reports of steroid use exploded in the 1990s with little reaction from the Commissioner’s Office, and as MLB dragged behind other professional sports in measures to promote revenue sharing. Already feeling overshadowed by the NFL as America’s pastime, MLB has grown much more sensitive to its image, and is prompted to protect its image, in many ways as a result of the autonomy it has been granted.

Hence, as abuses in the academy system emerged, the Commissioner’s Office took the lead to taper the criticism. The Commissioner established its first office for overseas operations in all of Latin America in Santo Domingo in 2001. Bristled by continuing reports of PED use and document falsification, MLB sent Sandy Alderson as a sort of czar to evaluate reforms in 2010. The IAD framework notes that appropriators require ‘shared understandings’ and ‘norms’ to coalesce action. In so far as MLB teams were prepared to work together in the Dominican Republic, they united behind the norms most dear to
them - the image of MLB, and efforts to reduce costs to better assure competitive balance among teams. MLB action in the Dominican has since focused on document verification, drug testing, controlling the rising costs of signing bonuses, and placing blame for remaining ethical issues almost entirely on the buscónes. The Commissioner’s Office in Santo Domingo has proposed reforms to create a centralized registrar with information on prospects upon first contact, and to not only fingerprint but also to collect DNA to ensure identity. It has also proposed a more complete regimen of drug testing, educational programs on PEDs, and a database on buscónes with a history related to PED use (Marcano and Fidler 2011). Finally, just this year, MLB applied wholesale caps on international signings. Teams now can only spend up to $3 million annually on all overseas prospects (by comparison, teams spent a total of $34.7 million on just the top five U.S. prospects in 2011). Cooperation is taking place, and the reforms do make sense as efforts to improve the image of MLB and ensure competitive balance. But what is critical is that the cooperative moves really only cater to the short term-interests of MLB in the Dominican Republic. The IAD framework reveals and explains the detrimental impact with the distinction between appropriation and provision.

Interaction between Appropriation and Provision

From 1954 to the 1990s, Dominican baseball thrived as professional players rotated between MLB and the Dominican Winter Leagues. From the 1980s and on, MLB began to appropriate more and more aggressively, but paid little attention to the provision of baseball in the Dominican Republic. First, the movement of players waned dramatically. Although many Dominicans returned to the island for winter ball, not all were so driven by a sense of responsibility and dedication to their homeland. Higher salaries made many think twice about the possibility for injuries. MLB teams placed additional pressure on Dominicans to reduce playing time for fear of injury. The stream of U.S. players fell much more dramatically as their salaries increased. Most now saw no need to live in a less developed country for three or four months, and they too felt pressure from teams. Still, there remained a large group of players that MLB teams wanted to see train through the winter. Player reluctance to travel to the Caribbean and the desire of MLB teams to more closely monitor players led to the creation of the Arizona Fall League in 1992, which began to siphon off players that otherwise would have played in the Dominican Republic during the winter.

But the academy system itself has had the greatest impact on the provision of baseball in the Dominican Republic (Klein 1991, p. 47). Before academies, young players participated in the amateur leagues, while waiting for a MLB tryout. Many would go on the professional winter league. But as more players enrolled in the academies, less remained for the amateur leagues. Even more so, a large contingent of players began to loiter outside MLB academies, hoping for a tryout. The amateur leagues fell into decline, and it was this void that the buscónes filled (Klein 2011, p. 126). They took primary responsibility for the maintenance and training of young players. Like it or not, MLB created the very group of individuals it so energetically blames for the abuses in player development. And the system as a whole, due to the academies and debilitated amateur leagues, depends on the buscones.

But MLB remains focused on issues of appropriation. Driven by concerns over image and economic considerations, the buscónes have become a central target of MLB action. Efforts to develop a registration process for buscónes continue. The expansion of MLB Scouting Bureau to include Latin America will directly compete with the buscónes. The recent limitation on foreign signings is meant to undermine the viability of buscón fees. And since 2011, the MLB Commissioner’s Office in Santo Domingo began sponsoring its own spring and summer amateur league, the Torneo Supremo, to facilitate team scouting and reduce their reliance on buscónes. Finally, plans are underway to expand the draft worldwide. This would be the death knell for the buscónes. But for MLB teams the greater motivation for a global draft is the issue of competitive balance, just as it was when the amateur draft was first created in the U.S. According to Rob Manfred, MLB's executive vice president for labor relations and human resources, "Our overarching goal was to prevent teams with the largest amount of money from becoming absolutely dominant in the market for international players, and we think this levels the playing field."8

While making such gains in cooperative efforts to remove blemishes from its image, cut costs, and improve competitive balance, MLB does not appear to be considering the impact of its decisions on the
provision of players in the Dominican Republic. With a global draft, the academy system will likely crumble as teams see no reason to develop players they may lose. The draft, along with the cap on signing bonuses will reduce the number of buscónes. Dominicans forced to compete with North American players at age 18, and only receiving specialized training and support at that time, will likely lose the contest. This is precisely what happened in Puerto Rico after it was included in the draft after 1989. The Puerto Rican Baseball League, with a history that reaches back to 1938 and had 12 teams at its height, is now down to just 4 teams. In 2007, the winter season was cancelled altogether due to low attendance. After reaching a high of 57 in 2001, the number of Puerto Rican players on Opening Days rosters is now at the same level it was in the late 1980s, and the decline is likely to continue.

The draft may have a yet more grave impact on the Dominican Republic than on Puerto Rico given the lower economic standing of the country. Many Dominicans require training and support before age 18 due fundamentally to the impact of poverty. For many, their time under a buscón or in an academy represents their first experience with a full regimen of exercise, not to mention three meals a day (Klein 2008). Those Dominicans of exceptional talent would likely seek entrance to the United States, Canada, or Puerto Rico at an early age to participate in the amateur draft where signing bonuses will not face a cap. All of this would drain Dominican baseball.

Addressing the provision of baseball is a more difficult matter than appropriation, because baseball in the Dominican Republic is a public good. MLB sees a stake in the development of Dominican players, but it also has an incentive to free ride on the maintenance of the source of these players. It can get away with this strategy in the U.S., where wealthy suburbanites and colleges enter to pick up the tag. Ultimately, in the Dominican Republic the answer to the provision of players will remain a much more domestic problem, and the government will play a critical role through its Minister of Sports and Recreation and National Commission of Baseball. Already the ministry has come out strongly opposed to the draft, and has even threatened to look into U.S. obligations under the U.S.-Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement.9 Buscones have also mobilized against MLB proposals, and recent events foretell continued confrontation. Sandy Alderson’s 2010 visit to the Dominican Republic was met by several protests organized by buscones. And to illustrate their influence, buscones refused to cooperate with agents of the Scouting Bureau by hiding their players. In response, MLB canceled a Dominican Prospect League (which serves as a conduit for buscón players) game schedule to be played on an academy field.10

Conclusion

The IAD framework sheds light on the difficulties faced by MLB teams in their search for professional players. As illustrated by the case of the Dominican Republic, player development can be identified as a common-pool resource, while baseball itself retains characteristics of a public good. This creates cooperation dilemmas captured by the IAD framework. The IAD framework specifies ten resource and appropriator attributes as critical to the rise of cooperation around a common-pool resource. MLB player development in the Dominican Republic exhibits two of the four resource attributes and four of the six appropriator attributes. Most significantly, the lack of certain attributes appears to inhibit a long term, thorough evaluation by MLB of baseball in the Dominican Republic. MLB continues to chart its activities based upon its own considerations of image, cost reduction, and competitive balance, with little thought as to the connection between its own actions and the provision of baseball in the country. It is this disconnect between the appropriation of baseball prospects and the provision of baseball that appears likely to plague MLB activities in the Dominican Republic for some time to come. MLB has overcome its cooperation dilemmas and addressed many of the rules of appropriation, but at the expense of largely ignoring the rules of provision.
References
### Table 1: Origins of MLB Players on Opening Day Rosters

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Diagram 1: A Typology of Economic Goods

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<td>Private goods</td>
<td>Toll Goods</td>
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<td>Common pool resources</td>
<td>Public goods</td>
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1 By using the technical language of economics, I do not mean to overlook the fact that we are speaking of humans, and that player development in Latin America has raised significant issues of exploitation and the misuse of child labor (e.g., Marcano Guevara and Fidler 2002).

2 Seemingly simple skills, such as hitting, catching, and throwing, require years of training. Unlike in football, basketball, or soccer, it is rare to see an 18 or 19 year old in the majors. Most baseball players spend 4-5 years in the minor leagues, and many prospects never pan out. This uncertainty makes the market more non-excludable, and helps even access for teams. The smaller-market Toronto Blue Jays found success as early innovators in the academy system during the 1980s. Recently, the team has returned to the strategy as a way to outcompete larger market teams. See “Back to the Future,” The Globe and Mail July 31, 2010.

3 In a longstanding working agreement, MLB teams agree to negotiate directly with Mexican professional teams and to compensate them to recruit a ball player. This agreement raises the relative costs of signing Mexican players compared to other Latin American players. Most Asian countries have similarly restrictive rules of appropriation. That along with cultural differences explains the greater flow of players from Latin America than from Asia.

4 The 1961 signing went to Bob Bailey of the Pittsburgh Pirates. He had a mediocre lifetime batting average of .257. The 1964 signing went to Rick Reichardt of the California Angels, who batted just .261.

5 These numbers have only grown worse with time. In 2011, African-American households had a 39% lower income average than white households, and only 42% of African-American households with children had fathers, compared to 80% in white households (Bailey and Shepherd 2011).

6 Signing bonuses have increased as Dominicans have grown more savvy of MLB operations. In 1990, bonuses averaged just $2,000 to $5,000. Nonetheless, the current average is skewed tremendously by several multi-million dollar signings- the vast majority of Dominicans still sign for $10,000 to $25,000 (Ruck 2011b).

7 The Toronto Blue Jays signed Dominican prospect Jim Kelly at age 13 in 1983. Critics blamed the publicity and pressure from the signing on the sudden decline of his baseball proficiency, and end of his career prospects.


9 “Draft Dodgers No More: Can the Dominican Republic Avoid Puerto Rico’s Fate?” The Economist. February 14, 1012.

Discovery Learning:
Best Practice or Guessing Game for Students with Disabilities?

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Mount Mercy University

Jacquelyn Moorman
University of Northern Iowa

Abstract
Discovery learning has been touted as the “best practice” in academic content areas like math and science, but is it the most effective instructional practice for students with learning problems? The authors, both special educators, take a closer look at the research on discovery learning and direct instruction for students with learning problems or disabilities. Perhaps there is a way to infuse direct instruction when utilizing enhanced discovery learning to achieve the best learning outcomes for these students.

Introduction
Imagine Mr. Burr’s 5th grade classroom with 20 students sitting at their desks and anticipating what he will teach them in their math lesson. This is a typical day in his classroom, except on this particular day, the students are not given their daily math computation warm-up as they had been up to this point in the year. Instead, Mr. Burr displays the following real-life application story problem for his students to investigate:

The County Fair is coming to town during the week of July 17th-23rd in Anytown, AT. The Herman family is planning on going to the fair but wants to make sure they are getting the best deal on tickets. They discover on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday the cost of admission is $4.00 for adults and $2 for children. On Tuesday and Thursday, tickets for admittance are $3.50 for adults and $2.75 for children. The weekend prices for admittance are $5 for adults and $1.50 for children. If the Herman family plans on buying tickets for 2 adults and 4 children, what would be the best day for them to attend the fair? Explain your thinking.

Students begin to look around the room at their classmates. Some immediately begin to draw charts and compute figures. Others reread the prompt while jotting down several important pieces of information from the problem. One student, Mary, begins to worry as she has no idea how to begin solving the problem, and there are several words within the problem she is unable to read. She sits at her desk confused, frustrated, and unmotivated. Mr. Burr, monitoring his classroom through observation of the students, notices Mary is not as engaged in solving the problem as his other students. Mary has a learning disability that affects her understanding of what she reads. Mr. Burr walks over to Mary’s desk and asks her what strategy she is starting with to understand the author’s question in the math problem. Mary states she isn’t sure what the author’s question is or how to find it.

Based on Mary’s learning disability in reading, Mr. Burr realizes she does not have the comprehension skills to compute this discovery learning math problem on her own, so he begins to scaffold the instruction for her. He first rereads the problem aloud to her to help her determine the author’s question she is required to answer. Then Mr. Burr provides a chart for her to organize her thinking using the information given in the problem (see Appendix A). In working specifically with her to understand the problem, Mary is then able to understand what computation steps she will need to do to answer the author’s question. Through this explicit direct instruction with Mary, Mr. Burr realizes Mary benefits...
from scaffolding and wonders how many other students in his math classroom would benefit from this type of instruction rather than discovery learning.

**What is Discovery Learning?**

Discovery learning is a technique of inquiry-based instruction that is considered a constructivist based approach to education. It is supported by the work of learning theorists and psychologists Jean Piaget, Jerome Bruner, and Seymour Papert. Although Bruner is credited with originating discovery learning in the 1960s, his ideas are similar to those of earlier theorists, like John Dewey. It was Bruner who suggested students are more likely to remember concepts if they discover them on their own as opposed to being taught directly. Bruner argued, “Practice in discovering for oneself teaches one to acquire information in a way that makes that information more readily viable in problem solving” (Bruner, 1961, p. 26). However, Bruner warned that a discovery could not be made prior to or without at least some basic knowledge of the topic (Alfieri, Brooks, Aldrich, & Tenenbaum, 2011); that is, the learner must be able to draw on his/her prior knowledge and past experiences. Bruner’s philosophy later became the discovery learning movement of the 1960s which suggested students should “learn by doing”. According to Klahr and Nigam (2004), the discovery approach to learning has been presumed to be the superior method of instruction when teaching young children basic procedures for early scientific investigations.

The label of “discovery learning” can cover a variety of instructional techniques. According to a meta-analysis conducted by Alfieri et al. (2011), a discovery learning task can range from pattern detection to the explanation and performance found in manuals to conduct simulations. Discovery learning occurs whenever a student is not provided with an exact answer—albeit the target information or conceptual understanding—but rather the materials in which to find the answer him/herself (Alfieri et al., 2011). For instance, discovery learning takes place in problem solving situations in which the learner draws on his own experience and prior knowledge. It is a method of instruction through which students interact with their environments by exploring and manipulating objects, wrestling with questions and controversies, or performing experiments. In pure discovery learning, the learner is required to discover new content while receiving little to no teacher assistance (Marzano, 2011).

**Unassisted discovery learning.** Marzano (2011) describes *unassisted discovery learning*, or pure discovery learning, as instruction that “involves the teacher presenting students with a learning situation in which the students must discover new content while receiving little, if any, teacher assistance” (pp. 86-87). This is similar to what Watt, Therrien, Kaldenberg, and Taylor (2006) described as pure (open) inquiry learning in which students determine how to set up and problem solve the investigation with no teacher feedback. For example, teachers utilizing this instructional approach might ask students to design their own experiment, invent their own strategy, or answer guiding questions. In all these learning situations, students must learn the content on their own. Marzano (2011) states having students in a cooperative group or working with a partner who is no more knowledgeable about the content doesn't help, and they probably won't learn the content in more depth—or at all—in these unstructured learning situations.

**Enhanced discovery learning.** *Enhanced discovery learning*, as defined by Marzano (2011), “involves preparing students for discovery learning and providing assistance along the way” (pp. 86-87). Using this instructional approach, teachers instruct students so they have the necessary knowledge to “discover” the new content. In a research study, Dalton, Morocco, Tivnan, and Mead (1997) used a learning method that utilized supported (guided) inquiry in science class; students were given specific feedback to rework their misconceptions and co-constructed their knowledge under the guidance of a teacher-coach. More recently, Watt et al. (2013) used structured (guided) inquiry learning in science; elements of this approach included the provisions of specific teacher feedback, a teacher-structured investigation, a teacher-created problem for investigation, the use of graphic organizers, and the pre-teaching of concepts. Marzano points out this instructional approach might involve some direct instruction: “For example, before asking students to consider how best to stretch the hamstring muscle in cold weather, the teacher might present a series of lessons that clarify basic facts about muscles and their reaction to changes in temperature” (pp. 86-87). Furthermore, Marzano has found it beneficial to properly scaffold the discovery experience. For example, “the teacher who asks students to design their own
experiments might organize her demonstration into small segments that gradually disclose the relationship between the intensity of a light source and perceptions of color. After each segment, she might ask students to hypothesize what's likely to occur as the light source becomes more or less intense and then ask students to generate mini-experiments to test their hypotheses” (pp. 86-87).

**What is Direct Instruction?**

Special education teachers who work with students with learning difficulties and behavior disorders need the structure of direct instruction for students to be successful in academic subjects and social situations. “Direct Instruction (DI)—sometimes referred to as explicit instruction—is a systematic method for presenting learning material in small steps, pausing to check for understanding, and eliciting active and successful participation from all students” (Rosenshine, 1986, p. 60). Research by Block, Everson, and Guskey (1995), Bowey (2000), and Engelmann (1999), states the principles of direct instruction include: 1) All children can learn, regardless of their intrinsic and context characteristics; 2) The teaching of basic skills and their application in higher-order skills is essential to intelligent behavior and should be the main focus of any instructional program, and certainly prior to student-directed learning activities; and 3) Instruction with students experiencing learning difficulties must be highly structured and permit large amounts of practice.

Direct instruction lessons typically include a carefully organized presentation of the content with explicit teacher instruction, demonstration, and modeling; immediate feedback on student performance; guided practice to avoid, reduce, and remediate errors; and independent practice to demonstrate student mastery (Brophy & Good, 1986; Gersten, Carnin, & Woodward, 1987; Murphy, Weil, & McGreal, 1986; Stevens & Rosenshine, 1981). The basic components of direct instruction include: setting clear goals for students and making sure they understand these goals, presenting a sequence of well-organized assignments, giving students clear, concise explanations/illustrations of the subject matter, asking frequent questions to see if students understand the work they are engaged in, and giving students frequent opportunities to practice what they have learned (Purdue University, 2013).

Direct instruction does not contradict the view of constructivist learning. “This specific learning maintains that learners must construct meaning for themselves with regard to any topic. A constructivist would simply say that with Direct Instruction learners receive assistance in developing meaning for themselves” (Purdue University, 2013, n. p.). Learners taught with the direct instruction model do gain understanding about “objective” topics if they receive guidance from their teacher and/or peers (Purdue University, 2013).

Special educators may easily apply Bloom’s taxonomy in their direct instruction lessons with students with disabilities by remembering, understanding, applying, analyzing, evaluating, and creating information (Sealander, Johnson, Lockwood, & Medina, 2012). Research indicates direct instruction is not simply rote memorization for students. It scaffolds the use of higher-ordering thinking with the assistance from others, preferably the teacher, while holding all students to high standards of learning (Purdue University, 2013).

**Using Discovery Learning in Special Education**

With a thrust from the *No Child Left Behind Act* of 2001 to educate all students, including those with disabilities, in the general education classroom with instructional practices being implemented to raise student achievement and to close the achievement gap, there is doubt among educators if general education classes rooted in pure discovery learning can provide an adequate learning environment for students with special learning needs. As stated by Dalton et al. (1997), science educators agree “that hands-on, inquiry-based science potentially benefits all students, yet there are few specific guidelines for helping students with learning disabilities achieve success in general education science classrooms” (p. 670). Although discovery learning has gained great popularity since the 1960s, there is debate in the literature concerning its efficacy (Mayer, 2004) and has more recently come under scrutiny (Tobias & Duffy, 2009), particularly with students with disabilities. Furthermore, research doesn't support the superiority of discovery learning over direct instruction (Mayer, 2004).

Kauffman (2002) has noted his concerns over the use of discovery learning as opposed to direct instruction. His concerns are based on the premise that in order for students to be highly successful in
learning the facts and skills they need, these facts and skills must be taught directly, rather than indirectly, and the teacher, not the student, is in control of providing this direct instruction.

Fuchs, Fuchs, Powell, Seethaler, Cirino, and Fletcher (2008) noted students with math disabilities or serious math deficits may not profit from a constructivist, inductive instructional style like discovery learning; rather, these students need direct instruction that teaches an understanding of the “structure, meaning, and operational requirements” of mathematics. To be effective, this instruction should be explicit and systematic. According to the Institute for Educational Sciences, effective instruction includes the following elements: 1) teacher models of proficient problem solving, 2) the verbalization of thought processes, 3) guided practice, 4) corrective feedback to eliminate misunderstandings (see also Fuchs et al., 2008), and 5) frequent cumulative reviews (Gersten, Beckmann, Clarke, Foegen, Marsh, Star, & Witzel, 2009). These are the premises of direct instruction, not discovery learning.

Dalton et al. (1997) found in their study there were several factors that contributed to the performance of students with learning disabilities on supported inquiry science tasks. These factors included collaboration skills, persistence, acceptance of ambiguity, intellectual curiosity, response to errors, and oral communications skills. Dalton et al. concluded due to the substantial variation of skills and performance among students with learning disabilities, it may be useful for future researchers to not only examine the factors noted above but also the cognitive, affective, and social characteristics of these students when faced with supported inquiry science tasks in both the general education setting as well as the special education setting.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Discovery Learning

In 1997, Brantlinger reported there was promising work being done to incorporate constructivism and cooperative learning groups so curriculum and pedagogy could meet the needs of diverse learners in an inclusive setting (i.e., the general education classroom). Later, Mayer (2004) acknowledged that under some circumstances, constructivist based approaches may be beneficial to student learners. Alfieri et al. (2010) found enhanced discovery learning was more effective than other types of instruction as it allowed learners to interact with materials, manipulate variables, explore phenomena, and attempt to apply the principles of their learning. This was similar to research by Marzano (2011) who stated that unassisted or “pure” discovery learning is perilous to student learning, but enhanced discovery learning can be a useful instructional tool. Marzano describes enhanced discovery learning as a process that involves preparing the learner for the discovery learning task by providing the necessary knowledge, via the teacher, to successfully complete the task. He states it is the teacher who must prepare the learner, often through direct instruction.

In a research study on supported inquiry science (SIS), Dalton et al. (1997) compared the effects of two approaches to hands-on science, SIS and activity-based science, in six urban and two suburban fourth grade general education classrooms. Of the 172 participants, 33 students had learning disabilities (LD). The researchers found students with and without LD demonstrated greater concept learning in the SIS condition in which instruction focused on eliciting and reworking students’ misconceptions and co-constructing knowledge with the guidance of a teacher. These findings support an earlier study by Scruggs and Mastropieri (1994) who found students with LD needed skillful teachers to support the learning process when faced with a challenging task, like constructing scientific knowledge in an inquiry-based science class.

Piaget believed “the principal goal of education is to create men who are capable of doing new things, not simply of repeating what other generations have done—men who are creative, inventive, and discoverers” (as cited in Bonawitz, Shafto, Gweon, Goodman, Spelke, & Schulz, 2010, p. 322). In research by Bonawitz et al. (2010), it was found that while direct explicit instruction did promote efficient learning, such learning had a cost: it restricted spontaneous exploration and discovery in preschool students.

It remains questionable how successful pure discovery strategies actually are for helping students achieve learning outcomes, especially students with disabilities; consequently, there is a debate among educators that questions the effectiveness of this model of instruction (Kirschner, Sweller, & Clark, 2006). This debate dates back to the 1950s when researchers first began to compare the results of
discovery learning to other forms of instruction (Alfieri et al., 2011). Because students are often left to
discover the instructional content on their own, and often with minimal or no teacher feedback, educators
worry that students’ learning may have errors or be confusing or frustrating (Alfieri et al., 2011), which
can lead to misconceptions (Alfieri et al., 2011; Clark, Kirschner, & Sweller, 2012). Use of discovery
strategies, absent teacher guidance, may exacerbate the academic deficiencies of students who experience
mild to severe learning problems.

Without teacher feedback, students may be left to set up a scientific investigation alone or to self-
discover the correct way to solve a mathematical problem (Watt et al., 2013). Often lacking the
background knowledge needed to attack a problem correctly, students with learning disabilities may
become overwhelmed with the information or materials they have been given and, thus, make errors in
their investigations (Klahr & Nigam, 2004) or in finding solutions to math calculations and story
problems. Such confusion can lead to further misconceptions in their present and future learning
situations.

Mayer (2004) pointed out the interest in discovery learning has “waxed and waned” since the 1960s,
and time after time the empirical literature has shown the use of pure discovery instruction is simply not
suggested as an effective instructional method. To combat this lack of evidence for the use of pure
discovery learning, Mayer suggested researchers may have renamed this instructional method in their
research studies. Therefore, such titles as inquiry learning (Dalton et al., 2006), anchored instruction,
situated learning, task-based learning, scaffolding (Rowe, 2006), problem-based learning (Westwood,
2006), supported inquiry (Dalton et al., 1997), and guided discovery (Mayer, 2004) appear in the
literature, but all have elements of discovery learning with varying degrees of “purity”.

Furthermore, Mayer (2004) cautioned that unassisted discovery learning did not help learners discover
problem solving rules, conservation strategies, or programming concepts. Also, he stated that because
pure discovery learning lacks structure, it does not benefit the learner. Later, in 2006, Kirschner et al.
reported there was little empirical evidence to support pure discovery learning and called it an unguided
method of instruction; more recent research (e.g., Alfieri et al., 2011; Marzano, 2011) supports these
earlier claims.

There is evidence to suggest discovery learning may have a detrimental effect on the cognitive load,
especially with beginning learners. As stated by Kirschner et al. (2006), “Cognitive load theory suggests
that the free exploration of a highly complex environment may generate a heavy working memory load
that is detrimental to learning” (p. 75). It is hypothesized beginning learners do not have the necessary
skills to integrate new information with information learned in the past; thus, guided instruction, which
produces more immediate recall of facts than unguided approaches like discovery learning, may be a
better alternative and may lead to longer term transfer of skills and better problem-solving skills
(Kirschner et al., 2006). The cognitive load theory may also apply to students who have significant
learning needs, as many of these students have memory deficits caused by their learning disability.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Direct Instruction

Researchers suggest explicit and strategic instruction is highly beneficial for students with disabilities
as well as their grade-level peers (Watt et al., 2013). “The teaching of basic skills and their application in
higher-order [thinking] skills is essential to intelligent behavior” (Rowe, 2006). In order to teach basic
skills to students with disabilities, the framework of direct instruction may be essential for student
learning.

“Advocates of DI contend students with learning and behavioral difficulties need the structure of DI to
optimally benefit from available instructional time” (Sealander et. al., 2012). Scaffolding instruction by
moving from the concrete to the abstract and by demonstrating and modeling a sequence of steps (i.e.,
guided practice, independent practice, and feedback) is a benefit for all students, not just those with
learning disabilities (Sealander et al., 2012). For example, if a particular math lesson was on solving one-
step equations, students would need to have acquired previous knowledge of the computational skills of
adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing with rational numbers while understanding of how to
compute with whole numbers, decimals, and fractions.
Reviewing computational skills prior to applying them to the solving of one-step equations would provide a scaffold before teaching the new content knowledge on the steps in solving the equation. Such a review, via direct instruction, may help students apply their previously learned knowledge to a more complex task in the math classroom. Related research by Sealander et al. (2012) found eight primary-aged students made gains of 80% or better growth when the direct instruction model was utilized in the classroom.

Klahr and Nigam (2004) studied the effects of direct instruction and discovery learning on the learning paths of 112 third and fourth grade children in early science instruction. They measured two points, the basic acquisition of knowledge and the transfer and application of this knowledge, in the learning process. They found many more children learned from direct instruction than from discovery learning. In a later study, Klahr (2009) argued for the use of teacher feedback, instructional sequences, and generalization of skills, emphasizing in some situations some amount of direct instruction is advantageous, particularly when teaching novice learners. Sweller, Kirschner, and Clark (2007) emphasized the usefulness of worked examples which is similar to Klahr’s (2009) suggestion of teacher demonstration followed by opportunities for student practice.

Nevertheless, some longitudinal studies have not found direct instruction to be superior to other instructional methods. Dean and Kuhn (2006) found in a study of fourth grade students who were instructed for 10 weeks and then measured for 17 weeks that direct instruction did not lead to superior results when students studied the scientific method, but it did lead to significant levels of correct performance. However, the researchers found practice over an extended period of time led to superior results in the areas of transfer and maintenance of content knowledge. Clark et al. (2012) warn, “DI does not allow students to discover or construct some or all of the essential information for themselves.”

**Discovery Learning vs. Direct Instruction: Comparisons in the Literature**

In a 2011 meta-analysis of 580 comparisons between discovery learning and direct instruction, Alfieri et al. found direct instruction was superior to discovery learning in most situations. In that same study, the researchers reported on a second meta-analysis involving 360 comparisons of enhanced discovery learning with other forms of instruction (Alfieri et al., 2011). They found explicit instruction was superior to unassisted discovery learning; however, they found enhanced discovery learning was superior to all other approaches, including direct instruction. Alfieri et al. concluded unassisted discovery learning does not benefit learners, but feedback, worked examples, scaffolding, and elicited explanations—all elements of enhanced discovery learning—do. The findings presented by Alfieri et al. (2011) in the meta-analysis are consistent with what Marzano (2011) observed in classrooms. Therefore, Marzano suggests “when faced with the decision whether to use direct instruction or unassisted discovery learning, a teacher should opt for the former. However, if a teacher is willing to put time and energy into designing lessons that ensure students have the knowledge needed to understand the new content and that provide guidance and interaction along the way, then enhanced discovery learning may be a powerful learning experience for students” (pp. 86-87).

**A Revisit of Discovery Learning with Scaffolding**

As stated in the scenario above (see Introduction), Mr. Burr realized Mary was not going to achieve success with his real-life application math problem if she did not have some teacher guidance to help her understand the concept. To provide appropriate scaffolding for Mary, Mr. Burr asked Mary a guiding question to see what prior knowledge she was able to recall and, perhaps, apply to the application problem. Because Mary stated she did not know some of the words in the story problem, nor could she identify the author’s question, most likely due to her learning disability in reading, Mr. Burr reread the problem aloud to her. This allowed Mary not only to see the words of the problem but also to hear a fluent reader read the problem. Then Mr. Burr helped Mary identify the author’s question. Next, Mr. Burr helped Mary organize the factual information from the story problem with the use of a graphic organizer (see Appendix A, Graphic Organizer). Thus, Mary had then been given the tool—the scaffolding—to support her thinking to successfully answer the question from Mr. Burr’s math application problem. Furthermore, she was able to incorporate higher-order thinking with guidance from her teacher.
and with the necessary supports put in place to help her organize her thinking. Direct instruction allowed Mary to participate and feel successful in the general education classroom with her grade-level peers.

**Conclusion**

It appears new learners, or “novices” (Tuovinen & Sweller, 1999), need the teacher guidance found in the instructional method of direct instruction and, perhaps, *enhanced* discovery learning. However, as learners become more competent in the content and gain more confidence in their own learning, they may learn through a continuum of discovery learning techniques (Kirschner et al., 2006; Watt et al., 2013), preferably ones that are assisted to some degree by the teacher. As stated by Marzano (2011), “Unassisted [or pure] discovery learning is perilous to student learning, but enhanced discovery learning can be a useful instructional tool” (p. 87).

Despite the increase in the use of discovery learning and inquiry-based instruction in schools, researchers suggest direct instruction techniques are highly beneficial for students with disabilities (Watt et al., 2013). Furthermore, when these students are engaged in pure discovery learning, they are more likely to become overwhelmed and frustrated which may lead to the creation of misleading conclusions or errors within their investigations or experiments (Klahr & Nigam, 2004) in an attempt to guess at the correct answers associated with their learning task.

A glimpse of past research points to the need for direct instruction for young and inexperienced learners as well as for students with learning problems. It also directs teachers to use enhanced discovery learning with students who have adequate background knowledge and past experiences in the specific content area or with the learning task. Enhanced discovery learning has been found to be an effective instructional method for most, if not all, learners because it incorporates teacher feedback and guidance (Dalton et al., 1997) to improve students’ learning outcomes. Whether one chooses to use a direct learning approach or an enhanced discovery learning approach, it should be based on the needs of the individual student and not on teacher preference. Learning should not be a guessing game for any student and certainly not for students with learning problems or disabilities.

**Future Research**

Several questions surfaced as the present researchers uncovered past research on discovery learning and direct instruction:

- Do teachers fully understand the importance and need for utilizing direct, guided, and supported instructional practices in Prek-12 classrooms, particularly when introducing a new concept?
- Why are teachers too often pushed by administrators and colleagues to use pure discovery learning methods to teach all students, including students with disabilities, when the research shows us students without disabilities too often flounder in their learning when only given this type of instruction?
- Is discovery learning the best practice for all students in an inclusive setting, or are there “specific features of some learners that render discovery learning effective” (see Klahr & Nigam, 2004, p. 666)?
- Does placement in special education—where direct instruction is most often used—mold a fixed mindset in students?
- Is internal motivation hindered in classrooms where direct instruction is the only instructional method used?
- Is mastery of content knowledge ever truly achieved with students with disabilities when only taught with direct instruction methods? Could fading of direct instruction and guidance toward discovery learning become the mode when novice learners begin to know the content and maintain this new knowledge for later learning tasks?

Piaget (1970) stated that “…learning under external reinforcement … produces either very little change in logical thinking or a striking momentary change with no real comprehension” (p. 714). Klahr and Nigam (2004) suggest it is time to reexamine this long-standing claim: the limitations of direct instruction and the advantages of discovery methods when learners are required to perform tasks that
require a broad transfer of knowledge. In doing so, the most effective—and empirically based—
instructional matches may surface between the topic, the student, and the type of pedagogy.

Furthermore, it appears beneficial for future researchers to determine whether or not direct instruction,
enhanced (guided) discovery learning, or a combination of both is the most effective approach for
students with specific learning problems. A number of factors may need to be considered in future
research endeavors: the age of the student, the student’s specific learning problem(s), the student’s
memory capacity, the student’s attitude and motivation toward the specific content, and the student’s
background knowledge and past learning experiences.

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Appendix A—Graphic Organizer

Real-life Math Application Problem with Scaffolded Instruction
The County Fair is coming to town during the week of July 17th-23rd in Anytown, AT. The Herman family is planning on going to the fair but wants to make sure they are getting the best deal on tickets. They discover on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday the cost of admission is $4.00 for adults and $2 for children. On Tuesday and Thursday, tickets for admittance are $3.50 for adults and $2.75 for children. The weekend prices for admittance are $5 for adults and $1.50 for children. If the Herman family plans on buying tickets for 2 adults and 4 children, what would be the best day for them to attend the fair? Explain your thinking.

What is the author’s question?

What information will you need to solve the author’s question?

Use the graphic organizer below to help organize your thinking:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
<th>Sunday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adults = 2 X $4.00</td>
<td>Adults =</td>
<td>Adults =</td>
<td>Adults =</td>
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<td>Adults =</td>
<td>Adults =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children = 4 X $2.75</td>
<td>Children =</td>
<td>Children =</td>
<td>Children =</td>
<td>Children =</td>
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<td>Children =</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remember: The Herman family wants to buy 2 adult tickets and 4 children’s tickets. Think about how you can use the information you have organized in the table to help you solve the author’s question. Show your work below.
Home and School Collaboration: Effective Decision Making

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Educators have noted the importance of building respectful, collaborative relationships with parents of students with disabilities (Edwards & Da Fonte, 2012). However, collaborative relationships have not historically been easily established. The National Council on Disability (NCD) noted a disturbing trend in the years following the original authorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 1990: Although strengthened parental roles in educational decision-making increased the probability of student success, evidence of parental involvement in school decision-making was conspicuously absent. The NCD recommended increased parent participation in assessment, design, and implementation of special education programs as an essential step towards achieving successful school reform. Legislators listened and amended prior federal law in the reauthorization of IDEA (1997). Outlining expectations for local education agencies and parents, Congress prudently included procedural safeguards, as well as mediation strategies for parents unable to resolve disputes with local educational agencies (Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, 1997). Yet reform is frequently a slow, and occasionally painful, process requiring sustained commitment and innovative practice (Yell, 2012).

IDEA intended that parents, as major stakeholders and those individuals most knowledgeable of their children with disabilities play major roles in the special education process. Parental participation in referral, evaluation, and intervention was intended to provide a type of “insulation” against discriminatory practices sometimes perpetrated by school officials (Yell, 2012; Ward-Roof, Heaton & Coburn, 2008; Trussell, Hammond, & Ingalls, 2008; Coleman, 2007; However, parent participation in the educational process has not always been met with enthusiasm by their counterparts within school systems. Regarding parents more as student “appendages” than as viable resources, educators have sometimes failed to demonstrate respect for the diversity of attributes and the abilities that parents bring to the educational process (Schechter, Ippolito, & Rashkosky, 2007; Whitby, Marx, McIntire, & Wienke, 2013; Wischnoski & Cianca, 2012).

Studies suggest that teachers often do not understand families of culturally and linguistically diverse students, resulting in misconceptions regarding: (1) how parents view student ability; (2) how parents regard disability status; and (3) how parents view their participation in school activities (Friend, 2011; Carney-Hall, 2008; McHatton & Alvarez, 2007) Educators criticize low income and culturally diverse families for failing to participate in school events and further accuse them of having little interest in educational concerns (Quiocho & Daoud, 2006; Yan & Lin, 2005; Eamon, 2005). Teachers, regarding themselves as more objective than are parents, accuse parents of bias in reporting and of being unable to make accurate observations of the behaviors and abilities of their own children (Joshi, Eberly, & Konzal, 2005; Quiocho & Daoud, 2006). The process has led educators down a bizarre path that bypasses parental authority and awards teachers the responsibility of separating truth from deceit, hardly a methodology for assuring parent and teacher collaboration in decision making. Educator pretentiousness and inflexible institutional policies have in some instances diminished the role of parents in individualized education from that of educational collaborator to educational consenter (Taub, 2008). Rather than enhancing opportunities for collaboration and establishing avenues for support, school settings appear to maintain an condescending stance that inhibits collaboration. It should come as no surprise that parents may be somewhat resistant to engage in this formidable task (Friend, 2011).
Although it might be easy to attach blame to one party or to the other for the inequities inherent within the process, the reality is that both parents and educators may be to blame for failed collaboration attempts. Parents do not typically assume the roles that Congress intended them to play in special education and educators do not habitually provide parents with the information that would result in more collaborative relationships.

Parental expectations about what they should contribute to the child’s education are based on their respective family values, stressors, community, and their own school expectations (McHatton, 2007; Civil, Bratton, & Quintos, 2005; Salas, Lopez, & Chinn, 2005).

Lacking knowledge of special education procedures, confused by terminology, and reluctant to question professional opinions, parents are simply not prepared to enter the educational battlefield with equal footing (Hammond, & Ingalls, 2008). Consequently, it is not surprising that parents may not be active participants within the IEP framework. Parents have not been prepared to assume roles of leadership in decision-making. Schools that fail to respect cultural diversity solicit parental input, or value parental contributions may similarly fail to develop collaborative relationships, effectively allocating all power to educators and creating the antithesis of IDEA in which parents function at the will and whim of educators, question their abilities to make decisions, and contribute little to the Individual Education Program process (Friend, 2011; Carney-Hall, 2008; Allen, 2000; Quicho & Daoud, 2006).

Methodology

This study is an example of an instrumental case study (Stake, 2010; Stake, 1994) where the case itself is of secondary interest. The particular case is examined to pursue and facilitate an understanding of how collaboration influences outcomes for students with disabilities. A solid understanding of content is central to this study because it helps the reader to better understand the motives of the individuals involved in the events described herein, and leads directly to implications that make findings relevant to contemporary practice.

This study originated within rural elementary schools in New Mexico. Parents responded to a survey, granted permission to the researchers to observe in meetings surrounding the processes of special education, and further offered their insights through interviews regarding their experiences. Knowledge gleaned from the study provided a rich and dynamic insight into how decision making can and should be made through strong home to school collaboration.

The subjects of the study were the educators and parents of students found eligible for special education and related services. Forty-two parents provided a qualitative look at the relationships between the home and the schools where their children are educated through a multi-dimensional study consisting of interviews, observations and surveys.

Data was analyzed across individual characteristics, utilizing an atomistic approach reflecting the intent to present useful and accurate generalizations rather than articulate a narrative (Stake, 2010; Stake, 1994). Data analysis began with the use of open coding in an issue-related framework to identify interactions that pertained to instructional collaboration. Significant elements were separated from the surrounding texts and organized into a new data-driven context of a generalized nature that was descriptive of how parents were involved in the assessment process. Validation of findings was provided by triangulation involving multiple researchers in order to combine several lines of sight for analysis and interpretation of the data. A solid understanding of content is central to this study because it helps the reader to better understand the motives of the individuals involved in the events described and leads directly to implications that make findings relevant to contemporary practice.

Results

Parental experiences in the IEP Process.

Results indicated that, similar to studies of parental collaboration in other facets of decision-making, parents were not given opportunities to participate in meaningful conversations with educators. In many cases, parents had become “consent givers” rather than “decision-makers”. Socio-economic factors further complicated collaborative educational planning (Friend, 2011; Carney-Hall, 2008; Quicho & Daoud, 2006). IEP team meetings, scheduled by educators, inevitably occurred during the school work day. Parents did not have the advantage of flexible work hours and were not financially capable of
missing a day of wages in order to participate in school proceedings. Yet supposedly “collaborative”
teams continued to meet in spite of parental absence.

Yes, I was invited. Only I got the letter one day before the meeting. I could not get off work and
come to the meeting. I thought it would maybe be o.k. So I said to have it without me. (Personal
Communication, P.G.)

School meetings are all during the day time, what are we supposed to do if we work? If I don’t
work, I don’t get my check or other help, they will take my stamps and what will my kids eat?
How could I go? (P.L.)

The outcomes for limited participation impacted both schools and families. Families unable to
participate in the evaluation of student performance had little input and were not be satisfied with the
resulting report. “Parentless” meetings effectively allocated all power to educators and created the
antithesis of IDEA.

Special education? I didn’t know my kid was in special education. I thought they said
she needed some help. I didn’t find out about the special education part until someone told me
my kid was in there. I said “yes” but how could I know what to do? (Personal Communication, P.
D.)

I want my son to get better school than me. He need[s] to speak and read
English. If he need[s] help from another teacher, do she speak Spanish? I
think he gets behind in that all Spanish class he is in because the teachers
do not want to help him as much as he need. The people at the meeting
are smarter than me, they are teachers. The teachers are smart, they know
the best, whatever they say I will do. I no[sic] want to cause trouble for my kids.
Whatever they say, I say okay…even if they are wrong. They are the teachers (Personal
Communication, P.F).

I would have told them more if I had known what they really needed. I thought it was funny that
they just kept asking me about when he started to walk. He was in the third grade. (Personal
Communication, P. K.)

I couldn’t understand what they were talking about. All the math. They said he needed special
education because the math said he needed it. (Personal Communication, P. M.)

Under these circumstances, parents functioned at the will and whim of educators, questioned their own
abilities to make decisions, and contributed little to the Individualized Education Program process.
Lacking knowledge of special education procedures, confused by terminology, and reluctant to question
professional opinions, parents simply were not prepared to enter the educational arena with equal footing.
This would seemingly indicate a need for greater communication and collaboration between parents and
educators and further prompts the question: “When will educators become truly invested in the
development of collaborative relationships with parents?”

Implications for Practice

Parents representative of culturally and linguistically diverse families faced problems in effectively
communicating with school officials and in understanding a school system based upon the needs of the
majority culture (Friend, 2011; Carney-Hall, 2008). Assessment data consistently points to the difficulties
that students with disabilities, particularly those from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds,
encountered when compared to their age and grade level peers (Joshi, Eberly, & Konzal, 2005; Salas,
Lopez, & Chinn, 2005). As educators, we must address the implications of ineffective practice and
consistently search for avenues of greater parental participation. We might easily address the perceived
challenges and eliminate many of the barriers to home/school collaboration by following dual principles
of communication: listening and responding. Parents, as the source of authentic information gathered
from years of observation and interaction with their children, are willing to participate in assessment and intervention-based planning if educators are equally primed to accept parental input.

While good teaching and high academic expectations for students are appreciated by parents, they do not insure parent involvement (Lee & Bowen, 2006). The same may be said for assessment of student performance: assessment professionals who value the role of parents must not assume that accurate assessment alone will secure parental involvement and must be vigilant in both listening to and incorporating parental viewpoints.

Educators must become more than disseminators of information. To become true collaborative partners, parents must have an understanding of assessment practices and goals to develop an empowered voice. This can only be accomplished when parents are given access to information that is accurate and understandable. Educators must do more than provide data gathered from multiple assessments. To facilitate collaboration, educators must explain the purpose of the assessment and how the information will be used to build upon student strengths while accommodating areas of challenge.

The services of knowledgeable interpreters are often crucial to successful collaboration as parents from linguistically diverse homes interact with school personnel. Parents should routinely be provided with knowledgeable interpreters who understand both the language of the parents and of the assessments, indicating school respect for linguistic diversity and helping to build a solid foundation of trust.

Parental confusion regarding roles in assessment may result from unfamiliarity with the processes that lead to eligibility for special education. Consistent with prior research (Wright & Wright, 2002) school districts frequently view parental knowledge as a “loaded weapon” that may be used to their detriment and may be reluctant to voluntarily provide parental training. Yet schools must provide that training and should develop a plan of action. A proactive stance may prevent schools from being caught in the dilemma of determining the specific information to be given to parents. When considering the basic question of timing of information, schools may elect to utilize one of two models: general information or targeted information.

Schools may determine that all parents would benefit from a general informational model. Under this model, all parents in the school district would be provided with general information to develop a better understanding of special education. Parents would consequently be better prepared to participate in the IEP process if their child experienced academic or other difficulties at some future date.

If using a targeted model, school districts may elect to provide parental training only after a child had been introduced into Tier One of Response to Intervention (RTI) or formally referred for a multi-disciplinary evaluation. In the targeted information model, parents are given information that will assist them in making decisions related to each stage of the IEP assessment and intervention process. However implemented, general or targeted, by providing training to parents, the school district better empowers them to be active participants in both the IEP meetings and in the education of their children. (Dilberto & Brewer, 2012; Edwards & Da Fonte, 2012; Lo, 2012; Friend, 2011).

Clearly, the burden of initiating meaningful communication and collaboration remains with the assessment professionals and other educators most intimately involved in assessment of student performance. Parents are often unaware of the assessment process and uninformed of avenues for increasing their knowledge. Although many parents might benefit from the services of an advocate or an advocacy course, most will simply find themselves as consumers of availability: they will absorb only the information and services that are offered by the school districts. If one assumes a common goal of student success, then parents and assessment professional must support all efforts towards that outcome. Only then will all students realize the educational benefit that the IDEA has so rigorously pursued.

References


Through the colonial past in Africa and its focus on imposing European languages and Western education on the African mind, the voices and visions of Africans have been suppressed as well as a whole body of invaluable indigenous knowledge(s). Postcolonial theorists and writers such as Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, and Ngugi Wa Thiongo have pointed to the colonized and ex/colonized fractured self-identity, denial and disdain of African cultural values and knowledge systems. In this paper, I will examine how the use of African languages as medium of instruction is instrumental in the revitalization of indigenous knowledge(s) and constitutes an important step in the decolonization of education in Africa. In the context of dual-language programs, suggestions for content-rich curricula will be given to reflect a culturally-sensitive approach with the integration of African-centered topics in language arts and science as well as community engagement.

Education throughout the world is changing and the main question that families, educators, and policy-makers have on their mind is “What is quality education?” What kind of education do we want for our children in order to prepare them to be productive citizens locally, but also to be able to function in the modern, globalized world? The answer to that question is very different from country to country, from community to community. In the case of education in Africa, in a context of multilingualism and in the context of a continent that has been scared by colonial and postcolonial processes, the main task is to create an educational system and curricula that address the needs of the African child. It is not one size fits all! Through visits on the field, through research, through exchanges with policy-makers, teachers and families, it is clear that quality education in Africa starts with remaining grounded in its own languages and cultures.

Much research and international collaborations have stressed in recent years the importance of the use of a mother-tongue as medium of instruction in basic education and beyond. As they begin the first day of school, millions of young African children hurry into the classroom with a spark in their eye and high hopes for the future only to find that their teachers speak a European language they cannot understand. Research and evidence-based studies have shown that students who receive mother-tongue education in elementary school make a smoother transition into the new school culture, develop a stronger educational background, and develop literacy skills that are transferrable to a second language (often the language of the former colonial power: English, French, or Portuguese for instance in sub-Saharan Africa). Thomas & Collier’s study of school effectiveness for language minority students shows better performance long term on assessments when students receive instruction in their mother tongue in the early grades. In the African context, Brock-Utne demonstrates from her studies in Tanzania and in South Africa that when students are given the opportunity to use their own language, they express themselves and write with more confidence, they are more expressive, and display critical thinking. Also, when taught content such as science and mathematics in the mother-tongue, students can understand and grasp the concepts introduced without a language barrier. But most of the research and reports from educational and development organizations as well as national governments advocate for the use of African languages (first language/mother tongue) as a pre-requisite, a support for literacy in the second language which will eventually become the only language of instruction by the middle years, high school and beyond. Maintaining mother-tongue based education in the primary as well as throughout students’ educational
voyage in addition to English, French, or Portuguese must be viewed in terms of cultural and community capital to be gained through the use of African perspectives and modes of thought carried through language itself. What does the use of African languages in education bring to the table? **Mother tongue education as the opportunity to see and express the world through an African perspective**

Language carries our world-views. World view is “the fundamental cognitive orientation of a society, a subgroup, or even an individual” (Palmer, 1996). Cultural linguists such as Pinxten, Van Dooren, and Harvey go on to say that it “encompasses natural philosophy, fundamental existential and normative postulates or themes, values emotions, and ethics (Palmer, 1996). Complicated enough? World view contains all the complexities of life itself. In language, world view is contained in its repertoire of imagery, its semantics and grammar, its symbols, and other elements verbal and non-verbal alike. Language and culture are intertwined and as Bada reminds us, “we perceive the world in terms of categories and distinctions found in our native language… and what is found in one language may not be found in another language due to cultural differences” (Genc & Bada, 2005). The use of African languages in school, allows the participants to view and express the world using their own schemata. To give a concrete example, if a teacher talks about family to young children in Wolof (the majority language in Senegal), there is no direct equivalent for daughter or son or sister or brother (in the way the gender is automatically differentiated in English or even in French). But rather, the words used are generic “doom” (for son/daughter), “mag” (if it is an older sibling) and “rakk” if it is a younger sibling. Traditionally, gender distinction seems less important than seniority. In African culture in general, age and seniority are the valued marks in society. Young children learn to respect their elders and this reminder is carved in everyday language. Telling culturally relevant stories using an African language with all its subtleties and expressive idioms brings children into a familiar and safe learning space, makes children feel rooted and ready to absorb the lessons and values contained within their culture. Proverbs often integrated within African stories are important expressions of an authentic philosophical system. In the course of field visits in Ghana for an investigation on the perception of parents toward mother tongue use, a team of Chicago State and Cape Coast University researchers found that parents had mixed feelings about African languages used in the classroom. Many parents felt that the use of English early to instruct students would allow them to become more proficient in the language and open doors of opportunity. But when further prompted, they also expressed a deep regret in the loss of their languages and the values they carry (Jor’dan & Etsey, 2013). The use of African languages in education thus becomes an important gesture in reclaiming African identities and safeguarding the traditions and the cultural expressions of a people. When we use African languages in education, it also allows different perspectives in subjects such as science and mathematics.

Science, mathematics, and technology have somehow become synonymous with the Western world. Traditional African knowledge in those fields has been pushed aside and often suppressed under the rapid and overwhelming advances in the West. A whole body of African indigenous knowledge(s) is carried through language, culture, and centuries of practical experiences and interactions with the environment. Numerous examples exist as to how African knowledge thrives in medicine (traditional use of plants), community development, agriculture and farming practices, energy production, and food technology (preservation), just to name a few. These skills, specialized knowledge, and attitudes can only be shared in their “authenticity” through language itself. When children talk about plants, how can the expressive Wolof word “sap sap” be conveyed in another language? It is an edible leaf, grown in hedges commonly seen around villages throughout the Sahel. The delicious sauce “mboun” contains such nutritious elements that organizations such as Church World Service (CWS) and Educational Concerns for Hunger (ECHO) have called it a “miracle food,” something the locals had known for centuries. Math systems are different from one culture to the other. The number system in Wolof is based on 5. The system can be taught side by side with the decimal system to make comparisons and foster critical thinking. But through the process, the participants would get a sense that their language and ways of thinking are also valuable in the world. African languages have often been devalued under the argument that they did not carry “scientific” and “technological” concepts. Most languages continue to evolve. They are by no
means static. Words disappear and words are added every day in dictionaries across the world. There is a strong push by African governments to bring African languages also into the 21st century. This implies creating alphabets for many languages that were predominantly oral for centuries, fixing orthographies, transcribing, and creating a rich repertoire of vocabularies for the modern world. Such efforts have led to books such as “Medical Swahili dictionaries,” “Technical Akan,” or “Business Wolof” manuals. After all, prominent African anthropologist, linguist, and physicist Cheikh Anta Diop set out to translate parts of Einstein’s theory of relativity in Wolof (his native African tongue) to prove that his language could also carry scientific and abstract concepts. But these scientific and technical concepts viewed through the African prism of language, take on once again the bend of the culture and the African mind. And that is precisely what language does: it projects a particular view of the world. The word for “medicine/drugs” in Wolof is “garab” which means “tree” or “root”. Such imagery lays out a whole history of healing traditions of the region using leaves, bark, and fruit from trees (the Baobab tree in particular).

**Mother tongue education as bridge between home and school**

For parents whose first language is not English, the use of African languages, materials, and curriculum in school would allow them to engage in conversations with their child, participate more fully in the educational process, and strengthen the bond between school and home, school and the community. One of the unfortunate consequences resulting from the adoption of English-only (or French/Portuguese-only) in African schools has been the marginalization of parents and community from the educational environment of the child (Dutcher, 2004). The underlying message is that the home language, culture and traditions, and the different knowledge(s) embodied therein are insignificant. Dual language/multilingual story books based on familiar regional tales or other creative narratives in both African languages and English side-by-side constitute wonderful collections for use in and out of the classroom. Collaboration with the community to collect stories (through recordings and interviews) and transcribe them constitutes a valuable task for celebrating and preserving language and oral history of the region. Such a gesture repeated throughout Africa will have a positive impact, particularly on less commonly spoken minority languages on the verge of disappearance. The Ndengeleko language, for example, spoken in Tanzania is most likely to disappear within a few generations, says Eva-Marie Ström. Even though it is still spoken by over 70,000 people in the country, it is being progressively swallowed by other dominant languages such as Swahili and English. Ström’s initiative to record Ndengeleko stories and other narratives is an important act in the preservation of a culture, its language and ways of life. Her recordings were conducted on-site with speakers of the language who are “interested in preserving their knowledge for future generations.” In a wider context, the maintenance and use of the mother-tongue in and outside the classroom in addition to English demonstrate pride and confidence in the cultural background of the children and the communities the schools serve.

Creating that bridge between home, family, and community, mother tongue education also connects “formal” and “non-formal education”. Through a familiar language for all, local expertise and local knowledge is made possible to enrich experiences and the curriculum. Children are able to go on a field trip to a nearby farm or visit a blacksmith or a weaver and ask questions about their work and their craft in the language(s) with which they are most comfortable. Many individuals in such occupations may not speak a European language and would not be able to share their knowledge and expertise in English or in French. Most importantly, when we use our languages and value our cultural expressions and technologies, we are shifting our educational outlook from an outward-oriented strategy to an inward-oriented strategy which roots us first in our soil before extending out. That is what every child in the world must be offered. With the loss of certain minority languages across the globe, we are bitterly reminded that when we do not teach our children our language, we have to recognize that how we think is also not passed on” (Genc & Barda, 2005).

Other bridges to success are also created in terms of gender equity. Mother-tongue education has also been demonstrated to be beneficial to girls. When the bridge between home and school is maintained, parents may feel more comfortable to send their girls to school and school does not seem like a place totally cut off from the home environment. When using African languages and learning basic skills in literacy and numeracy, girls acquire the practical knowledge to function in the traditional economy where
their presence is usually predominant (the marketplace, small business, and commerce in particular). The link between language and gender has been made by a number of researchers. Carol Benson in particular looked at differences between boys and girls in multilingual programs in Africa and Latin America and argues for mother-tongue based education as an effective strategy for addressing girls’ school participation (Benson, 2005).

The Integration of African-Centered Units in the Curriculum: Models and Reflections

In addition to length of mother-tongue use as medium of instruction, the other key factor for school success is “the way the treatment is implemented through the curriculum process” (Alidou, Brock, & al., 2006). Curriculum organizes the learning experiences of the children. It is the blueprint for their learning voyage and forges, as UNESCO’s quality framework notes, “life-long learning competencies, as well as social attitudes and skills, such as tolerance and respect, constructive management of diversity, peaceful conflict management, promotion and respect of Human Rights, gender equality, justice and inclusiveness” (UNESCO, 2011). Also, the curriculum contributes to the “development of thinking skills and the acquisition of relevant knowledge that learners need to apply in the context of their studies, daily life and careers” and, most importantly, it supports “the learner’s personal development by contributing to enhancing their self-respect and confidence, motivation and aspirations” (UNESCO, 2011). In this vein, an African-centered curriculum is one that would be grounded in African people’s lives. It is not a rejection of modern education and global progress, but rather it is a curriculum that starts with the African child, her world, her history, her needs. It then, branches out, once that strong basis is given, and provides all of the competencies needed to function in the modern world too. Such an education would produce individuals who are rooted in their cultures, but also equipped for the modern global word. A total revamping of educational systems and curricula in African schools from one day to the next is unrealistic, but efforts to integrate African-centered units & lessons in the various subjects taught (language arts, arts& crafts, math, and environmental sciences) can lead to other major changes down the line and long-term.

Several models for culturally relevant curricula have been well developed in other places in the world and can be used as models for Africa. The “Aboriginal Perspectives Across the Curriculum” initiative in Australia is one of such. In an environmental unit entitled “Caring for Wetlands-the Noongar Way,” the perspectives and particular local “knowledge” of the land and how to preserve it by the Noongar people form the basis of the unit which integrates 5 lessons. The topic information page which gives the purpose, student outcomes, key background points, and cultural & protocol considerations reflects a conscious design to value centuries old local knowledge in environmental science (conservation and care), to respect beliefs and approach the world the “Noongar way.” Here are a few excerpts below:

Caring for Wetlands-the “Noongar Way”

Purpose

• To create an awareness of the importance of protecting natural resources and to provide an opportunity for students to learn how Noongar people do this.
• To guide students to discover how Noongar people of the local area have always understood the importance of frogs in the eco-system.
• To show indigenous peoples’ understanding of the importance of water and their belief on the power of water to heal.

Student Outcomes

The student:

• moves towards understanding the Aboriginal people and in particular local people, the Noongars;
• moves towards respecting particular aspects of Aboriginal culture, namely how the people took care of wetlands and lived in harmony with their environment;
• learns the Noongar words “kooya” which means frog, and “boodja” meaning land;
• learns the Noongar words for the life cycle of kooya;
• watches in nature what they have learned about the frog’s life-cycle;
• develops a frog-friendly garden within the school grounds.

(from Caring for Wetlands the Noongar Way. Department of Education, Australia. APAC initiative).

Cultural attitudes toward the environment and balance in nature vary from culture to culture. Too often the Western approach to the “environment” is to “conquer” and bend it to individual use (and profit) regardless of the long-term consequences. The Noongar lessons are a reminder of a different perspective and belief vis-à-vis nature that should not be forgotten and discarded. African-centered units developed in a similar spirit for the various subjects in the curriculum would create for African children a culturally inclusive environment and enhance educational outcomes for them as both language and content that are relevant to their lives are introduced.

In conclusion, big strides have been made to re-conceptualize African education in many regions. The challenges of multilingualism, inadequate resources and poor infrastructure continue to plague the continent. But one thing is sure: offering basic education in one’s mother-tongue is the right way. Discussions about length of time and amount, the question of dual mode (education in an African language alongside a European language) and best pedagogical practices are currently on the table in more and more countries in Africa and elsewhere throughout the world because it is commonly understood that: “When you speak your language, it takes its place in the world concert of languages, your voice and your vision survive and matter” (Bassey & Ansa, 2012).
References
Identifying the Successful Strategies in an Efficacious Story-based Behavioral Intervention System: A Study of a Summer Day Camp for At-Risk 7 to 12-year Olds

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Abstract
This study identifies strategies which led to improved decision making, more effective behavioral choices, and reduction in behavior escalation, as well as faster de-escalation and reintegration into group activities, in a summer intervention program for at-risk children with significant behavioral and emotional challenges. This study is part of a multi-year research project which is tracking the organizational development of successful practices which appear to be efficacious with a population of students with emotional and behavioral dysfunctions who have not been successful in other settings.

Introduction
Ray of Hope is a seven-week summer day camp serving children exhibiting intense emotional and behavioral needs. The program’s primary and explicit focus is on direct social and behavioral skills instruction in the context of mentoring relationships with caring adults. This study identifies the strategies used in the 2012 summer program which appear to have resulted in improved decision making, more effective behavioral choices, reduction in behavior escalation, and faster de-escalation with reintegration into group activities, as shown in program outcomes data. A short historical description of the program and a comparison of the current strategies to historical approaches precede the presentation of the data and discussion.

Ray of Hope: History and Purpose
Ray of Hope's seven-week program which began in the summer of 1997 through a collaboration between community social service agencies and Rebound of Whatcom County, Washington, is a faith-based 501(c)(3) non-profit organization located in a community of approximately 70,000 people in the Pacific Northwest. At its inception, Ray of Hope’s purpose was to provide support programming for children from families in poverty or for children with behavioral challenges. One of the social justice and advocacy needs which Ray of Hope (ROH) organizers hoped to address was that due to the financial and/or behavioral issues of the children, families found it difficult to secure childcare during the summer vacation from school. With an overt mission of care and compassion, ROH organizers sought to fill this unmet need. Since 1997, the program has transformed and grown to serve primarily as an intensive intervention program for 5-12-year olds with behavior and emotional challenges. During its first year the program served 13 children; by 2005 it had grown to 40 participants. This pattern of growth continued, resulting in 99 children participating during the 2012 summer session.

ROH staff recognized that the children they sought to serve had been unsuccessful in other community programs due to their intense behavioral and emotional challenges. Therefore, there have been two key goals for the program since it started in 1997. These are that each child, (1) develops social connections with caring adults, and (2) learns effective social and behavioral management skills.

Connection to a strong and positive caring adult is a primary strategy used in the program. ROH is designed to be a place where counselors develop close mentoring relationships with each child, and where
each child is taught the life skills necessary to understand, talk about, and cope with what is happening in their lives in healthy, positive ways. Since this is such an intense intervention program, counselors are selected for the program based on their desire to serve children in a challenging environment.

**Program Description**

The ROH program provides activities from 9 a.m. until 3 p.m. Monday through Friday in addition to structured optional care until 4:00 p.m. for those families who need the additional service. Activities include: arts and crafts, group games, team sports, field trips, hikes, and horseback riding. Additionally, enrichment activities such as dance, drama, science, art, cooking, and music are offered. Embedded in each day’s schedule are blocks of time focused on a social skills curriculum aligned with the objectives for individual and collective student behavior and self-perception.

Each child is assigned to a small group of 10-12 similar-aged children with two or three counselors. Generally, there is a 1:4 staff-to-child ratio to support the behavior and emotional challenges of the children. All activities, including breakfast and lunch are experienced in the context of the small group. This context provides the structure, staff-to-child ratio, and the adult support necessary for in-the-moment instruction and the development of trusting relationships.

**Demographics**

ROH serves an ethnically diverse population. For the summer of 2012, the 99 children enrolled represented 65% Caucasian, 15% Hispanic, 10% Native American, 8% African American, and 2% Middle Eastern. The program serves nearly five times the number of minority students (as a percentage of total enrollments) as do the local public schools.

In 2012, 99% of the children served came from low-income households and had experienced Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE). ACE (include things like family poverty, homelessness, domestic violence, sexual assault, drug and alcohol abuse, parental incarceration, and/or other challenging circumstances) have current, and long-term implications; ACE have been found to have a significant life-long impact (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and Kaiser Permanente [CDC and KP], 2013). With this in mind, it is significant to note that almost half of the children were in foster care, and 41% had some involvement with Child Protective Services (CPS). The percentage of students involved with CPS has been significant for a number of years, illustrated in Chart 1 (Appendix B).

The majority of the children have disabling behavioral, mental health, and/or emotional challenges that require them to be in special services in their regular school or through other community agencies. Sixty-four percent of the student population qualifies for behavior or learning disability special education services in the public school setting, including one-on-one para-educator assistance to support them in the regular educational environment. Many of the children have been excluded from other community programs because of behavioral and emotional challenges.

**Community Referral Process**

Children are referred through various community agencies including: the Division of Social and Health Services (DSHS); the Division of Children and Family Services (CPS); Catholic Community Services (an agency which serves poor and vulnerable people by providing housing, individual and family therapy, psychological evaluation and intensive family support programs); Brigid Collins Family Support Center (an agency providing parenting classes and support for families who have experienced child abuse); local school counselors; individual family therapists; local homeless shelters; and churches.

**Staff Selection and Training**

Summer staff members, who serve as camp “counselors,” are hired through a local university and are recent graduates, or upper division students, in the Department of Human Services, the Department of Special Education, or the Department of Physical Education and Recreation. Each year there is substantial staff retention; for instance, 48% of the staff from 2011 returned for the 2012 summer program.

For 2012, summer program staff received 64 hours of training over nine days. The ROH administrative leaders provided the summer staff with training focused on connecting and building relationships with challenging children, generational poverty, de-escalation and intervention, and effective small group strategies. In addition to the training provided by the administrative leaders, the summer program staff also received the following training:
Consultants with McGraw Hill Publishing worked with community professionals to train staff in the use of the curriculum “Direct instruction in Social Skills.”

Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Services provided training on “Understanding and Responding to the Signs of Abuse.”

Stewards of Children presented on “Sexual Abuse Recognition and Prevention.”

Child Protective Services trained staff on mandatory reporting laws.

Dr. Greg Benner (University of Washington-Tacoma) trained the administrative staff in the PBIS (positive behavior intervention and support) strategies implemented in 2012, and the administrative staff provided this training and ongoing support for the 2012 summer program staff members.

**Review of the Literature and Program’s Past Data**

Research clearly shows that young children are deeply affected when their family social and economic environments are challenging, and protective factors are not significantly present to enable them to cope with risk factors (Bonnano, 2004; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). Furthermore, children with significant family-based risk factors demonstrate fewer protective factors and, therefore, less social competence (Swick & Hassell, 1990; Webster-Stratton & Reid, 2004). A CDC and KP (2013) longitudinal research study titled, “Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study,” notes that:

- Childhood abuse, neglect, and exposure to other traumatic stressors which we term *adverse childhood experiences* (ACE) are common. Almost two-thirds of our study participants reported at least one ACE, and more than one of five reported three or more ACE. The short- and long-term outcomes of these childhood exposures include a multitude of health and social problems (Major Findings, para. 1, retrieved from [http://www.cdc.gov/ace/findings.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/ace/findings.htm)).

The ACE Study is a large investigation designed to document and delineate the connections between childhood trauma (life-impacting dysfunction) and later-life health and well-being. This study was done by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and Kaiser Permanente's Health Appraisal Clinic (KP) in San Diego. It identified that things like family poverty, homelessness, domestic violence, sexual assault, drug and alcohol abuse, parental incarceration, and/or other challenging circumstances had current, and long-term, life-long implications (CDC and KP, 2013).

Furthermore, it has also been well established that where family-based stress factors, ACE, and identifiable mental or behavioral challenges all exist, a child is at risk of long-term poor developmental outcomes (CDC and KP, 2013). Additionally, a child in this situation often experiences social and academic failure if there is no intense involvement from mentoring adults adequately skilled in helping that child learn effective coping strategies (Baker, J. A., Dilly, L., Aupperlee, J., & Patil, S., 2003; Baker, J. A., Kamphaus, R. W., Horne, A. M., & Winsor, A., 2006; Doll & Lyon, 1998; Rutter, 1979).

The Search Institute (2012) has sufficiently documented the efficacy of building protective factors as a way of helping children cope with risk factors. For instance, in *Developmental Assets : A Synthesis of the Scientific Research on Adolescent Development*, Scales and Leffert (2004) look at more than 800 scientific documents on adolescent development and conclude that developmental assets, or protective factors, are efficacious resources in helping at-risk children find success in life as well as school.

A traditional consequence-based approach to children’s behavior has been deeply seated in public schools for many years; however, it has been shown that a consequences-based discipline system does not effectively build an internal locus of control (Glasser, 1998). Many have argued that even a rewards-based system can result in a failure to develop an internal locus of control (Kohn, 1999). The differences between a punitive intervention system and a PBIS system have also been well documented. For instance, Jolivette and Nelson (2010) found that even in juvenile detention facilities a PBIS approach is superior to coercion:

In 1999, the U.S. Surgeon General declared a mental health crisis among youth entering the juvenile justice system, and some professionals observed that secure juvenile facilities were becoming de facto psychiatric hospitals for children and youth (Grisso, 2007). The growing recognition of the mental health needs of the incarcerated juvenile population (Gagnon & Barber,
in addition to litigation against states and jurisdictions for abusive treatment (Grisso, 2007), research documenting the superior results of therapeutic programming compared to reliance on coercion and control (Lipsey, 2009), and strong advocacy for more positive and proactive approaches in communities and institutions (American Civil Liberties Union, 2009; Grisso, 2007; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2009), is influencing a trend away from reliance on coercion and control. Nevertheless, punishment continues to be the dominant intervention for addressing youth behavior in institutional settings. One approach in particular, positive behavioral interventions and supports (PBIS), has drawn attention as an effective alternative to punishment-based disciplinary strategies. Partly because of its widespread adoption and success in the public schools (Frey, Lingo, & Nelson, 2010; Skiba & Sprague, 2008), PBIS has been advocated for use in secure facilities (Gagnon & Barber, 2010; Gagnon, Rockwell, & Scott, 2008; Jolivette et al., 2008; Nelson, Sprague, Jolivette, Smith, & Tobin, 2009; Nelson, Sugai, & Smith, 2005; Scott, Gagnon, & Nelson, 2008) and is being implemented in an increasing number of these, with favorable results (Houchins, Jolivette, Wessendorf, McGlynn, & Nelson, 2005; Sidana, 2006).

These calls focus on providing (a) youth with emotional/behavioral disorders (E/BD) and related disabilities the same educational opportunities and strategies as their peers in more typical educational settings and (b) a tiered approach for preventing problem behaviors from occurring or problem behaviors from becoming worse. In addition, PBIS offers potential benefits to youth in secure care. For example, the PBIS framework has been reported to be effective for improving overall school climate and reducing school crime (Scott et al., 2008). Also, youth with E/BD in juvenile justice facilities have long histories of social failure despite prior remediation. The implementation of PBIS mitigates the effects of these negative histories by explicitly teaching the positive expected behaviors in that environment (Sugai & Horner, 2002).

With this research as background, the ROH administrative leadership sought to establish a new intervention system based on PBIS for the 2012 summer program. Dr. Greg Benner, a University of Washington-Tacoma faculty member provided the PBIS-based training which was the foundation of the 2012 summer program’s intervention system. The goal, therefore, was to for staff to utilize the training that Benner provided in the summer 2012 ROH program, replacing the previously used system which was more consequence-based. This training was titled “Sustained Positive Interactions with Students with Behavioral Challenges: Where Behavior Challenges Begin” (personal communication, ROH Executive Director, June 2012).

Summary of Research

The research shows that children exhibiting behavioral, emotional, and/or social difficulties often have ACE which impact their learning. It is also clear that a consequence-based intervention system does not effectively help a struggling child build an internal locus of control, and even a rewards-based system may not do so. Finally, it is clear that PBIS has proven to be an effective intervention system for children with significant emotional or behavioral difficulties, and appears to help build an internal locus of control.

The Training

The Benner training sought to identify primary intervention strategies, build student self-regulation (internal locus of control), prevent coercive interaction, and develop a plan for responding to challenging behavior in and outside the classrooms. The Benner-model interventions (described in the “Analysis” section below), based on PBIS, are in contrast with those which are based on coercion. In the Benner model students are given three chances to self-manage; they get a nonverbal cue, a direct request, and then an opportunity for reflection. During primary prevention the main focus is to catch disruptive behaviors, teach children to manage themselves and establish a non-punitive atmosphere where children develop an internal locus of control. These strategies were significantly different from the strategies used in the previous year. Program data and descriptions reveal that in past years, although there was no intent to use a punitive system, staff recognized that students’ experiences resulted in a punitive perception and experience.
Methodology and Changes
This study makes a comparative analysis between the 2011 and the 2012 program data. Therefore, the differences between the data collection strategies are presented below. Program data collection was based on a system using a “stoplight” color scale to communicate, record, and track behavior. The colors signify both a child’s actions and the severity of the actions. The colors are:

- Red: the child is being intentionally unsafe. Coded as: [R]
- Yellow: the child is intentionally not following directions. Coded as: [Y]
- Green: the child is following directions. Coded as: [G]
- Super green: the child’s behavior is above expectations. Coded as: [SG]
- Absent: the child is not at camp for an entire half, or full day. Coded as: [A]

In both 2011 and 2012, each child earned a color score for the morning and afternoon, for a total of two scores (data points) per day. The colors were determined by each child’s group leaders at the end of the day, during a leader debriefing session. Over the two years more than 2500 data points have been collected, and are used in this research study.

2011: The Primary Usage Of The Color Scale Was Zoning.
In 2011, each child’s daily scores were used to determine the child’s zone the following week. The four colors were assigned a numerical value (Super green = 3, Green = 2, Yellow = 1, Red = 0, Absent = 1.5), and at the end of the week, the child’s scores were totaled. The cumulative weekly total determined the child’s zone for the following week.

- **Super Green Zone: Score of 22-30**
  - Various additional privileges and rewards given (e.g., special snacks; line leaders; first choice of seats; access to special materials/games during activities)
- **Green zone: Score of 16-21**
  - No additional consequences or privileges
- **Yellow Zone: Score of 6-15**
  - Various consequences and loss of privileges (e.g., time off of every field trip; last choice of seating during group and program activities)
- **Red Zone: Score of less than 6**
  - Children who earned a “Red” half day spent the next immediate half day in the “Red Zone,” resulting in consequences which were more severe and nearly all privileges were revoked. A student could not spend an entire week in the “Red Zone”

Although the intent was not so, the cumulative impression and application of the zoning approach was punitive, rather than constructive in building developmental assets and a student’s internal locus of control.

2012: The Primary Usage Of The Color Scale Was Rewarding.
In 2012, the colors did not have a numerical value and were simply tallied. The only color visually reinforced for each child was their Super Green half-days. Earning a Super Green resulted in individual rewards and group rewards.

- **Individual rewards: Super Green Badge**
  - Once a child earned 10 Super Green half-days, the child was awarded a personalized “Super Green Badge.” The badge was presented in front of the entire camp in a celebratory manner, with a lot of audience participation by way of cheering
  - The badge earned the wearer two camp-wide privileges:
    - Any time his/her group voted on a decision, his/her vote counted twice
    - At the end of every day, the child got a popsicle with their snack
  - A student retained the badge for the remainder of the summer, or
  - If a child earned a Yellow or Red, the Super Green Badge was temporarily and quietly suspended
    - One Yellow half-day meant a child needed two more Super Green half-days to earn his/her badge back

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- One Red half-day meant a child needed four more Super Green half-days to earn his/her badge back
  - At the end of the summer, the one child from each of the eight student groups who had earned the most Super Green half-days, and the fewest Yellow days was awarded the title “Super Duper” and all eight Super Dupers earned lunch at MacDonald’s on the last day of Camp
- **Group rewards:** “Bucket-O-Challenge”
  - On Fridays, each group’s Super Greens were totaled, and the two groups with the highest number nominated a staff member of their choosing to go compete against each other at the “Bucket-O-Challenge.” The Bucket was full of ping pong balls on which humorous and silly tasks were written.

In both 2011 and 2012, the daily color scores of each child were recorded in an excel spreadsheet. All student data was then combined into a group total and examined for trends. Finally, all the group data was examined to analyze program trends. Appendix A shows examples of group cumulative scores and trends.

**Analysis**

Multiple sources of the data—program components, procedures, and outcomes—were triangulated (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and analyzed using the constant comparative method (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Grounded theory techniques were also used to examine the data. Grounded theory is a well-recognized qualitative research process (Marshall and Ross, 1999). Strauss and Corbin (1998) outlined the techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory. They outline the basic process of asking questions about the data, and making connections through the use of coding qualitative data, which leads to theorizing from the analysis.

The ROH behavioral intervention system implemented is based on the Benner PBIS inservice provided to the ROH staff during May 2012. The system operates as an organizational framework to guide staff in consistently responding to children’s “Yellow” behavior (which is off task and/or undesired behaviors, which are not endangering themselves or others), so that every staff member and volunteer is unified in their method of redirecting undesired behavior. The system shifts the focus of redirection from adults managing behavior, to children learning how to self-manage. A critical focus of the system is the general rule to “intervene and disengage,” thereby reducing interaction time with children who are misbehaving, reinforcing children who are demonstrating desired behavior, and maximizing time spent instructing the majority of the children.

To achieve the shortest amount of intervention time possible, the system is comprised of two quick, universal reminders, followed by a constructive behavior processing time (detailed below). Each of the two reminders are clues for the child to “check themselves,” as a chance to “self-manage,” in order to communicate to the children that staff members believe they are “smart and strong enough to make green choices” and that staff trust them to manage themselves with just small reminders.

**The first reminder is a non-verbal cue.** At ROH, it is three knocks on a hard surface, or three taps on the misbehaving child’s shoulder. No verbal intervention is used at this point. The adult administers the knocks/taps, then physically disengages, and moves away to reinforce another child, ideally for demonstrating the behavior that the recipient of the reminder is failing to show.

**The second reminder is a verbal cue, known as a “precision request.”** At ROH it is the phrase “Make it Green.” This is the only verbal intervention, and it is given once. The adult makes the precision request, physically disengages, and moves away to reinforce another child.

**The final step is a constructive, structured reflection time.** At ROH this step is called “Think Time.” Directing a child to “Think Time” is given verbally, and only once. The adult states to the child, “[Name of Child], Think Time,” and the location is specified. Then the adult walks away and starts a one minute timer.

The children are taught that when given the cue to go to Think Time, staff expect them to take themselves there in less than one minute. Once they have moved themselves to Think Time and demonstrate compliance, they are given a Think Time sheet. The sheet asks them to identify the
expectation they were not following, identify the expectation they need to follow, and asks whether or not they can do it. When a child finishes, he/she is expected to raise a hand. When an adult is available, the adult briefly discusses the child’s actions and, if the child is continuing to demonstrate compliance, welcomes the child back to the group.

A consistent protocol also exists in the event that a child is given the Think Time directive and chooses not to go, even after his/her minute has expired. The purpose of Think Time is not punitive, but reflective. However, the natural consequence of earning three Think Times in a single half-day is that the half-day is coded as Yellow.

Findings
ROH 2011

The data for students entering the 2011 R0H summer program reveals what one would expect: students had significant undesired behaviors which created complications for them in their home environments as well as school environments. Looking at Graph A (Appendix B), the data collected during week 1 indicates that above 20% of exhibited behavior was identified as undesired. Furthermore, the trend shows that the undesired behavior hovered just above 20% during week 1 and week 2 (the percentages each week represent the mean value for all camp groups). Between weeks 3 and 4 there was a steady increase in undesired behavior. Between week 5 and week 7 undesired behavior dropped. At the end of week 7 undesired behavior was just below 20%.

Again, looking at the Graph A, we see a similar trend for desired behavior: week 1 data show that desired behavior was above 70%. During weeks 1, 2 and 3, desired behavior hovered around the high 70% mark. During weeks 4 and 5 there was a drop in desired behavior. This trend data is a mirror of the increase in undesired behavior during the 2011. When you look at the data for weeks 3 and 4, you can see a parallel increase and decrease in desired and undesired behavior. Likewise, from week 5 to 7 you see an increase in desired behavior and a decrease in undesired behavior.

In analyzing this trend, the most significant revelation is that the change in desired behavior from week 1 to week 7, shows that there was not a significant change in the beginning and ending percentages of desired behavior. Likewise, looking at undesired behavior, when you compare week 1 and week 7 there is no significant change in the total percentage of undesired behavior.

ROH 2012

Looking at Graph B (Appendix B), you will see a trend line for desired and undesired behavior that is somewhat similar to the trend lines in 2011. However, there is a significant difference between the 2011 and 2012 data. Looking at an overall analysis, you can see that the week 1 data are comparable to the total percentages of the week 7 data for both desired and undesired behavior, and there has been little overall change. For instance, in week 1 the desired behavior is shown to be at about 90%; week 7 shows desired behavior to be about 90%. Likewise week 1 undesired behavior is right at 10%. In week 7 undesired behavior continues to be about 10%. However, upon closer examination the significant difference between the 2011 and the 2012 data is evident: the total desired behavior in 2012 begins more than 10% above the total desired behavior in 2011. In 2011, week 1 showed less than 80% of desired behavior. In 2012 week 1 shows better than 90% desired behavior; that's more than a 10% improvement. Furthermore, the same trend is seen in the undesired behavior when you compare 2011 and 2012. In 2011 you see more than 20% undesired behavior during week one, and in 2012 there was less than 10% of undesired behavior.

Discussion

In analyzing the ROH 2011 program training and paradigm, and comparing it to the ROH 2012 program training and paradigm, the data seem to support that there are positive outcomes in the 2012 program due to the switch from a punitive-base system to a non-punitive system built upon PBIS. PBIS, with its focus on non-coercive intervention, developing an internal locus of control, and positive, timely feedback, seems to have resulted in higher initial positive behaviors and lower initial undesired behaviors compared to the techniques and strategies used in the 2011 program. Analyzing staff end-of-program surveys and feedback, the preponderance of evidence indicates that staff members saw:
a. Improved decision making  
b. More effective behavioral choices  
c. Reduction in behavior escalation  
d. Faster de-escalation and reintegration into group

In focused interviews with the ROH Executive Director, the Program Coordinator, and other program leaders, this researcher clearly identified the same themes which appeared in the staff end-of-program surveys. All ROH administrative leaders indicated that they saw improved decision-making, more effective behavioral choices, a reduction in behavior escalation, and students showing faster de-escalation and reintegration into group activities when undesired behavior brought students to the point of needed intervention.

Based on a review of the literature, it is not surprising that the use of non-coercive techniques, the development of students’ internal locus of control, and regular specific positive feedback would result in more desirable behavior (Glasser, 1992).

Limitations

There are a number of limitations to this study. First, the study is focused on a unique population of students. The generalizability of this data to broader and more diverse populations of students should be viewed as tentative. Furthermore, one must keep in mind the student-to-staff ratio in this intervention program. The student-to-mentor ratio is significantly different from other typical intervention programs in K-12 schools, and many private behavioral programs. Although ROH serves K-12 students in the Pacific Northwest, this unique summer program is a collaborative effort between a faith-based nonprofit, state social agencies, and local school districts. Due to this unique partnership, the student-to-mentor ratio, and the limited set of data, generalizability must be viewed in a cautious manner.

Conclusions

This study highlights that the use of positive behavior intervention and support can result in the development and maintenance of higher levels of desired behavior for students in an intensive summer intervention program. Furthermore, evidence seems to support that the use of PBIS strategies with students in a program like ROH may result in a reduction in undesired behaviors upon entering the program, and that it may be maintained. The data also suggest that although there are positive outcomes for students in a summer intervention program using more traditional intervention strategies, the initial desired behaviors are not as positive, and the initial undesired behaviors are higher. In both the 2011 and 2012 program there is not a significant change from the week 1 to week 7 in the total outcomes.

This is the first of a multi-year research project. Future research should focus on identifying the reasons and variables that result in a reduction of desired behaviors and a rise in undesired behaviors during weeks 3, 4 and 5. Furthermore, more analysis needs to be conducted to ascertain if there is a direct correlation between the individual strategies in the ROH PBIS system and the increased desired behaviors and reduction of undesired behaviors. Such a direct correlation between the strategies and behavioral outcomes is difficult to substantiate at this time. Future research should seek to uncover whether there is a cause and effect relationship.
References
Weikart, David. 2012. Assessment conducted through Department of Early Learning with Youth. Assessment conducted through Department of Early Learning with David Weikart Center for Youth Program Quality, Ypsilanti, Michigan.
Appendix A
Examples 2012 cumulative group data for “Percentages of Super Greens”

In these data sets you see the mean group average for each of the 8 student groups for the 2012 program, presented in two formats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wk 1</th>
<th>Wk 2</th>
<th>Wk 3</th>
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<th>Wk 5</th>
<th>Wk 6</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>33%</td>
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Appendix B
Charts and Graphs

Chart 1: Number of students with CPS involvement as a percentage of the total student population.

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<th># of CPS students</th>
<th>CPS % of the total</th>
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<tr>
<td>2012</td>
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<td>41</td>
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Graph A: Desired and Undesired behavior, Summer 2011

Graph B: Desired and Undesired Behavior 2012
Defining the Nation in the Social Sciences: A Utilitarian Approach

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The Problem of Identity

Concepts in the social sciences are always difficult to define. Social scientists, attempting to emulate the natural sciences, often forget that a single definition is seldom adequate to elucidate all of the factors and nuances that are expressed in a given sociological term or concept. In fact, it is this multiplicity of meaning, this variety of possible definitions that allows the more creative among us to utilize language to conjure images that entice the imagination. However, for the social scientist, oxymoronic contradiction is counterproductive. Definitional consistency is necessary, if social scientific inquiry and analysis are to be of any assistance in attempting to understand both our history and contemporary affairs. We cannot jettison concepts simply because they are difficult to define. For example, Brubaker and Cooper (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, pp. 32-36) question the utility of a fundamental concept, identity, in social scientific analysis. They maintain that identity is “riddled with ambiguity, and “encumbered with reifying connotations” and that “[Q]ualifying the noun with strings of adjectives, specifying that identity is multiple, fluid, constantly re-negotiated, and so-on” … increases rather than diminishes the conceptual confusion.” They question further the notion of groupness, asking what differentiates these reified groups from “categories around which self and other identifications may but certainly do not necessarily or always crystallize?” And ultimately, for purposes of “conceptual clarity” and “political understanding” they advocate a focus on networks in which “groups move in and out of cooperative arrangements.”

Brubaker and Cooper’s focus on reducing ambiguity is well directed. However, rather than retiring problematic concepts, clarity can also be obtained by defining how a concept is used in the context of a particular analysis. It is this approach that is advocated here. Human interaction, the social nature of our species, makes it impossible to begin any type of social scientific inquiry that is not premised upon group identity. There could be no social science without the unstated assumption that we can distinguish our species from other hominids with which we share and have shared this planet. We can and do, as both laymen and social scientists, categorize people, things, and events around perceived characteristics that we require to make sense of our existence. Consequently, in defining the nation, which is the primary focus of this paper, I will risk a certain degree of reification for the reward of increased conceptual clarity.

No term in social science is more ambiguous than the nation. Over four decades have passed since Hugh Seton-Watson (1977, p.3) observed that “many attempts have been made to define nations, and none have been successful” and Zubaida (1978, p. 53) asserted that “there is no systematic way in which any social theoretical discourse can justify the state of nationhood in one case and deny it in the other.” Nevertheless, since then, scholars have continued to offer definitions of the nation and nationalism and in so doing, have also interrogated and defined a variety of other problematic concepts—culture, ethnicity, society, and state being the most salient among them (Balakrishanan, 1996; Caney, George and Jones, 1996; Eley and Suny, 1996). All of these conceptual inquiries are predicated to varying degrees on notions of group identity. And though I contend that social scientists should not abandon these definitional projects because of their reifying connotations, it is inexcusable to use concepts haphazardly. In the social sciences, the utility of a definition is its ability to provide a point of departure for analysis at a particular historical juncture. Hence, we should not only expect, but also applaud differing schools of thought on, and differing definitions of, a complex concept such as the nation, as long as the analyses in which they occur pass the test of internal consistency.
The Postmodernist Dilemma

Ozkirmili (2010) has placed the most perceptive analysts of the nation into three major schools of thought: primordialism, modernism, and ethno-symbolism. Despite the differences among them, most primordialists focus on the perceptions and beliefs of individuals to generate strong attachments. (van den Berghe, 1979; Geertz, 1993) From the modernist perspective, nations and nationalism appeared in the last two centuries in the wake of the French Revolution: they are the products of the emergence of capitalism, industrialization, urbanization, secularism, and the bureaucratic state. Though adherents to this school of thought stress different factors--economic, political, or social/cultural--all of their analyses see the nation and nationalism as European in origin (Nairn, 1981; Hobsbawn, 1990; Anderson, 1991). Taking a slightly different approach, ethno-symbolists stress preexisting ethnic ties and sentiments in the formation of modern nations. For the ethno-symbolist, the birth of a nation has to be analyzed over many centuries and must be contextualized within the larger phenomenon of ethnicity (Armstrong, 1982; Smith, 1986, Hastings, 1997). However, since the full emergence of the nation must still await the development of processes associated with modernity, I contend that ethno-symbolism is not a school of thought that is distinct from modernism.

Similarly, on the surface, postmodernist scholars critique modernity (Bhabha, 1990; Hall, 1996). The postmodern understanding of nationalism argues “that nations and nationalism are primarily narrative and discursive formations (patterned ways of thinking, talking about, and acting in, the world) and are best understood as such, whatever their correspondence with material reality” (Hearn, 2006, p. 244). For the postmodernists “nation is a particular way of thinking about what it means to be a people, and how people thus defined might fit into a broader world-system” (Calhoun, 1997, p. 99); and, most importantly for our purposes here, a modern nationality is only possible within the discourse of nationalism.

But discourses also have a history. There is nothing “epistemically novel” about recent postmodern decades; “the fundamentally discursive nature of social reality,” as posited by postmodernists, its ideational construction, is still the result of social organization and power (Hearn, p. 246). The idea, then, that the nationalist discourse emerged in Western Europe, and thereafter became the blueprint for global political organization, was as much a consequence of a European military and cultural expansion in the nineteenth century as it was the development of a new kind of state. This is an important point to which we shall return below. However, for now, suffice it to say that despite its many important insights, postmodernism’s reliance on notions of a hegemonic discourse of nationalism is somewhat disingenuous.

Since postmodernist scholars maintain that the nation acquires meaning only within the discourse of nationalism, while they simultaneously assert that nationalism cannot be precisely defined, we are discouraged from seeking common conceptions of the nation. Consequently, because of their insistence upon the modernity of the nation, whether conceptualized as an ethno-symbolic extension of pre-existing ethnic sentiments or a postmodernist rise of a nationalist discourse, I contend that there are really only two main schools of thought on the nation and nationalism--the primordialist and the modernist. Primordialists admit the possibility of nations before European hegemony. Modernists of all persuasions adhere to the same basic Eurocentric paradigm, the modern, hence western origin of nations.

Nationalism or Patriotism

All definitions contain or imply theories (Cohen, 1995, p. 11). Yet, the definitions used in social theory, unlike those in the natural sciences, cannot be proven by experimental repetition; they must rely on history to test their validity. In the theoretical/definitional discussions of the nation, conceptualizations of culture and the state continually surface. And, though scholars have debated the utility of this ethnic/civic dichotomy--the nation as language, culture and tradition on the one hand, and as a shared commitment to a political creed on the other--nation is still used to refer to both groups united solely by a common culture and/or ethnicity, as well as territorially defined states, regardless of the degree of their cultural or ethnic homogeneity (Tamir, 1996, p. 86; Charvet, 1996, p. 53).

For example, I have previously advanced a definition of the nation that emphasized ethnicity and territory. In this definition, the nation was seen as an ethnic group that desired to control its own state (King, 2006, p. 184). Following Connor (1994, p. 77), my primary goal in offering this definition, was to
differentiate the nation from the nation-state by designating the latter as a relatively rare occurrence, where a single or dominant ethnic group controlled the state apparatus; in this instance, I focused my attention specifically on ancient Egypt. These definitions of the nation and the nation-state were both premised upon situational/constructivist/instrumentalist notions of ethnicity and offered primarily to divert attention from the Eurocentric notions of modernity that framed the debate. Although this analysis of ancient Egyptian society showed that the nation-state was not a new type of state that emerged in the wake of the French Revolution under the aegis of capitalist inspired modernity, the relative paucity of states that would fit this definition of the nation-state placed the utility of the concept in question. I have subsequently come to realize that a slight revision of the definition of the nation would have significant analytical benefits. Therefore I now define the nation simply as a group that claims the right to independent statehood or territorial autonomy; where “right” refers to the power or privilege to which one is justly entitled (Merriam Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, 1997). In so doing, I have considerably broadened the utility of the concept. The former definition, in limiting the nation to the ethnic group, could not readily accommodate multi-ethnic independence movements. The latter definition has resolved this problem: it can encompass the contemporary Basque nationalist, as well as the Asante, Ga and Ewe nationalists in Britain’s Gold Coast colony during the post WWII period. Moreover, it still focuses on the desire to consolidate state power, while also being flexible enough to allow for specific historical analysis of the factors that contributed to making this desire for sovereignty and/or autonomy important.

This definition is supported by Hearn’s analysis, which also allows for the territory claimed by the nation to be “embedded within a larger territory that is otherwise claimed and/or divided between the jurisdictions of separate states”(pp. 11-12). However, unlike Hearn, I maintain that the term nation should only be applied to the group that is mobilized in pursuit of those territorial claims. Utilizing this definition, the nation would not exist without the desire for state control and it would coalesce around those who were so inclined. Moreover, once independence or autonomy is attained, nationalism would, at least for purposes of analysis, become unnecessary. I would therefore distinguish nationalism from patriotism, which is used here to mean support of—not necessarily love of—one’s particular state. If the instrumentally driven nationalistic endeavor creates autonomy then a socially constructed patriotism helps to maintain it. I would, of course, also admit the possibility of, if not the adherence to, other reasonable conceptualizations of the nation and nationalism, as long as they are clearly articulated and consistently applied by their proponents. That said, providing useful definitions of concepts like the nation for analytical purposes always depends on key related terms that are often equally as problematic to define. I will concentrate on the state, since it is included in the definition of the nation.

**The Territorial Factor**

Many political theorists contend that “to identify the social with the political is to be guilty of the grossest of all confusions, which completely bars any understanding of either society or the state” (MacIver, 1964, pp. 4-5). It is therefore not surprising that both Marxist and Liberal Democratic theorists advance notions of stateless societies that see society and the state as conceptually distinct. However, every society has some kind of legal system to enforce and interpret its regulations. Consciously or not, people realize that social life would become impossible if the basic assumptions of that system were constantly violated (Doob, 1964, p. 72).

This rejection of the concept of the stateless society has been advocated most vigorously and consistently by students of African history. Over four decades ago Afigbo (1972) questioned the notion of the stateless society through a close examination of the indigenous political systems of the Igbo speaking peoples of southeastern Nigeria. The Igbo constitute one of the three largest ethnic groups in Nigeria, the other two being the Hausa-Fulani and the Yoruba. We have little direct evidence of Igbo political institutions prior to the colonial period because contact with Europeans did not occur until the latter part of the 19th century. The earliest written description of Igbo society and institutions was by the ex-slave Oladuah Equiano, alias Gustavas Vasa, who, however, was only about twelve years old and had to write in English, using terms that did not “satisfactorily express Igbo ideas.” Because of this, Afigbo maintains that many of the anthropological works that attempted to analyze political systems among the Igbo
speakers up to the time of the writing of his article in the 1970s had generalized far too much about history and development of Igbo political organization; they had “lumped all the Igbo into one type that was marked by … the absence of governmental institutions distinguishable from the kinship system.” Afigbo clearly shows that “this kind of generalization can hardly be defended” (pp. 13-14). Instead, he traces the development of varying types of political organization among Igbo speakers and advocates a broad division of these societies into “presidential monarchies” and “village republics” that can be further subdivided into four types which, though similar, have regional differences. However, most importantly for our purposes here, each of these types is “an association of fellow citizens who have agreed to cooperate to maintain law and order and promote social welfare” (p. 20); each of these types is an example of a state.

We need only examine Jared Diamond’s Pulitzer Prize winning work *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (1997) to witness an alternative view of the relationship between society and the state, applied on a global scale. In showing how environmental and geographic differences impact political diversification, Diamond divides societies into bands, tribes, chiefdoms and states, based upon population, settlement patterns, and degree of governmental and economic complexity/specialization. According to Diamond, states are “organized on political and territorial lines” and bands, tribes and chiefdoms by kinship. For Diamond, this categorization permits the possibility of considerable variety within each division. Diamond also makes it clear that this evolutionary categorization is not offered to show the inherent superiority of the individuals residing in the more centralized societies but is used rather to illustrate that regional population density “has something to do with the formation of complex societies” which have come to dominate the modern world (p. 284, italics in original).

This evolutionary categorization, with states limited to centralized societies of 50,000 or more, is obviously not without its modern exceptions—the states of Monaco and Lichtenstein immediately come to mind. And, since the Igbo are agricultural and sedentary, they would not fit into Diamond’s most extreme category of decentralization, the nomadic band society. It is clear, however, that Diamond realizes that the territorial factor also has to be considered in band societies. Witness the fact that while he characterizes the band as having no permanent single base of residence, he also notes that “[E]ach band of a few dozen hunters occupies a large territory, within which they can acquire most of the resources essential to them.” Moreover, he sees this “band’s land” as utilized “jointly by the whole group, instead of being portioned among subgroups or individuals.” Even the Fayu of New Guinea, the band among whom he lived, “consist of about 400 hunter-gatherers that are scattered through the swamp” in “a region known as the Lakes Plains” and wander “over a few hundred square miles” (pp. 265-287). Consequently, for Diamond, the lack of a permanent residence and sedentary living does not negate the importance of territory, even in the life of band societies.

Though I am more convinced by Afigbo’s analysis, from the above comparison with Diamond’s work, it is obvious that for purposes of defining the nation, it makes little difference whether one accepts or rejects the notion of stateless societies because both society and the state can be most usefully conceptualized by focusing on their common territorial basis; both have territorial boundaries, even if the social life of some individuals transcends them. Consequently, this territorial factor is the most important variable that can be used to distinguish both the state and society from concepts such as culture and ethnicity. Cultures and ethnic groups may often extend beyond the group’s control of territory but states and societies are defined by it. And, while individuals may carry their culture and ethnicity with them, they would be hard pressed to do the same with their society or state. This seemingly simple distinction has important ramifications for any attempt at defining the nation, since it follows that a culture or ethnicity can be expressed independent of membership in a particular society or state.

**Reification and Retrospection**

However, even if we do not acknowledge the merit of the conceptual distinction between state/society and culture/ethnicity; even if societies, like cultures, remain for us imperfect generalizations because the boundaries of different sorts of social action do not coincide, does “the idea of society as an autonomous, organized, interdependent system, lose its plausibility”? And are we, consequently, better off adopting the
idea, advocated by Tilly (1984, p. 25), of focusing on “multiple social relationships, some quite localized,” and some more extensive. According to Tilly, because social life spans legal frontiers, it has always involved relationships that freely cross state boundaries. Therefore, he asserts that we have to ask the empirical question, similar to Brubaker and Cooper’s above, “under what conditions do such groups,” in this case societies, “ever form?” According to Tilly, the difficulty in answering this question compels us to also: 1) “choose a single activity or relationship” (language, market etc.) as a criterion of demarcation and leave the relationship of the particular phenomenon chosen “to the boundaries of other phenomena open to empirical inquiry;” or 2) “admit that social relations form continuous fields” and arbitrarily delineate societies or other “possible units of analysis” within those fields (pp. 24-5, 80). I contend that defining the nation as a group that claims the right to independent statehood or territorial autonomy satisfies both of Tilly’s requests.

Taking point two first, as noted above, try as we may, we cannot avoid groups or categorization. And I have realized with Tilly that “[T]he choice among many possible units of analysis lays the theoretical responsibility directly where it belongs: on the theorist” (p. 80-1). Hence, in interrogating the concept of the nation, I have not been deterred by the often arbitrary nature of state boundaries, at least as they impact social interaction, but have instead focused on the territorial factor as the critical variable necessary for differentiating the state from the nation, defined as a group that claims the right to independent statehood or territorial autonomy. In so doing, I have also satisfied point one by identifying territorial autonomy as the criterion of demarcation between the nation and the state. How this desire for autonomy emerges, manifests, and maintains itself is, however, still open to empirical inquiry. Wherever this inquiry leads us, it does not detract from the fact that governance in a specified territory defines the state and is the goal of the nation.

Though there have been modernist scholars who have stressed political transformations when examining the nation (Hobsbawm, 1990; Brass, 1991), the definition of the nation that I have advanced would also admit the possibility of the existence of a group so defined in antiquity. However, this definition does not presume that the nationalism is a natural primordial sentiment but advocates instead that the social scientist investigate the historical processes that engender the right to claim control of a specific territory in any era. I therefore applaud the work of scholars such as Grosby (1991, 2005) because he has not been deterred by accusations of “retrospective nationalism,” attempting to view the politics of earlier times through a modern conceptual lens (Eley and Suny, p. 10). Instead, he has sought the nation and nationalism in ancient Israel before 586 BCE; in Sri Lanka from 161 BCE to 718 CE; in Japan from the late 7th to 9th century CE; and in medieval Poland during the 14th century (Grosby, 2005, pp. 57-79). Yet Grosby’s definition of the nation differs substantially from mine. For Grosby, the nation is “a territorial community of nativity” that “differs from other forms of kinship”—where it should be noted that kinship can also be “a consequence of the perception of being related”—“because of the centrality of territory.” The “extent of its territory” and “relatively uniform culture” provides stability, that is, “continuation over time” (2005, pp. 7, 14, 41-2). More importantly, Grosby also says that “to restrict considerations of nations and nationalism to only politics, specifically, to the consolidation of power of the state, is to trivialize the place of nationality in human affairs” (2007, p. 533). Though sentiments based on culture or ethnicity are often a significant part of the nationalist endeavor, it is not trivial to suggest that the best way to differentiate these sentiments from others that are equally as compelling is to focus on the goal of state control or autonomy within an existing state. This does not prevent us, in fact it compels us, to investigate how, for example, politically oriented national self-consciousness morphs from a sentiment of common nativity into action. Nationalism is a political movement; it creates and is created by the nation. Like structure and agency, one cannot exist without the other.

It follows that Grosby’s work is most useful when it focuses on the aspirations of the groups in which he identifies this sentiment of territorially based kinship. He alludes to these aspirations in Sri Lanka when he refers to “[T]he ideal of a unified island, represented by the earlier military victories of the Buddhist King Dutthagamani” (161-137 BCE) as “a goal to be achieved” and notes further that “it stood in contrast to long periods of instability and regional conflicts during much of the early Anuradhapura
period of Sinhalese history (137 BCE to 718 CE).” He focuses more extensively on group aspirations when he refers to “the image of a legally and religiously unified territorial relationship of ‘all Israel’” as “a goal to be achieved, given the events during which much of the Hebrew Bible was likely written, specifically the Assyrian subjugation of the northern kingdom of Israel (722 BCE) and the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem (586 BCE)” (2005, pp. 60-1). And, as Roshwald (2006, p. 18), informs us, by the late first millennium BCE, these biblical texts “had become the universally accepted basis for Jewish religious belief” ultimately leading to the repeated challenge to Roman rule in Palestine “by violent uprisings aimed at the restoration of Jewish territorial sovereignty.” When coupled with Roshwald’s analysis, Grosby’s examination of ancient Israel’s history speaks more forcefully to the nationalist endeavor than does, for example, his discussions of Japan and Poland, which focus primarily on myths to illustrate the uniqueness of each group within a particular territory.

Consequently, though much of Grosby’s work is insightful and interesting, his definition of nationalism, which focuses on both territory and bonds of kinship and nativity is, nevertheless, inadequate. For example, it cannot readily accommodate multi-ethnic nationalist movements in Africa, where independence from the mother country superseded any notions of kinship or ethnicity. Certainly the racial difference between colonizer and colonized was a rallying point; and it could be argued that Pan-Africanist sentiment, if construed as “nativism,” was also an important component that bolstered a general sense of nationalist zeal in Africa after WWII. But to trivialize the desire for political independence—to make it secondary to any other motivations in the definition of nationalism—is to completely miss the mark. If we are to even attempt to utilize the nation as a category of analysis, the political arena is the most salient area upon which to concentrate. Of course, I must concede that even when group identity is restricted to the desire to control state power there may be differences of opinion on how to achieve this goal. Nevertheless, if we are to attempt to avoid reification at all, the claim for group territorial autonomy remains the most useful criterion of demarcation upon which to base national identity.

As noted above, there are also more modernist oriented scholars that fail to see the nation as politics (Eley and Suny, 1996). For them the accusation of retrospective nationalism looms large as a general critique of Grosby’s primordialist orientation. Can we legitimately utilize present categories in the analysis of past societies? I contend that we cannot help but conceptualize the past through the prism of the present. This does not mean that we should not also attempt to understand past societies as they understood themselves. It does mean, however, that we cannot escape using our contemporary concepts to explore these understandings. For example, Igbo political conceptualizations were not premised on any ideas of democracy that were derived from contact with Europe; extensive contact not coming until the end of the nineteenth century. Was G. P. Murdock (1959), then, guilty of “retrospective democracy” when he characterized the Igbo as being an example of “primitive democracy?” Was Afigbo (1972) equally as guilty of retrospection when he explained that what Murdock found as primitive should be classified as “direct democracy” and that “representative democracy” was also part and parcel of Igbo political organization? Responding affirmatively to these questions would render meaningless much of the social scientific scholarship that is premised on concepts such as culture, race, class, and of course, ethnicity.

**Discourse and the Subaltern Challenge**

In responding to the accusation of retrospective nationalism, I must also address the modernist assertion that the discourse of nationalism becomes dominant as capitalism expands in the 19th century, thereby denying earlier states even the possibility of being classified as nations or nation-states. Adhering to this modernist spirit, Ozkirmili (2010, pp. 208-14) defines “nationalism as a particular form of discourse” and then proceeds to discuss the claims of this discourse: identity claims, temporal claims and spatial claims. Ultimately, these claims, which are to some extent reminiscent of Smith (1991, pp. 44-5), manifest themselves as popular sovereignty, territorial integrity and a “world-wide system of national states.” Temporal claims—the assertion that “the nationalist discourse always looks back in time”—also articulate well with Smith’s (1986; 2000) ethno-symbolist affinities, despite conflicting evidence from recent postcolonial states, particularly in Africa, where the colonial enterprise gained significant
momentum only after the Berlin Conference of 1884. Nevertheless, scholars can still explain colonial independence movements in general by the discourse of nationalism. As Eley and Suny put it: “in colonizing the world, metropolitan nations also create hegemonies of possible meanings” where “[E]ven the most self conscious and radical” nationalists “mount their emancipatory demands from a ground of identity which colonialism’s power has already laid down” (p. 28). I will discuss this anti-colonial identity directly below when I examine the most formidable aspect of this nationalist discourse, the world-wide system of national states.

Let me first point out, however, that in his claims of nationalist discourse, Ozkirmili concedes that the nation is a group with a political identity. It is therefore not surprising that territory would be included in his analysis of the primary claims of the modern discourse of nationalism. However, ideas of popular sovereignty and a world of compact nation states are more problematic. In fact, I maintain that the prescription for a world of compact (or equivalent) states and to a lesser degree, popular sovereignty, are precisely the points at which the discourse of nationalism can and should be challenged. First, regarding popular sovereignty, surely this is an aspect of the modern discourse of nationalism that has yet to be completely fulfilled. Ideas of popular sovereignty have been and continue to be resisted throughout the modern era. Until late in the twentieth century, the Soviet empire and a theocratic state of Iran existed side by side (Hirsch, 2000, pp. 201-4, Saffari, 1993, pp. 81-2); and absolute monarchies like Saudi Arabia and Qatar persist to this day. Moreover, Roshwald alerts us to the fact that “[E]lightenment era social contract theory, which lies at the basis of modern, secular conceptions of popular sovereignty and national self-determination, is largely an intellectual offshoot of biblical covenant theology.” He notes further that “popular sovereignty continues to be widely understood as being conferred by divine will rather than, or along with, natural law.” This condition obtains, despite the fact that Enlightenment thinkers “tended to be more comfortable invoking classical models than biblical precedents” (pp. 16, 173). Keeping these historical antecedents in mind, what is really new about the claims of popular sovereignty that Ozkirmili highlights is that they mandate that the nation be construed as a legal status, where state power is neither simply an external force nor a manifestation of personal feeling. This particular claim of nationalist discourse confers certain rights and imposes certain duties on its members, requiring at the very least that those who share “nationality” are the “nation” and that each “nation” corresponds to a state (Gilbert, 1998, p. 9).

It is this aspect of nationalist discourse, then, the Westphalian blueprint– the assumption that the Peace of 1648 marks the beginning of “International Law” and that the world should thereafter be divided into compact sovereign states-- that has been most successfully imbibed as common sense. As Calhoun (1997, pp. 13-17) dutifully reminds us, the globe has not always been divided into the different colored countries that we see on modern maps, which depict the world as “supposedly equivalent nation-states.” Indeed, for scholars like Calhoun, modern maps represent the type of banality that clearly illustrates hegemony at work (Billig, 1995). But why has this aspect of the discourse of nationalism been so successful? When we review the history of Europe during the 19th century, the century when European military power and industrialization slowly begin to insinuate themselves into the thoughts and practices of the rest of the world, we see that the nationalist movement initially expressed itself both in support of and in opposition to empire. The historical processes that led ultimately to the dissolution of the Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman empires created empires in Africa under the guise of the civilizing mission. Prestige, in the European political milieu of “the age of nationalism,” made empire a necessity. In fact, it was not until after WWI that self-determination was articulated in any legally consistent manner on a global scale. And even under the auspices of the League of Nations, this doctrine was not really meant to apply to Africa. In Africa, the League set up a mandate system under which the German colonies could be transferred to the victorious Allied Powers. In addition to governing, the colonial powers were tasked with preparing the mandates for eventual independence by making them “functioning members of the world community” under “the prevailing capitalist model of the nation-state” (Reader, 1998, p. 611). However, in actual practice, the mandated territories were beneficiaries of few progressive policies, and remained very much like colonies. After WWII, this mandate system was transformed into the United
Nation’s trusteeship system and Article 73 of the Charter (1945) proclaimed that members of that body should “take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples; and [to] assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its people and their varying stages of advancement.” Thus, it was the UN, a Western dominated suprastate organization, which legalized the transformation of colonies into independent states in Africa. And in fact, in the British colonies much of the nationalist struggle in Africa did consist of a good deal of “preparation” by colonial masters for indigenous democratic rule within the context of this global system (Nnoli, 1978). Clearly, despite the recent and often arbitrary nature of the colonial boundaries, Western military power, under the auspices of the United Nations, intervened to insure that the “world of nation-states” would appear to be the only possible form of political organization in this era of modernization.

The creation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963 clearly exemplifies the affects of this nationalist discourse. African leaders, seeking to fashion an institution that would represent them on the world stage, tabled the vision of a united and potentially more economically developed Africa for the acceptance of colonially constituted state boundaries, the daunting task of embarking on the patriotic project, and the consolidation of state power. The OAU bound its members to adhere to, among other principles: 1) the sovereign equality of all member states; and 2) the non-interference in the internal affairs of states (Khapoya, 2013, pp. 241-8). However, even within this nationalist discourse, European empire in Africa persisted; it was not until 1975 that the Portuguese colonies achieved independence; Southern Rhodesia would have to wait until 1980. By the time these colonies became independent; their place in the world of “nation-states”—a world that supposedly reflected the development of a new kind of state—had already been reserved by a discourse that in reality owed its genesis to a combination military and economic power that was perpetuated by western control of the interstate system. Whether this system will be challenged in any serious way by processes of globalization and cosmopolitanism remains to be seen.

To date, the challenge to this nationalist discourse has been made most forcefully by “subaltern” scholars (Chatterjee, 1993, 1996; Guha, 1997). It is they who have criticized Europe for attempting to colonize both India and the Indian imagination. They maintain that despite the dominant discourse of nationalism that pervaded Indian society during the colonial period, Indians still managed to construct their own national identity within a narrative of community. Community is used here to express the cultural domain. What emerged in India, then, was a distinction between the spiritual, inner realm of the Indian culture and the material, outer realm of the colonial state. Within the present context of studies on nationalism, this is not a meaningless observation. Yet Chatterjee fails to follow this observation to its logical conclusion. The independence of this spiritual domain represents the beginnings of resistance not only to the discourse of nationalism, but also to the hegemonic Eurocentric paradigm. According to Chatterjee, “if there is one great moment that turns the provincial thought of Europe into a universal philosophy,” it is capital “that is global in its territorial reach and universal in its conceptual domain” (1993, p. 235) I would agree with the spirit of Chatterjee’s observation here, though I would substitute Eurocentrism for capitalism, given the ambiguity of capitalism as an analytical tool (Grassby, 1999). What has come to rule as commonsense, especially since Europe united the hemispheres in 1492, has been the belief in European exceptionalism; the belief that the development of European ideas, institutions, states, and technology were somehow divorced from developments in the rest of the world (Frank, 1998). I would, consequently, restate Chatterjee’s observation: it would be Eurocentrism, not capitalism that turns “the violence of mercantilist trade, war, genocide, conquest and colonialism into a narrative of universal progress, development, modernization and freedom” (1993, p. 235). In the same vein, I would also disagree with Ozkirimli’s assertion that “when is the nationalist discourse” should be the question posed by scholars rather than “when is the nation?” (p.213) To question whether the states that emerged after the beginning of Western global political dominance were really new kinds of states, does not represent a failure to acknowledge and/or comprehend the discourse of nationalism; it is simply an attempt to exploit a crack in the formidable edifice of Eurocentrism in the social sciences.
Conclusion

There is no substitute for group identity in the social sciences; even focusing on categories or networks instead of groups permits a certain degree of reification. It is also unacceptable for the social scientist to employ a concept that s/he cannot define. For, though definitions may vary, it is only the consistent application of a clearly defined concept that makes it useful as an analytical tool. Consequently, I have defined the nation as *a group that claims the right to independent statehood or territorial autonomy*. In so doing, I have: 1) focused on the political imperative, leaving the sentiments that are mobilized in pursuit of this goal of autonomy open to historical inquiry; 2) clearly separated the nation from the state—the nation aspires to territorial control, the state, even when it is conceptualized broadly as society, is defined by it; and 3) limited nationalism to only those sentiments and activities mobilized in this political endeavor, thereby defining those actions and sentiments that support an existing state as patriotism.

The definition utilized here also does not limit the emergence of the nation to a modern era that was spawned by the West’s rise to power on a truly global scale. It does not mistake a nationalist discourse born of Western military and cultural hegemony for the birth of a new type of state. Instead, it sees the Westphalian model, which mandates that the world be divided into legally equivalent states, as part of larger Eurocentric dynamic that demands resistance.

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The Process of Implementing Electronic Portfolios into a Teacher Education Program: Pitfalls and Successes

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Abstract
In response to a “low-performing” status ranking from the Michigan Department of Education coupled with the need to develop an efficient method for collecting assessment data, University of Detroit Mercy implemented electronic portfolios as one strategy for improvement and data collection in the Teacher Education Program. After two years of implementation with revisions each year, the status ranking from the Michigan Department of Education has improved to “satisfactory” both faculty and students have accepted the electronic portfolio as an integral part of the Teacher Education Program.

Contextual background for the Teacher Education Program
The University of Detroit Mercy (UDM) Education Department was formed when the University of Detroit and Mercy College in Detroit consolidated in 1990. The merger united not only the physical property but administrations, faculties, students and the internal structure of the institution. This event created the College of Education and Human Services whose existence has been changed from a College to the Education Department in the College of Liberal Arts and Education, in which the Education Department resides.

The mission of the Education Department is to produce graduates who are ethical, value-directed persons possessing a scholarly mastery of subject matter, who recognize that all children can learn, and who engage students in an interactive, dynamic process of learning. This mission is based upon a vision of teacher as scholar, teacher as an inquiring educator, and teacher as moral agent.

The current common professional core courses are a result of alignment with Michigan Department of Education Professional Standards for Michigan Teachers (PSMT), integration of faculty member(s) experience in the K-12 educational system, feedback from local school administrators, and incorporation of both historical and contemporary educational theories from recognized educational experts. In addition, all faculty members bring in current relevant literature to their courses. The program is designed to first provide students with a theoretical background and then move into specific content related material.

Since 1990, the Department has undergone downsizing as the demand for teachers has decreased in the Detroit area. As cohorts of teachers completed certification programs, much of this influx of students has abated so the Department has focused on improving the success rate on the Michigan Teacher Test for Certification (MTTC) and the overall Teacher Preparation Institution (TPI) score. The TEP was identified as “low-performing” by the State of Michigan during the 2006-07 academic year based on a TPI score of 32. The TPI score is a calculated score that takes into account MTTC scores, program review status, the percentage of high needs (science, mathematics, special education) prepared by the institution, the diversity of the teacher education candidates, principal survey responses, surveys of college supervisors, feedback from teacher education candidates, and program completion rate for 6 year cohorts. A Program is considered low performing if the calculated TPI score falls below 52. The rankings from the Michigan Department of Education (MDE) are: low-performing < 52, at-risk 52-55 (75-79%), satisfactory 56-62 (80-89%), and exemplary > 63 (≥90%). The status of the program remained low-performing for the next two academic years, 2007-08 (34) and 2008-09 (36). This low-performing status placed the program under Corrective Action by the MDE. Department faculty and staff developed a Corrective Actions Response Plan for the State of Michigan which has been followed diligently. The result of strict
adherence to the Plan is that the TPI score for 2009-10 improved to 54 which ranked the TEP in the category of “at-risk” and then to a score of 56 for 2010-2011 which moved the TEP into the category of “satisfactory” (Memo to the State Board of Education, Subject: Receive the Report on the 2010-2011 Teacher Preparation Institution Performance Scores).

Currently, teacher certification areas offered by the Department are fully approved by the State of Michigan Department of Education; however, in order to maintain approval, all Teacher Preparation Institutions (TPI) in Michigan must achieve national accreditation by 2013 (Michigan Department of Education Professional Preparation and Development Unit). Institutions may elect either of the approved accrediting bodies, Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC) or National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). TEAC and NCATE are set to unify as one organization under the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP) in 2013.

Process of Program Evaluation/Review by faculty

As the Corrective Actions Response Plan was being developed, areas of both strength and weakness in the TEP were identified. An area of strength identified by the faculty was the current research base utilized by faculty while teaching their courses. The faculty believe using a research base in the development of courses and assignments in those courses provides students with clear examples of best practice while modeling best practice by the faculty. However, as individual courses were reviewed for alignment to the PSMT, it became clear that there were gaps in the curriculum. The review was an arduous process that improved not only each course, but also, the faculty teaching those courses. During the review process, every syllabus and assignment was carefully analyzed for alignment to the PSMT. The assignments from each course were placed on a matrix aligned with each standard and sub-standard of the PSMT. The matrix allowed the faculty to visually identify standards which were either being minimally addressed or not at all. After the initial analysis was complete, faculty met and agreed upon how each standard would be met as they worked to improve the TEP and thus, the TPI score. Although the need to move toward national accreditation was pending, Departmental focus was on improving the TPI score. However, a small group within the Department started the writing process for the Inquiry Brief Proposal. The work done on curriculum alignment assisted the faculty in clarifying the claims and evidence sources for the Inquiry Brief Proposal and continues to guide program improvement.

Portfolio Development

As the faculty was working to improve the TPI score, the TEP also achieved candidate status with the Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC), UDM’s choice as a national accrediting body as this process occurred prior to the unification of NCATE and TEAC under CAEP. Both the process of raising the TPI score and achieving national accreditation are designed to improve programs. The decision was reached by the faculty to utilize the electronic portfolios in the data collection and analysis required for national accreditation as well as one of the strategies to increase the rating with the Michigan Department of Education. Clark and Eynon (2009) identified the need for increased accountability in higher education as one of the four major drivers of e-portfolio use. Another major driver of e-portfolio use is the change in higher education to more student-centered learning. These were both salient points in the decision to implement electronic portfolios in the TEP at UDM. The MDE ranking and the TEAC process both demanded accountability. The mission of the University states:

The University of Detroit Mercy, a Catholic university in the Jesuit and Mercy traditions, exists to provide excellent, student-centered, undergraduate and graduate education in an urban context. A UDM education seeks to integrate the intellectual, spiritual, ethical, and social development of our students (University of Detroit-Mercy Mission Statement).

Department faculty believe strongly that education should be student-centered as is stated in the UDM Mission and, thus, the TEP is designed to be student-centered providing an excellent education.

Research in Sweden by Granberg (2010) studied electronic portfolio introduction and development from 2002-2009. She found that there was no common understanding for construction and use of electronic portfolios. Granberg (2010) cites Barrett and Carney (2005) stating that the purpose of the portfolio should be defined before the process of implementation. The faculty at UDM defined that the portfolio would be used for program assessment and that the portfolio should also serve as a tool teacher
candidates could utilize in their search for employment. The selected the platform Foliotek (http://foliotek.com/) based on ease of use for faculty and students, ability to extract data as the TEP moved toward national accreditation, and flexibility of the portfolio when utilized by teacher candidates for employment searches. Initially, the portfolio structure was designed to collect select assignments from every course in the professional core for the Program. Students were provided with a list of potential assignments expected to demonstrate competency of each standard and given the opportunity to self-select the assignments to upload into the portfolio. Assignments that aligned with specific sub-standards within the PSMT were selected in an attempt to assess all 57 sub-standards using the rubric provided by the MDE, the Profile of Teacher Knowledge and Skills (PTKS). Teacher candidates were also required to include a reflection on each overall standard in their portfolio. Two semesters of data were collected from teacher candidates. The faculty members who initially started the assessment of the portfolios quickly realized that the structure was not well-designed for teacher candidates or faculty. A third faculty member completed the review and the three met to discuss improvements of the portfolio structure. The small committee made a recommendation to the Department that the portfolio be revised to allow teacher candidates to self-select artifacts that aligned with each of the standards. At this point, collection of data to demonstrate competency of sub-standards was still understood as a strategy for data collection.

During the second year of electronic portfolio use, teacher candidates self-selected artifacts and wrote reflections on each standard. The PTKS was used as the rubric for assessment of the portfolios. Feedback from teacher candidates and the faculty member assigned to assess student portfolios was positive with regard to the design of the portfolios. However, the rubric presented challenges as it was designed to assess novice teachers during their first year in the classroom and required observation of the novice teacher. Without personal observation and, with only a one semester student teaching experience rather than actually being employed by a district, it was improbable that sub-standards such 6f: Participate with professional educators, school personnel, and other stakeholders in collaborative and cooperative planning, decision-making, and implementation, to improve educational systems at all levels or 7g: use technology to engage in ongoing professional development, practice, productivity, communication and life-long learning could be objectively and accurately assessed. Using the PTKS for assessment of each sub-standard in this manner was an “educated guess” at best.

Although it was clearly recognized by the faculty that the portfolio structure still needed revision, it was also recognized that the extensive review of courses and alignment of assignments with the PSMT could provide valuable data to be used as evidence of competency of teacher candidates; thus the portfolio was used extensively as evidence for the Claims section of the Inquiry Brief Proposal for TEAC which was simultaneously being developed. An Inquiry Brief Proposal presents a plan for acquiring evidence beyond that which is required for state approval and that meets TEAC’s Quality Principle I: Evidence of candidate learning (Teacher Education Accreditation Council Guide to Accreditation 2012). Since the TEP at UDM had undergone revisions to improve the TPI score, collection of data in recent years was limited to that required for state approval. Writing an Inquiry Brief Proposal rather than a full Inquiry Brief was chosen as the only viable option for pursuing accreditation with TEAC.

The faculty attempted to rely solely on evidence collected in the portfolios for the Inquiry Brief Proposal; however, this proved to be ineffective. Other consistent data were available such as the College Supervisor Observation Form, Cooperating Teacher Observation Form, content specific and overall grade point averages, and Michigan Teacher Test for Certification (MTTC) scores so, ultimately, the additional sources of data were incorporated into the Inquiry Brief Proposal to support the claims.

As the second academic year of portfolio implementation ended, the decision to revise the portfolio again was reached. This time, the structure of the portfolio did not change. Teacher candidates continued to write reflections on each standard and self-select artifacts to demonstrate competency of the standards. Two changes were implemented for year three: a revised assessment rubric and greater emphasis on student reflections on each artifact in addition to student reflections on the Standards. The assessment rubric for the portfolio is based on the PTKS provided by MDE; however, it is designed to assess the overall standard rather than each sub-standard individually. The rubric takes into consideration competencies which can be demonstrated through artifacts and do not require direct observation. The
College Supervisor Observation Form and Cooperating Teacher Observation Form provided the direct observation of teacher candidates and, thus provided evidence for those sub-standards not easily demonstrated through an artifact such as a lesson or unit plan. To provide evidence that teacher candidates are able to demonstrate TEAC Quality Principle 1.4.1 Learning how to learn (Teacher Education Accreditation Council Guide to Accreditation 2012 pg 12), teacher candidates are required to write a reflection on each artifact placed in the portfolio in addition to a reflection on the overall standard in addition to the observations made by the College Supervisor and Cooperating Teacher.

University of Detroit Mercy Teacher Education Program was using traditional paper portfolios when the decision was reached by program faculty to move to electronic portfolios. Although reaching the decision was non-eventful, the move to electronic portfolios presented the same challenge of learning new technology discussed by Chatham-Carpenter, et al. (2010) that the process of implementing electronic portfolios presents challenges at several levels. Lack of support and resistance to change by the faculty were not experienced at UDM because the decision to implement electronic portfolios was discussed and consensus was reached a full academic year before a platform was selected and the portfolio was integrated into the final semester of the TEP during student teaching. The design of the electronic portfolio to facilitate its use as an assessment portfolio as the TEP went through the Teacher Education Accreditation Council national accreditation process afforded the opportunity to review and evaluate program curriculum.

Teacher candidates were initially resistant to the electronic format but have now accepted it as an integral piece of the TEP. Moores and Parks (2010) provide twelve suggestions for introducing electronic portfolios which include: “identify the added value of the using an e-portfolio, consider when and how the e-portfolio is introduced, assessment guidelines should be transparent but not too prescriptive and use the e-portfolio to give feedback” (p 46-48). The electronic portfolio is introduced in the first course of the professional core and continues to be discussed throughout the program. Instructors suggest artifacts and tie them to the PSMT, reminding teacher candidates that the electronic portfolio is a requirement of the TEP. Teacher candidates are provided with rubric for portfolio assessment to guide them as well as multiple opportunities to meet with the instructor for additional help in portfolio development. Feedback is given to teacher candidates from their peers and by the instructor. Teacher candidates present their portfolio to their peers and Department members during student teaching. They receive immediate written and verbal feedback. This feedback is intended to assist in preparing the teacher candidate for future employment interviews and to provide suggestions for the final assessment portfolio.

The journey toward electronic portfolio implementation in the Teacher Education Program at University of Detroit Mercy has been a growth experience for faculty and students. The process of rigorous curriculum review decreased redundancy in courses throughout the program and pushed the faculty to improve courses to meet all of the Professional Standards for Michigan Teachers. This process contributed to the increased ranking from the Michigan Department of Education and helped the faculty clarify claims and evidence for the TEAC process. As both faculty and teacher candidates become accustomed to the electronic portfolio, it will begin to be implemented earlier in the Program rather than at the end as it is currently. This step will allow faculty to meet as a group and review cohorts of students’ work as they progress through the program and use the knowledge gained to advance continuous improvement. The utilization of assessed outcomes results in the greatest benefits for all students when they learn from the portfolio process throughout the entire program.
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A Strike-Wise Community of Women: Hawaii’s Twentieth Century Labor Feminists

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Introduction
With its specific labor and colonial history relative to the U.S., Post-World War II (WWII) Hawaii was a unique, unparalleled incubator for Hawaiian women’s labor activism. Female agricultural and service workers, teachers and nurses, all played a significant role in the state’s labor movement, achieving several major victories for male and female workers alike in the state’s labor movement, between 1940 and 1990.

Like Cobble (2004), who argues for the feminism of working-class female labor activists, my work demonstrates that Hawaiian women were labor feminists participating in multiple types of activism simultaneously, especially energized by the specific, oppressive colonial history of Hawaii’s former plantation economy. In fact, according to Stryker (2000), “participation in social movements can change the perceived interconnectedness of multiple identities,” as many members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women often saw their identities as feminists and as union members as inextricably linked (p. 116).

Hawaiian women’s interpretation of feminism proceeded as follows: they saw their workplace rights, such as higher wages and better working conditions, as closely connected to their family’s needs, such as better housing and education for their children, and to their community’s needs, such as protecting their culture and their environment against the powerful forces of colonialism. These women’s sense of mutual responsibility for their larger community had its roots deep in Hawaiian beliefs of “ohana” and aloha,” which referred to Hawaiians’ genuine love, concern and mutual responsibility for members of the community, beyond simply one’s immediate family, or blood relatives (Trask, 1999, p. 94).

Hawaii’s Working Women: By The Numbers
According to Bill (1997), Hawaiian women, especially married women, have consistently worked in larger numbers than women in any other state since 1940, ranking 17th out of the 50 states in women’s total workforce participation, largely due to the high cost of living in Hawaii—in agriculture as field or cannery workers, in education as teachers, in healthcare as nurses or, more recently, in the service/tourism industries. Between 1900 and 1940, Hawai’i’s women entered the paid labor force in numbers equal to the rest of the country, with married working women in Hawai’i (18.8%) doubling the national figure of married working women (9%), ranking second in the nation for women’s to men’s earnings for year-round, full-time work (Schmitt, 1977, p. A4). Of the state’s total labor force in 1942, Hawaiian women comprised 31% of that population, as compared with 25.4% of mainland working women. From 1930 to 1970, women’s presence in Hawaii’s workforce grew steadily, from about 36,000 to over 120,000 women; this number never declined over this nearly half-century period (Schmitt, 1977, p. A4). In 1970, 47% of Hawaii’s women were in the state’s workforce; by 1990, 63% of Hawai’i’s women worked for wages, compared with the national figure that year of 57% (Bill 1997).

Despite Hawaiian women’s strong, consistent labor force participation—repeatedly boasting the highest rates of working women in the country—they are largely missing from the twentieth-century story of the state’s labor activism, which signals a cognitive dissonance in that story and a gaping hole in the scholarship, not yet addressed by historians of Hawaii. There is no doubt, then, that Hawaiian women were very present in the state’s labor movement, in large and small ways; for too long, their stories of fervent, consistent and sustained labor activism have gone untold. These women’s stories of labor
activism deserve further examination, as they reveal new layers of nuance and complexity in Hawaii’s labor history.

**Hawaiian Women: Agricultural Labor Activists**

The earliest of Hawaiian women labor activists were female agricultural labor activists, among whom three women were very prominent, namely, Helen Kanahele, a Native Hawaiian; Harriet Bouslog, a Caucasian labor attorney; and Ah Quon McElrath, the Chinese-American daughter of a picture bride.

**Helen Kanahele**

Helen Kanahele served as the president of an International Longshoreman’s Workers Union (ILWU) Auxiliary, as well as treasurer of the United Public Workers (UPW) Auxiliary, in Hawaii. Having grown up an orphan raised by a Scotch-Irish woman who trained her as an Hawaiian dancer, Kanahele joined the labor movement in Hawaii as a young child, first inspired by her political activist uncle. Abandoned as a child, she said she always “made room in her heart for a wronged brother or sister who needed help” (“The Reminiscences of Helen Kanahele,” 1975, p. 5). A Native Hawaiian known for her activism on behalf of basic rights for Hawaiians in the workplace, she once described her fury at ILWU plantation and dock workers being picketed by union bosses’ wives, during the 1946 Great Sugar strike: “Why are we sitting here watching?” she demanded. “Let’s show these women we’re not afraid of them!” (“The Reminiscences...” 1975, p. 3). Of the workers for whom she fought that day, Ms. Kanahele said “we were doing our part to convince the people that we were fighting for, for the rights of the people and for better working conditions” (“The Reminiscences...” 1975, p. 3). Like so many Hawaiian activist women, she also advocated for other political causes, not only for pro-union Democrats, but also for civil rights during the “Hawaii Seven” case, in which seven ILWU labor activists in Hawaii were accused of being communists during the Red Scare of the 1950s. Kanahele also fought for Native Hawaiian rights, often lamenting that there was “one kind of justice for the upper-class haoles (whites) and another kind of justice for Hawaiians,” in the 1951 Wilder Case, when two Native Hawaiians were falsely accused of murdering a white woman (Clarke, 1956, p. 5).

**Harriet Bouslog**

Harriet Bouslog, an ILWU labor attorney who fought tirelessly not only for workers’ rights, but also for basic human rights, was only the eighth woman to join the Hawaii Bar in December 1941. In fact, Bouslog rapidly became the voice of the working class in Hawaii’s courts, often the lone attorney willing to represent workers against employers, like the “Big Five” plantations in Hawaii, the group of five plantations who dominated Hawaii’s agricultural markets until the 1950s (Puette, 1991, p. 41). Furthermore, she helped to create fair labor laws for Hawaiian workers, and successfully defended those two Native Hawaiian men mistakenly accused of murdering a white woman in the Wilder case, with Kanahele describing her as the “only lawyer who would touch the case” (Clarke, 1956, p. 6). In addition, Bouslog successfully gathered public support for abolishing the death penalty in Hawaii in 1957. In the “Hawaii Seven” Trial, Bouslog defended seven Hawaiian ILWU members accused of being communist co-conspirators under the Smith Act, also known as The Alien Registration Act of 1940, which is a federal statute that set criminal penalties for advocating the overthrow of the U.S. government, requiring all non-citizen adult residents to register with the government, specifically focusing its prosecutions on highly politically charged organizations and figures, such as labor unions (Seventy-Sixth U.S. Congress, 1940). Temporarily disbarred from the practice of law for openly questioning if people charged with communism could receive a fair trial in the starkly conservative environment of post-WWII, martial law Hawaii, Bouslog was reinstated when her appeals led to a landmark decision in her favor by the U.S. Supreme Court In *Re Sawyer* (1959). Among the controversial comments about the Hawaii Seven Trial, which led to her temporary disbarment, were:

• “There is no such thing as a fair trial in a Smith Act case...that would be virtually, if not literally, impossible...in wartime Hawaii where martial law rules the day...” (Bouslog, 1951, p. 5).
• The U.S. government, had “overthrown” the Bill of Rights, “purposefully denying” the Hawaii Seven’s “right to a fair hearing and a fair trial...simply because their ideas were
unacceptable...automatically branding them criminals... and essentially conspiring to silence all opposition...” (Bouslog, 1951, p. 6).

Attorney Bouslog had a genuine passion for her work, and a communal conception of democracy, of which she spoke, when she said she was inspired by workers in the Great Sugar Strike of 1946: “Whenever I think of democracy, I think of a meeting...of about 600 to 700 people at Lahaina, Maui, in 1946, who, after a 79 day strike...people whose children needed clothes and shoes and food...refused to return to work until the eleven men {who were the strike leaders...charged with unlawful assembly and riot} were guaranteed reinstatement without discrimination” (Arrinaga, 1997, p. 3).

Ah Quon McElrath

Yet another female labor activist and feminist trailblazer in Hawaii, who worked closely with Kanahele and Bouslog, was Ah Quon McElrath, a woman whose mother had originally traveled to Hawaii as a “picture bride” from China at the turn of the century (O’Farrell & Kornbluh, 1996, p. 135). Not only was McElrath the first social worker, and the only woman hired at the predominantly male Local 142 of the ILWU, but she also played a key role in earning the right for ILWU and agricultural workers to bargain collectively under the “Little Wagner Act” in Hawaii, which enabled the organization of farm workers (such as sugar workers in Hawaii) into unions, a provision which had not been included in the original Wagner Act in 1935 that had allowed for organizing most other workers into unions--a right which ILWU workers first expressed in the Great Sugar Strike of 1946 (O’Farrell & Kornbluh, 1996, p. 146).

Growing up herself in a working class Honolulu neighborhood, McElrath had a strong empathy for and identification with the working class and with the poor, whom, she contended, “have been swept under the rug...and blamed for practically all of the ills of society” (Mast, 1997, p. 305). Describing her own cannery work at the tender age of 13, before child labor laws were passed in Hawaii, “as nothing less than backbreaking...trimming pineapples {at the cannery} was very hard, physical work...the acidic juice would {almost always} run into my gloves and give me a rash.” (Mast, 1997, p. 305). In fact, her dozens of jobs at canneries and plantations in Hawaii as a child and young adult--“instilled in me an ability to understand the value of hard work...and to identify with cannery workers who faced such harsh working conditions” (O’Farrell & Kornbluh, 1996, p. 135).

McElrath often said that Hawaii’s labor movement “should never forget the history that made us (the ILWU) an important force,” such as when it won almost equal pay parity with West Coast longshoremen in the Great Dock Strike of 1949 (O’Farrell & Kornbluh, 1996, p. 135). Therefore, she sought to raise workers’ consciousness about their rights and about the “vast possibilities of an economic system...that treats people with dignity and respect, giving them a measure of control over their lives...and the ability of trade unions to give that to working people...a stronger sense of equity and justice {in the capitalist marketplace}” (Mast, 1997, p. 305). Despite being accused of communism herself as such a strong labor advocate, McElrath made social activism a way of life, working tirelessly for the poor and workers’ rights, namely for universal healthcare in Hawaii in the 1970s, as well as on the Committee of Welfare Concerns.

By exploring the experiences and lives of more prominent labor activists like Kanahele, Bouslog and McElrath, and the lives of lesser known, but no less heroic, female foot soldiers, who were either advocating for equal pay for themselves as field workers, or were supporting their husbands at the grassroots level through tense moments of labor strife with pickets, protests and soup kitchens, this project assembles these stories into a new, comprehensive history of Hawaiian women’s labor activism.

Hawaiian Women Education Labor Activists

During the twentieth century, then, Hawaiian women’s labor activism manifested itself in frequent patterns of overlap in women’s activism across several politically charged and progressive causes at the same time, simultaneously energizing each other’s respective causes, be they for workers, housing or education. Two of the most prominent female education labor activists were Odetta Fujimori, the first president of the Hawaii State Teachers’ Association (HSTA), and Joan Husted, the second, longest-serving president of the HSTA, following Fujimori.
Odetta Fujimori

In 1971, Odetta Fujimori led the charge for creating the HSTA, so as to establish separate collective bargaining units to represent the needs of teachers exclusively. The organization soon exceeded 6,000 members, after breaking from the Hawaii Educ. Association (HEA), which had both school administrators and teachers as members in the same bargaining unit.

When the HSTA chose Fujimori—a woman of mixed-race descent, part-Japanese, part-Hawaiian and part-Chinese—as its first president, it demonstrated its progressive, reformist approach. Nevertheless, Fujimori faced racial discrimination from some members for being part-Hawaiian, and thus was unfairly stereotyped as “lazy and laid back;” however, she bravely led the HSTA through its tumultuous inaugural years (Monahan, 2011). When she left HSTA in 1973, she became the first Asian-American woman to join the National Education Association (NEA’s) Executive Board.

During her brief tenure at the HSTA, Fujimori also successfully won teachers’ what she described as such “basic, dignified rights as no longer having to clean their own classrooms and mop their own floors, without even so much as a lunch break” (Monahan, 2011). Not only did Fujimori advocate for and win the elimination of teachers’ time clocks, she also worked to increase their salaries and preparation periods. In short, Fujimori—herself the daughter of ILWU labor activist parents—said she sought to “compensate teachers’ properly and accord them respect as professionals” (Monahan, 2011). A testament to Fujimori’s skillful, adept leadership was the fact that she managed to mediate—and to stop—a strike at her last HSTA meeting, all while being nine months pregnant (Monahan, 2011).

Joan Husted

For the next thirty years, after Fujimori’s departure for her new role at the NEA, Joan Husted, a Caucasian, mainland transplant from Michigan, led the still-very new teachers’ union in Hawaii for the next 30 years, carrying on Fujimori’s mission of seeking to professionalize teaching in Hawaii: “Teaching is one of the few professions over which teachers have no control over who enters the profession...And certainly one of the components of a successful public education system is a well-trained, well-compensated teaching force” (Monahan, 2011).

In short, Husted, who also once led the Hawaiian State Commission on Status of Women, and also fought for comparable worth for women in the state “absolutely refused” to be known as the union president of the “first bargaining unit in the state to agree to an increased workload {a longer workday, fewer preparation periods and more class time for teachers} without also winning the teachers a higher salary” (Monahan, 2011). Fearlessly commenting at a public HSTA meeting just prior to a 1973 strike, Husted said that “the state, like a reluctant spouse, has protested the marriage counselor approach of mediation” (Teacher Advocate, Feb. 28, 1973, p. 7).

In fact, Husted did not allow anyone or anything, to stand in her way, including the governor: “At the governor’s (John A. Burns) funeral, one of the governor’s staff approached me, grabbed me, called me a nasty name, and said, to my face, that I had killed the governor {through her intense, passionate leadership of the HSTA}” (Monahan, 2011).

Hawaiian Women: Nursing Activists

Like many working women nationwide, Hawaiian women joined the ranks of the state’s nurses in large numbers after World War II. In fact, the membership of the Hawaiian Nurses’ Association (HNA) more than doubled, from 3,000, in 1970, to 10,000 in 1990 (May Lau, 1991, p. 1). When understaffing and low pay became common for staff nurses after hospitals in Hawaii merged in the 1960s and 1970s to save money, a trio of strikes ensued amongst the state’s nurses in the 1970s and 1980s.

Claudine Tomasa

For nurses like Claudine Tomasa, an R.N. and an HNA representative, the issue was that “their value as professionals was not recognized in terms of compensation by employers...We were working harder, with more responsibilities, but not being compensated...We weren’t being treated as professionals” (Fillner, 2005, p. 2).

Similar to Hawaii’s teachers, she struggled to create a “full-fledged union” exclusively for staff nurses “insulated from the influence of supervisors {and budget concerns}, protecting the integrity and respect of nursing as “more than a job, but as a true profession and calling,” the “practice over which we should
have {complete} control...since we are dealing in the business of human lives...which cannot be replaced” (Fillner, 2005, p. 3).

**Feminist Messaging**

Despite being mocked in the sexist press as a strike that was “somehow...genteel and lady-like, with “good ole TLC--tender loving care” with nurses “properly attired in starch white uniforms,” as well as “curious and interested” in passersby, “quick to exchange a pleasantry” and “happily waving” to patients entering the hospital in a “picket line of a different color,” Hawaii’s nurses toted placards with such bold, feminist messages as: “What Would Florence Nightingale Think?” “Dedication Won’t Pay the Rent;” “Needed: An Employer Who’s Fair,” and “Nurses Deserve More.” (HNA Newsletter, May 1974).

In those three strikes over twelve years bet. 1974-1986--the first strikes in Hawaii led by women, all of which lasted anywhere from 2 weeks to 2 months--a total of 1,200 nurses brought a dozen hospitals in Hawaii to their knees, crippling bottom lines and cutting patient occupancies by half-directly challenging hospital administrators (HNA Newsletter, May 1974). However, they emerged with something more important than higher wages and more vacations--a new sense of respect from doctors and administrators about the crucial role they played in patient care--not simply as glorified doctors’ assistants, but as knowledgeable medical professionals and skillful negotiators in their own right.

**Hawaiian Women: Tourist Labor Activists**

By the time the U.S. annexed Hawaii as a state in 1959, tourism economically surpassed the pineapple industry for the first time in history, earning $130 million for tourism in profits, compared to $127 million for the pineapple industry, respectively (Stern, 1987, p. 99).

So, as tourism expanded, while the pineapple industry contracted, the Local 5’s role increased as well...setting high standards for wages and benefits that helped all of Hawaii’s workers. Chartered in 1938 as its fifth local union by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE for short), Local 5 is one of the most successful SEIU’s nationwide...growing from a few hundred members up to the current 11,000 members (Stern, 1987, p. 100).

During the 1990 hotel strike, 7,500 striking HERE (Local 5) hotel employees, many of whom were female housekeepers and maids, took their labor battle to the beaches, giving tourists a clear, blunt view of the workers behind clean rooms and good meals, and winning 30 days unpaid parental leave and wages equal to unionized mainland hotels (Stern, 1987, p. 99).

This moment in the organizing of tourist workers reflected earlier moments in the initial organization of Hawaii’s service workers into unions, as well as the prominent roles played by such female HERE labor leaders as Arlene Ilae, Berna Iousa and Sherrie Chiesa. In short, the transformation of Hawaii’s economy from an agricultural to a service (tourist) economy fundamentally changed how Hawaii’s workers organized into unions, and how women’s labor advocacy, particularly during the 1990 strike, played such a major role in this transition.

**Conclusion**

Even prior to WWII, Hawaii always had a racial and ethnic diversity unique to its geographic locale as a meeting place for the fusion of Eastern and Western cultures. However, the defiant challenges to authority of the U.S. Civil Rights and Modern Women’s Rights movements on the mainland--which, in the decades following WWII, had finally begun to confront the country’s entrenched, but flawed, social, racial and gender hierarchy--breathed new life into Hawaii’s modern-day labor feminists, though they were certainly not immune to their own racial, ethnic and class tensions. Whether they were agricultural or service workers, teachers or nurses in Hawaii, these women demonstrated their utter distaste for micromanagement by larger unions--so often a characteristic of the Hawaiian labor movement--resisting the hierarchical dominance associated with the colonial history of the “Big Five” plantations in Hawaii.

These female Hawaiian labor activists, then, also displayed a palpable level of participation across and within several types of activism simultaneously, demonstrating how their belief in mutuality strengthened that network of activism, and thereby strengthened all of their respective social causes. In summary, Helen Kanahele, Harriet Bouslog, Ah Quon McElrath, Odetta Fujimori, Joan Husted or Claudine Tomasa--as well as the countless, unnamed female foot soldiers of the ILWU, the HSTA, the HNA and HERE fought not only for Hawaiian women’s fundamental workplace rights--such as improved wages...
and better hours, but also for professional respect for women as rightful wage earners, as well as skillful negotiators. These women’s stories deserve to be told, as they will complement and enhance the labor history of Hawaii.

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Changing College Student Development and Learning Styles: Campus Implications

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Those working in colleges and universities recognize the stress being experienced by contemporary colleges and universities. Our institutions are struggling to adapt and advance in an often chaotic and certainly rapidly changing environment. Indeed, the financial challenges and organizational ‘refinement’ occurring in higher learning today are unprecedented (Christiansen and Eyring, 2011). In the midst of these curriculum and operational adjustments, student learning and ideas of academic quality are being reassessed. Many of the student services traditionally provided to support student development and community life are being minimized or eliminated. Unquestionably, society continues to advance in amazing areas like technology, healthcare, social and ethnic de-stratification, environmental sustainability, and globalization. However, many of these advances create a perplexing myriad of challenges that confound the maturation process for traditional aged college students. College students are not maturing at the same rate as past generations (Newman and Newman, 2003). Consequently, the guidance of student affairs programs and professionals are more essential now than ever in higher learning to aid student development and academic success.

College and university settings reflect conditions of the larger community. The rapid evolution of society has created a conundrum for higher education leadership. The breadth of information, modern technological resources, and emotional turmoil of life today has stressed college students in a variety of ways. The never ending onslaught of modern life and looming adult responsibility appears to be a significant deterrent to maturation for traditional college-aged students. Many American college students struggle with a resource rich and simultaneously emotionally distant existence:

- Only 52% of incoming college students report their emotional health to be in the top 10 percent or above average (Higher Education Research Institute, 2010, p. 1).
- There is an increasing occurrence of major acts of campus violence, most notably Virginia Tech (Newman, 2007, April 4).
- 42% of college students who visit college counseling centers cite anxiety and 36% report depression as the reason for seeking help (Sander, 2013, p. A18).
- The average teen processes 3,700 texts a month (Dokoupil, 2012, July 16, p. 27).
- 61% of Americans admit to being addicted to the internet (Vadegaran, 2012, January 14, p. 1).
- 8.4% of college students report suffering major depressive episodes in recent years (CBHSQ, 2012, para. 7).
- 40 websites is the average number checked each day by internet users (The Virginian Pilot-Daily Break, 2012, January 14, p. 1).
- Two-thirds of teens report feeling their cell phones vibrate when in fact nothing is happening…resulting in ‘phantom vibration syndrome’ (Dokoupil, 2012, July 16, p. 27).
- Internet users switch activities, windows or programs, 37 times an hour (Vadegaran, 2012, January 14, p. 1).

At this point, conclusive evidence does not demonstrate a firm causal relationship between student stress, use of technology, lack of close interpersonal relationships, and student maturity. However, college students are clearly struggling to develop and demonstrate the character traits, critical thinking
skills, and responsibility levels necessary to easily conform to societal expectations for adult decision-making. Students are under significant duress and angst as they seek to grow into healthy adults (Showalter, 2013). The safeguards provided by Student Affairs in providing a guiding hand and a watchful eye to aid students in the healthy transition from adolescent into adulthood is more critical than ever.

**Changes in Student Maturation**

Academia is experiencing a tremendous transition on college campuses. On one hand, our resources have never been brighter – technology advances, social media connections facilitating historical changes, and multi-media educational formats for enhanced learning all provide rich student resources. On the other hand, some of these advances have prompted challenges for the modern student – difficulty in regulating information access, issues with healthy interpersonal relationships, campus safety, and ambiguous role expectations – consumer vs. learner. Usually these areas are navigated with few adverse consequences due to safeguards and insight. However, for some, poor judgment can stem from a developing maturity and lead to dire outcomes that have long standing impact. Student Affairs professionals have long utilized great models to coordinate student support initiatives. In the past, stage models of development provided efficient frameworks for structuring programs designed to enhance student growth while building strong campus communities.

Ideally, campus programming efforts serve as a guide to cultivate that sense of good judgment in students. Through residential exchanges, classroom discussions, and extra-curricular activities, students are encouraged to explore their identities and define *who they are* as emerging adults. It is helpful to examine the changes students experience as they are positioned in the ecosystem of knowledge acquisition, also known as college. Modern students have more resources to secure and retain friends, learn information, submit academic work, and stay connected with family, but fewer avenues to promote character development, values clarification, and critical thinking skill development. Historically, this training could be found in the home, at school, in the church, and civic organizations (i.e., Boy or Girl Scouts, Altrusa International, YWCA/YMCA groups, and other rites of passage programs). With this flood of technology, there needs to be an equally-balanced flow of self-examination, belief exploration, and personal discovery to assist in positive identity development. Student Affairs’ staff members are in a pivotal position to help with this need, but *how* students engage in communities has changed and so should we.

The traditional age student is 18-24 years old, which is considered a *later adolescence stage of development* (Newman and Newman, 2003). Key tasks that tend to be associated with this stage are achieving autonomy from parents/caregivers, exploring one’s sexual identity, and defining vocational goals. In essence, these areas are all linked to identity development. By reflecting on each task in context with the campus’ environment and societal influences, one can easily see the level of complexity rise in the process.

Autonomy, by definition, is an ability to regulate one’s own behavior and implement personal decisions without dependence on one’s parents/caregivers (Steinberg, 1990).

Skills acquired in the previous developmental stages (i.e., financial budgeting, learning how to drive, maintaining one’s personal space, writing papers, forming and relaying ideas, cooking, image-sensitive dressing, etc.) serve as a foundation for advanced functioning. Adolescents have watched elders and/or older siblings to learn how to navigate dealings within the home, school/work, or community. This modeling process allows for success mapping and learning from mistakes for improved life choices. The process of achieving autonomy is a multidimensional task that takes into account one’s gender, cultural/racial/ethnic, ability status, and sexual orientation.

Current research suggests that achieving autonomy takes place gradually and doesn’t fully take form until early adulthood for normal progression. The launch into independence is occurring later than in previous years. Before about 1960, marriage was the primary reason for leaving the parental household, other than leaving for college or the military (Newman and Newman, 2003). Since the 1960’s, the median age for marriage extends beyond age 24. Fields and Casper (2001) indicate that 56% of men and 43% of women between the ages of 20-24 live at home with one or both parents. The Pew Research
Center reports that in 2012, 36% of 18 – 31 year old adults were living in the homes of their parents (Fry, 2013, p. 1). Given the recent economic trends and the rising cost of college, the perception that college attendance is a privilege more than a routine opportunity is growing. This shift can also add a layer of performance pressure to the traditional age college student. This delay in transitioning to complete self-sufficiency can impact one’s decision-making abilities based on mere exposure (or the lack thereof) and expectation to handle things on one’s own.

In addition to autonomy development being impacted by one’s maturation level, gender identity is also a factor. The socialization process is infused with messages about what it means to be a man or a woman. These messages can affirm or challenge one’s maturation process depending on identity factors and the community in which he or she resides (Valsiner, 2000). For later adolescence, family scripts have been solidified and provide a clear benchmark for gender consistent or inconsistent living. Understandably, those with gender inconsistent inclinations have more challenges which can retard or propel certain lifestyle choices. Exposure to a variety of sexual and gender identity options has grown in the media, as well as our campus communities. Yet, the ability to sort through this data may not be as clear cut. With a person’s cognitive abilities not fully forming until the mid-late 20’s, it can be confusing to address beliefs in this area.

Similarly, career choices are anticipated at about this time. Academic requirements seek to assist with skill development in given areas. Ethical and moral dilemmas presented in undergraduate courses allow for rational training to occur for gray areas. Students are presented with new information, alternatives to established thinking frameworks, and difficult questions that can create a degree of cognitive disequilibrium. Movement from this phase tends to rely on past experience meaning-making, consultation with others, and a level of risk taking (to adopt new ideas). Career selections may shift a bit at this time. As one matures and incorporates the influence of societal information, familial data, exposure to various options, and psychosocial-emotional processes, career choices can be made from an informed perspective. Thus, it is important to encourage students not to foreclose too early in the process. The interesting paradox is that this stage is noted for adolescents believing they know it all (which can push away Student Affairs professionals, family, and elders), yet needing guidance and support (without the cognitive skills to see this or the language to ask for it). The result is a need for the Student Affairs professional to look past this approach-avoidance posture and provide developmentally-appropriate life training opportunities to support the academic mission.

**Changing Needs of Students**

The societal induced juxtaposition of college student as learner and consumer creates significant stress and anxiety for students. This generation of students has different needs. With the right tools, college students’ character, intellect, and emotional-intelligence can be developed for a well-rounded education. Higher education must address the needs of students in more intense and individualized ways than we have in the past. If we truly want to help students successfully make the transformation from adolescence to adulthood, higher education professionals must be willing to change first. While we have solid theories and great student development experience, we should intentionally use our accumulated knowledge as we adapt our strategies to more effectively reach and support contemporary students. They are tuned into social media and likely far too attuned to the wants and needs of self. “The university community must recognize students as primary constituents and the job of mentoring them as equally or more important than any other…” (Christensen and Eyring, 2011, p. 350).

Professionals must find new more relational approaches in implementing developmentally-sensitive programming to help students’ bridge the gap between the overwhelming volume of information at their fingertips, the poor interpersonal skills exhibited by many, and acquiring fundamental skills for living successfully. In many ways contemporary students may act like consumers, but they will not readily accept being treated as such. A student cannot “be considered as a customer; as with the doctor’s patient or the lawyer’s client, the wise student trusts the professor to know his or her best interest” (Christensen and Eyring, 2011, p. 351). Tending to student needs in the classroom and in assisting them to grow personally, relationally, and in decision-making skills is the heart of the higher education mission. Ensuring that we appropriately and fully meet student needs is a significant and critically important
challenge that we cannot overlook for the ongoing welfare of society, higher education and especially students.

**Parental Influence – Often a Help, Many Times a Hindrance**

Unfortunately, kindergarten through high school education has proven itself unable to support holistic student development. The need for remedial instruction in reading, writing, and mathematics for entering college students evidences the difficulty that K-12 education has in meeting basic academic development standards. The realities and expectations for life have drastically changed in recent decades. Consequently, family dynamics, economic needs, and family structure are far different than the traditional two parent home that many grew up idealizing several decades ago. Today, many parents are ill equipped to provide the time, emotional support, and role modeling their children need to more easily grow into healthy adults. Nonetheless, parents of traditional aged college students are a force in their students’ development and maturation – facilitative or inhibitory. With parents’ own life struggles to make a living, attain or maintain meaningful relationships, and provide for their children, they are often cheerleaders at best. This disconnect renders the student with limited guidance resources, parent’s feeling inadequate, and college professionals needing to be more responsive. Parents can play a positive role in their child/student’s life by encouraging their offspring to think intentionally, act responsibly, and plan for the future. However, parents often find consistently providing good parenting skills a hard balancing act and experience trauma (and create some trauma for their children), by simultaneously trying to be a supportive older friend and a stern Mom or Dad. Indeed, in view of the virtual world in which many students live (Facebook, Twitter, etc.); parents are often unable or less than capable of engaging in their offspring’s virtual world. Technology creates a great divide separating previously supportive parents/grandparents from these older adolescents at a time when parental support is desperately needed. Positive role model parents can be quickly sidetracked by a messy divorce, extra-marital affair, or poorly handled job loss. In these situations, students are often devastated by being placed in very adult situations, which they are unprepared for and incapable of navigating. Because of the close family ties and emotional turmoil typically experienced by young adults in the developmental process, problems for parents can and often do contribute to student anxiety, depression, and extreme stress as students somehow feel responsible for the family’s circumstance, even if they no longer live at home. The helicopter parents of which so much has been written in recent years are a paradox in that they seem to be, if anything, overly involved in their children’s lives, but often do not have the real relationship and communication which they believe to be present. Healthy self-esteem and positive life attitudes are essential for college aged students in order to cope with adult life challenges. Unfortunately, many students come to college unprepared and ill-equipped to deal with basic adult responsibilities, much less the complex, traumatic, and all too frequent circumstances mentioned.

**Student Affairs Essential Role in Student Development**

Unquestionably college students need academic knowledge and training. In addition, younger college students need the example, support, and intentional development efforts of trained professionals. Faculty members are experts in their disciplines, but few are prepared to address the needs of students in emotional difficulty or crisis. Those in Student Affairs are equipped to support the curricular and co-curricular development needs of individuals. In a number of ways these two often disparate areas can be meshed to provide the best of both worlds – knowledge acquisition and personal development. The blending of academic and personal development is a strategy that needs to be further developed and explored (Cook and Lewis, 2007). The very nature of students as people first necessitates firm, but empathetic guidance as they face challenging life situations. Student Affairs as a discipline and as an arena of professionals has the people, skills, and student awareness to address student needs.

Student affairs practice is equipped with professionals to support student maturation effectively through its history, development as a discipline, and ongoing day-to-day experience with college students of all types (Blimling, Whitt, and Associates, 1999). Three specific attributes or roles consistently filled by practitioners permit professionals in this field to superbly support student growth – empathy, structure, and an entrepreneurial spirit.
Through their own training and experience, those in Student Affairs become adept at providing a magnificent blend to students of an expectation for quality performance and a listening ear. Professionals offer students no nonsense guidance concerning institutional policies and acceptable interpersonal practices that should be followed. Simultaneously, students recognize that they can go to Student Affairs staff to talk through issues and obtain wise counsel to more appropriately address life situations and many of the adult nuances that occur in the process of growing up. Students will often seek out staff members, rather than parents or other authority figures, to obtain advice and human empathy when faced with challenges or dealing with matters where they have little or no experience.

A second attribute of student-focused staff is the provision of structure. As an area supporting co-curricular activities and attuned to human development issues, Student Affairs routinely develops and implements a multi-dimensional array of programs to address a myriad of student needs. These programs run the gamut to explore relational issues, academic success, leadership skills, career opportunities, decision-making development, financial management, and character formation using workshops and other training resources. Such programming provides students with basic, but clearly foundational learning opportunities that address life skill development, rather than building knowledge in a specific academic discipline. These programs and the foundational structure thus made available provide students with a non-threatening framework in which to learn, build skills, and acquire information essential for maturation and life success. It is not quite rocket science, but student services programming offers students the tools they need to grow in a healthy manner and enhances their ability to transform themselves into everything they aspire to become.

The third specific attribute or attitude possessed by most Student Affairs professionals is an entrepreneurial spirit. This perspective is a necessity when dealing with and/or contemplating change. Change is the order of the day in modern life, as we consider almost every area of our existence. The successful maturation of younger college students can greatly benefit from the willingness of Student Affairs staff to adapt their outlook and strategies. The growth of service learning in which students go out into the community and work to support a community or social needs – food banks, homeless shelters, etc. – is a prime demonstration of the noted entrepreneurial outlook. The use of service learning initiatives typically provides students a blend of practical skill development along with additional academic and social skill acquisition. In many ways service learning participation provides students a taste of real adult life within a nurturing, non-threatening framework. As such, service learning can be an ideal life laboratory to support maturation.

Empathy, structure, and entrepreneurial spirit form the basis for student development and healthy maturation. As we see younger college students struggling to become adults, colleges and universities should devise more developmentally-sensitive campus programming to support student growth and maturation.

Recommendations for Campus Programming Strategies: Fostering Character and Critical Thinking Skill Development

Central to campus programming is the desire to support the academic mission and personal development of the student. Given that modern students have an increasingly exceptional talent for technology application and social media creativity, these strengths should be utilized as such in campus event planning. It almost seems essential to have graphically-appealing Power Point or Prezi slides with animation components in order to keep a student’s attention. Education professionals cannot lose sight of the content, even if bells and whistles heighten the appeal. Competency-based instruction is important. It always has been. So, what’s different about this generation? The answer is twofold. Society has changed. We live in an instant gratification generation where an immediate response to needs is granted on a regular basis. This process can have a de-personalization effect as one interacts in his or her environment. Instead of a discussion about the day’s events with family over a meal, it is normal for many to pull up to a drive-thru restaurant and order a number 2 from the menu for dinner. Relationship with the food, those who prepared it, and the engagement that comes with dining has been de-personalized. However, the product of efficiency is achieved. What is lost is the sub-text of caring for the person who prepared the meal, mutual respect for all to be present, and the expectation that it was a
valued event. These unspoken aspects contribute to empathy development, appreciation for others, and self-in-relation to other construct development. In essence, my actions impact others or I have an important role in this process are acquired in the first scenario, but not the second. Over time, simple encounters like these can contribute to self-centeredness and expectation shifts.

The second component to the answer is that the student has changed. As noted earlier, students are being given material items more and at earlier ages (i.e., cell phones, laptops, cars, etc.) without the mature understanding of the cost associated with ownership or the resulting impact on personal development factors (i.e., brain changes, social skill shifts, etc.). The trend is for students to overestimate their knowledge, competency, and self-importance (Quarrel et al., 1993). There are ways to continue supporting this privileged lifestyle with the benefits of character-forming principles for well-rounded development.

1. **Present Campus Events from an Exploratory Perspective**

   Developmentally, attending workshops or programs that appear instructive is a disincentive. Inviting forums for discussion where opinions (informed or not) can be shared allows for engagement and learning. Educational information can be infused throughout to promote knowledge acquisition. The outcome is increased exposure to differing concepts and establishing the foundation for critical thinking.

   In addition, creating venues for student engagement is key to supporting education ownership. One key example is the Paradigm Shift Initiative (PSI). PSI is a dialogue-based forum for addressing contemporary issues from a Socratic, critical thinking perspective. Participants come expecting to ask questions and engage from a personal perspective. Lessons learned translate well into the academic mission of colleges and universities. Social advocacy options that target campus safety, valuing differences, ethical-decision making, or altruism benefit the student’s character development, as well as the community. Events such as the Red Flag Campaign (domestic violence awareness), Take Back The Night (crime prevention), or similar programs challenge students to transition from an inward focus and become contributors versus consumers. Valuable life lessons are learned through community engagement.

2. **Information Should be Categorized and Organized into Bite-Sized Pieces**

   Late adolescence is noted for bursting energy, processing significant amounts of data, and a blossoming creative flow. It is helpful for the Student Affairs professional to come alongside this cognitive process by limiting items to themed groups and in brief components for linking with prior learned material. Piaget, noted human development researcher, shared the concepts of assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation is the process of acquiring new information and accommodation in the body of knowledge that incorporates new knowledge for long term retention – learning (Piaget, 1972). Referencing previously learned material as one offers new words-of-wisdom helps to shape the process.

3. **Blend Teaching Objectives with the Subtext of Why it is Important**

   Too often we assume as speakers that our listeners understand what we say. Further, the misconception of why it’s important to know something is often overlooked. Modern educators may not always provide those links for the late adolescence learner. Younger children often receive more exact instruction. If parental patience wears out, the response may echo because I said so. As college professionals educate, this stance may not yield the desired results either. What used to be called common sense years ago, is just as important, but may not be so common. The collective experience of an average group of college students in 2013 reflects a wider array of cultural, socioeconomic, belief, levels of tolerance, and attitude differences than 25 years ago. The mere definitions of what constitutes marriage and defines citizenship are key examples of challenges for our time. These were common understanding points for past generations. Not for this generation. So, taking a Socratic approach and asking the origin of certain beliefs, as you instruct on the objectives at hand, allows for linkages to form and rational development to take root.
4. **Facilitating Cross-Communication is Helpful to Enhanced Learning**

Identifying ideas that are similar for participants in group settings is a great strategy to promote engagement, learning, and growth. Webbing entails asking for input from members in a group and matching those that have some overlap. Once an invitation to explore the perspective is extended, the result is a sense of connection. This alliance promotes a feeling of *I am not alone* as well as validation for expressing one’s thoughts. The character component addressed is learning to value other’s opinion, skill in judging based on merit vs. personal reaction, and understanding purpose.  

5. **Explicitly State Values for Integrity, Honesty, and Justice**

Program examples are great narrative tools for character education. Christians frame these teaching stories as parables. Psychologists call them narratives. They are excellent resources for conveying a life lesson for learners who are mature enough to capture the point. For those who may not possess such intuitive insights, presenters can openly discuss character principles with students. These are often gray areas that can be clarified by examining multiple frameworks. College is one of the best places to foster critical thinking skills because after a student leaves he or she is expected to demonstrate some expertise as a graduate. Utilizing this educational venue is ideal to test personal theories and beliefs from a value-inclusive perspective.  

**Strategies for Measuring Benefit/Growth/Goal Attainment**

Student Affairs professionals and staff are in a great position to create and model climates of assessment. From a personal perspective, modeling self-reflective practices through language in discussions and valuing growth time is a powerful strategy to impact one’s development. Professionally, incorporating evaluations that are construct-based helps to provide the appropriate information for planning purposes. First, one should clarify the program objective. Second, assess the *degree to which the objective was achieved*. This can be accomplished through qualitative or quantitative means. Both formative and summative approaches can be helpful to gauging growth changes. Third, differentiate between *knowledge, skills, and attitude* shifts in evaluations. And lastly, determine what the participant will take with him or her for *application* to daily living. Establishing evaluation criteria that are specific to these areas allow for improved follow up program planning and better measurement of growth changes in program participants.  

**Revised Student Development Strategies: An Imperative, Not a Luxury**

The suggested developmentally-sensitive programming strategies and recommendations for measuring growth and goal attainment are excellent support measures for higher education institutions and our students. In view of the rapidly changing higher learning environment prevalent today and the challenge of delayed maturation of younger college students, these perspectives are timely and necessary. Moreover, the concepts presented herein are essential based on the frequency of student access and institutional accountability issues increasingly raised by society, the U.S. Department of Education, and accrediting agencies.  

Undoubtedly, organizational realignment and restructuring may be required to meet the financial and resource realities higher education faces today. However, eliminating or reducing student support services is not the solution, not if we are going to continue to fulfill higher education’s mission. Institutional leaders should take a position of using the creative skills of Student Affairs professionals to further integrate student affairs activities into the mainstream academic student learning process. By the intentional and careful melding of traditional student affairs functions into the broader academic experience of students multiple benefits accrue for students, faculty, and staff. With this approach students can develop discipline knowledge and life skills simultaneously enhancing the learning experience dramatically while acquiring the training, skills, and life awareness needed to become fully functioning adults.
References


Geo-point Graphs: An Alternative to Marshallian Cross Diagrams

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The University of Scranton

Introduction

...many economists would argue that the law of demand...is the single most powerful proposition in all of economics...[it] has the capacity to explain an incredibly diverse range of human behaviors...The great explanatory power of the law of demand is almost matched by that of the law of supply... (Miller, Benjamin and North, p. 27)

The laws of demand and supply, and the so-called "Marshallian cross" diagrams that economists have used to teach countless numbers of students how prices allocate scarce resources in decentralized markets, are among the most important contributions made to the study of economics. The demand and supply model simplifies the complexity of the price system. Using Friedrich Hayek's metaphor, the price system acts as "system of telecommunications" whereby consumers and producers interacting in decentralized markets react in the "right" way to price changes that result from shifts in demand and supply.

I am convinced that if it were the result of deliberate human design, and if the people guided by the price changes understood that their decisions have significance far beyond their immediate aim, this mechanism would have been acclaimed as one of the greatest triumphs of the human mind. Its misfortune is the double one that it is not the product of human design and that the people guided by it usually do not know why they are made to do what they do. (Hayek, p. 527)

Much of the utility of demand and supply curves derives from their abstract nature. But the model can be difficult for novices to understand. This paper will describe another approach to explain demand and supply that complements the traditional line graphs. This approach uses geometric shapes, rather than lines, in graphs to represent demand and supply. The graphs offer pedagogical advantages, in particular, for the following groups of instructors and students:

1. K-12 instructors and students subject to recently adopted economics standards that potentially affect schools in 49 states.
2. Instructors and students who prefer alternative teaching and learning styles.
3. Instructors and students who study statistically derived demand and supply relationships.

State Standards in Economics

A survey conducted with the support of the Council for Economic Education (2012) found that as of 2011 forty-nine states included economics in the academic standards they established for their K-12 schools. Many of these states mandate that K-12 students have knowledge of the operation of demand and supply as early as grades 4-6. Most of these standards are similar to the following.

Pennsylvania - A sixth grade economics standard reads:
Describe the interaction of consumers and producers of goods and services in the state and national economy.

Texas - A fifth grade economics standard reads:
The student understands the impact of supply and demand on consumers and producers in a free enterprise system. The student is expected to:
A. explain how supply and demand affects consumers in the United States; and
B. evaluate the effects of supply and demand on business, industry, and agriculture, including the plantation system, in the United States. (State Standards)

It would be difficult for instructors to meet such standards without an understanding of demand and supply graphs. But relatively few K-12 teachers will have taken courses in economics at the collegiate
level prior to beginning their teaching careers. Many K-8 instructors, in particular, who are not expected to teach economics courses,\( ^{a} \) are intimated by the prospect of teaching their students the meaning of equilibrium prices and quantities, the differences between changes in demand and quantity demanded, shortages and surpluses, etc. - topics that challenge many students in college-level courses.

**Alternative Pedagogy for Instructors and Students**

Surveys of post-secondary economics instructors have found that many offer relatively little variety in their teaching methods, with a large percentage using lecture and chalkboards ("chalk and talk").\(^{iii} \) One reason for the low incidence of active learning techniques such as classroom experiments, games and simulations may be the personality profile of the instructor. Many college economics instructors are drawn to their profession, in part, because of the similarity between their learning styles and the teaching styles of those who first taught economics to them. The preference for "chalk and talk" can then be perpetuated over time. Textbook publishers have begun to offer instructors online resources to supplement classroom lectures with homework assignments, market experiments, outside readings and video presentations and their classroom use has grown over time. But the Marshallian cross appears in classrooms much as it did in Alfred Marshall's time; for many students learning the laws of demand and supply with line graphs fits their learning styles. But other students struggle.

Many researchers have used the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) to evaluate a person's personality type. (Myers) The MBTI classifies an individual into one of sixteen personality types through responses to a series of dichotomous choice items. Several studies have found that matching an economics student's learning style, determined by the MBTI, with an instructor's personality type, also measured by the MBTI, improves the student's performance as measured by either course grade or performance on a standardized exam. (Berg and Shapiro \(^{iv} \)) Although Ziegert (2000), who also used the MBTI to evaluate the personality type of economics students and their instructors, did not find a relationship between faculty personality type and student performance, she concluded that personality types do affect student performance:

If we want to increase learning in economics, then we need to devise ways of presenting course material that are accessible to all students regardless of how they receive and process information. At a minimum, this suggests the need for a variety of classroom pedagogies and a better understanding of the role of personality temperament in learning and teaching. (p. 321)

Studies such as these\(^{v} \) suggest that the alternative approach to teaching demand and supply described in this paper may better match the personality types and learning styles of some students than do Marshallian line graphs.

**Statistical Estimation of Demand**

The following two questions could appear on a microeconomics or managerial economics exam.

**Question # 1:**
The ACME Widget Company sold 1,000 widgets in April 2002. In April 2006, ACME Widget sold 1,500 widgets. What is the elasticity of demand for ACME widgets?

**ACME Widget**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Quantity Sold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 2006</td>
<td>$10</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2002</td>
<td>$12</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Answer:**

a) -3.0, using the point elasticity formula
b) -2.2, using the mid-point elasticity formula
c) Can't be determined from the information given

**Question # 2:**
The table below lists price and quantity sold for the Chevrolet Silverado PU (pickup truck) in November 2009 and June 2012. What is the elasticity of demand for the Chevrolet Silverado?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Quantity Sold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
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</table>

80
Chevrolet Silverado PU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price (MSRP)</th>
<th>Quantity Sold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 2009 $19,375</td>
<td>31,754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2012 $22,195</td>
<td>33,566</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first question is based on a hypothetical example of what appears to be two price and quantity combinations along a common demand curve, consistent with the law of demand: the higher price is paired with the lower quantity. But the first two possible answers would be correct only if none of the *ceteris paribus* (Latin for "with other things the same" or "all other things being equal or held constant") factors that affected the demand for widgets changed, and the supply of widgets increased. Given the implausibility of these events the best response would be c).

The second question is based on actual sales data for the Chevrolet Silverado (Wall Street Journal). Unlike the first question, the data appear to violate the law of demand: price and quantity demanded are positively related. (The price and quantity sold of the Chevrolet Silverado are both greater in June 2012 than in November 2009.) Although data such as these are often found in real markets, they can confound students who are taught that the law of demand is, in fact, a law that is rarely violated. The answer to this question is the same as that for the first question: "other things" were not constant from November 2009 to June 2012 and the elasticity of demand cannot be determined from the information given.

The Chevrolet Silverado question is reminiscent of a demand estimation that inspired a classic article by E.J. Working (1927). Working responded to a study by H.L. Moore, who claimed he estimated a positive relationship between the price and quantity demanded of pig iron. Working corrected Moore and described the challenges faced by economists who estimate demand relationships based on actual observations of price and quantity sold. Since Working's article was published, authors of the many statistical estimates of demand and supply relationships have been careful to avoid the mistakes Moore committed. In simple terms, observed values of price and quantity sold from different time periods need not fall on the same demand or supply curves. As Working explained:

> Many questions of practical importance hinge upon the elasticity of demand, or of demand and supply. The economist can answer them only in a vague and indefinite manner, because he does not know the nature of the demand curve...It may be well to consider some of the theoretical aspects of what the demand curves constructed by our statistical experts may be expected to show. Do they correspond to the demand curves of economic theory?...The supply and demand curves which accurately represent the market situation of today will not represent that of a week hence…

**Demand and Supply: An Alternative Approach**

Textbook construction of demand and supply curves "of economic theory" typically begins with tables that relate several hypothetical combinations of quantities demanded and supplied to various market prices. Although in actual markets the definition of the market is important - the market for Coca-Cola in a large city is different from the market for carbonated soft drinks in all cities - for pedagogical purposes, market definition is less important. To explain market fundamentals, simpler is better. For example, Table 1 contains a demand table, or schedule, for Coca-Cola. It lists five quantities demanded (in thousands) of six packs of Coke by consumers who live in a small city at prices ranging from $1 to $5. Instructors have the luxury of assuming that this represents the demand for Coca-Cola in a certain time period (for example, one week) and that “other things” (consumer income, prices of other carbonated soft drinks, etc.) are held constant.

A hypothetical supply schedule for Coca-Cola for one week in the same city appears in Table 2. This schedule is consistent with the law of supply: as the price of Coca-Cola rises, the quantity supplied offered for sale by producers rises, holding “other things” (the prices of resources used to produce Coke, the state of technology, etc.) constant.

Instructors plot the values for the prices and quantities demanded and supplied in graphs similar to the graph in Figure 1. Line graphs then replace the plotted values to form Marshallian crosses that determine equilibrium prices and quantities. Figure 1 plots values using circles and squares, rather than points. This is the first step used to draw geo-point graphs.
Theoretical demand and supply schedules and the curves from which they are derived mask the complexity of real markets. If one were to observe an actual market for Coca-Cola the only price that one would literally “see” is the market price at that time. If, for example, the market price for Coca-Cola in Figure 1 equaled $3 the only quantity observed would be the quantity sold (in this example, this is also the equilibrium quantity) at this price. Other price and quantity combinations could have been observed in the given time period but, in fact, were not. Over time, demand and supply curves shift in unpredictable ways. All but one of the original combinations of price and quantity (demanded and supplied) become irrelevant. In other words, the line graphs used to represent demand and supply are convenient fictions.

Economists and many of their students understand that the theory of demand and supply simplifies the study of actual markets. But making a subject simpler does not necessarily make it easier to understand. Demand and supply line graphs can be misleading - visually and conceptually - for many students because:

1. The continuity of the lines implies that there are an infinite, rather than finite, number of possible combinations of price and quantity.
2. There is nothing to distinguish an actual market price and quantity combination from any other.
3. Nearly all of the price and quantity combinations that lie on the curves do not, and will not, exist. They are price and quantity combinations that could exist in a given period of time. But when there is a change in demand or supply these combinations figuratively vanish. This is not an easy concept for many students to grasp.

An alternative to line graphs as a means to teach demand and supply are graphs that represent price and quantity combinations with geometric shapes or points (“geo-point graphs”). Figure 1, for example, uses circles and squares to illustrate the price and quantity combinations of Tables 1 and 2. The circles and squares represent possible price and quantity combinations. The actual or market price and quantity can be identified by a solid circle and square; therefore, actual price and quantity combinations are visually distinct from other combinations. In Figure 1 a hexagon is used to represent the equilibrium point, where quantity demanded equals quantity supplied. The hexagon in Figure 1 is solid, which implies that the equilibrium price is also the market (or actual) price.

After instructors explain the laws of demand and supply and how they are represented by the geo-point graphs, a simplified version of Figure 1 can be used to describe three possible scenarios: the market price (which one “sees”) (a) lies above the equilibrium price, (b) is equal to the equilibrium price, or (c) lies below the equilibrium price.

Figure 2 illustrates the third scenario. The only points that appear in Figure 2 are those that represent combinations of market price and quantities demanded and supplied and the equilibrium point. Showing other possible price and quantity combinations is unnecessary. Figure 2 tells students that the market price is $2, there is a shortage and the market will move to equilibrium over time. The equilibrium price and quantity can change, of course, in response to one of four possible causes: an increase or decrease in demand or an increase or decrease in supply. Geo-point graphs can be used to illustrate the impact of these changes.

**Using Geo-point Graphs to Illustrate Changes in Demand and Supply**

Assume that the market price ($3) equals the equilibrium price for Coca-Cola as in Figure 1. Assume that Coca-Cola is a normal good so that an increase in consumers’ incomes increases the demand for the soft drink. If the market price initially remains at $3, the immediate effect of the change in demand in Figure 1 is to move the circles that represent combinations of quantity demanded and price to the right; supply is assumed not to change so quantity supplied remains at 30 thousand. This will result in a shortage at the $3 price. Any number of different price and quantity combinations is possible, but all would result in an equilibrium price higher than $3 and an equilibrium quantity greater than 30 thousand.

If the wages of Coca-Cola workers were to decrease there would be an increase in the supply of Coca-Cola. From Figure 1 this change would result in a movement to the right of the squares that represent price and quantity supplied combinations. A surplus at the $3 market price and a new equilibrium point
would result. The new equilibrium would be lower than $3 and the equilibrium quantity would be greater than 30 thousand.iii

The impact on equilibrium of all changes in demand and supply can be summarized with the geo-point graph in Figure 3, which divides the coordinate plane into quadrants, with dashed lines intersecting at the original equilibrium point. The quadrants are labeled, so that compared to the equilibrium price and quantity: in area I price and quantity are both greater; in area II price is less and quantity is greater; in area III price and quantity are both less; and in area IV price is greater and quantity is less. Each of the areas represents the impact on the initial equilibrium of a different change:

- An increase in demand will result in a shortage at the original price and a new equilibrium somewhere in area I.
- An increase in supply results in a surplus at the original equilibrium and a new equilibrium in area II.
- A decrease in demand would cause a surplus at the original equilibrium price and a new equilibrium in area III.
- A decrease in supply would result in a shortage at the original equilibrium price and a new equilibrium in area IV.

Advantages of Using Geo-point Graphs to Teach Demand and Supply

As noted previously, the Marshallian cross diagram represents a convenient fiction. While many students understand the line graphs and what they represent, they are difficult for many other students to understand. Geo-point graphs can be an effective means for teaching demand and supply analysis for students who have difficulty learning via the traditional Marshallian cross diagrams. In addition, geo-point graphs have the following advantages over the traditional line graphs.

1. Students often suffer from an "optical illusion" when viewing changes in supply with line graphs. An increase in supply is illustrated in a line graph as a shift to the right of a supply curve. To many students this shift appears to be "downward" and can be erroneously interpreted as a decrease in supply. Similarly, a decrease in supply - a leftward shift of a supply curve - can appear to be "upward" and interpreted as an increase in supply. But geo-point graphs illustrate an increase in supply as a movement to the right of quantity supplied at the market price, and a decrease in supply as a movement to the left of quantity supplied at the market price. Both of these movements "look right" and the optical illusion is avoided.

2. One of the traps that students fall into most is in confusing a change in quantity demanded with a change in demand and a change in quantity supplied with a change in supply. Instructors stress that a change in quantity, demanded or supplied, can only be caused by a change in the price of a product (the curves do not shift) whereas a change in demand or supply results from a change in one of the non-price factors held constant when the demand or supply curve is drawn (the curves do shift). The initial step in demonstrating a change in demand or supply with a geo-point graph is a movement to the right or to the left in a circle or square before the market price changes. This affords an opportunity for the instructor to stress that such a change could not be caused by a change in the price of the product since the price has not yet changed.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper is not to disparage the use of the Marshallian cross diagrams that have helped countless students understand the complex realities of a system of markets and prices. But it may be only a slight exaggeration to divide the universe of economics students into two groups: (a) those who readily grasp the nuances of demand and supply line graphs (economics majors and future economists) and (b) those who don't (everyone else). For the latter group, geo-point graphs may be either an effective complement or substitute for demand and supply line graphs as a means to understand Friedrich Hayek's "system of telecommunications."
References

Table 1

<table>
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<tr>
<td>$5</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
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Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Quantity Supplied</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$5</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
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</table>
i “The diagram itself, however, long predates Marshall.  Antoine-Augustin Cournot originated it in 1838.  And Karl Rau (1841), Jules Dupuit (1844), Hans von Mangoldt (1863), and Fleeming Jenkin (1870) thoroughly developed it years before Marshall presented it in his Pure Theory of Domestic Values (1879) and later in his Principles of Economics (1890)... these writers applied it to derive many of the concepts and theories often attributed to Marshall or his followers.” (Humphrey, p. 3)

ii When they are offered, economics courses are usually taught at the 11th or 12th grade levels. Demand and supply and other economics concepts are taught at lower grade levels via "infusion": within the structure of other courses such as language arts or mathematics.

iii From their 2005 survey Watts and Becker (2008) found that "chalk and talk" was still dominant among academic economists compared to previous surveys they conducted in 1995 and 2000. However, there was evidence that greater use had been made of computer-generated displays (e.g., PowerPoint presentations), classroom discussions and experiments, and other non-traditional means of instruction.

iv Similar previous studies are referenced in this article.

v A more recent study compared MBTI personality types of 255 students and standardized exams scores for two groups of students: one group was taught economics using only hands-on experiments while another group used more traditional teaching methods. The authors found that the experimental approach was beneficial for many of the personality types. (Emerson and Taylor)

vi Examples of Giffen goods - those with upward sloping demand curves - were reported in Jensen and Miller (2008).

vii A surplus – quantity supplied would exceed quantity demanded at the market price – can be illustrated with another version of the graph; for example, at a market price of $4 the circle and square for this price would be filled in, the hexagon would not. In response to either a shortage or a surplus market prices and quantities adjust and move to their equilibrium values.

viii PowerPoint slides that trace changes in demand and supply and their impacts on equilibrium price and quantity will be provided, upon request, from the author.
 Instructional Discourse and English Language Learners: 
What Teachers Should Know

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California State University, Bakersfield

Introduction

Language is a construct that has a special place in everyone’s life. It is a dynamic tool that fascinates philosophers, linguists, and educators throughout history. It has also been studied and investigated as a unique social phenomenon given its role, impact, and value for humans and their complex wants and needs. Studying language can be a fascinating process that involves discovery and unraveling of the collective human experience. Since linguistic tools and patterns shed light on unique aspects of interaction among individuals and groups, language has occupied a central role in schools. Instructional and curriculum activities have always integrated language as a basis for any effective learning and teaching.

Language is very central in educating all children early on in their lives. Since acquiring language is an ever-changing, life-long process, schools have always placed a great emphasis on language learning as a pre-requisite for any study of other content areas and subjects. Language provides the foundation for thought processes, inquiry, interaction, and learning regardless of the context in which it is used. Students’ success can largely depend on their linguistic abilities and other-language related tools to solve problems and interact with the world around them.

Similarly, promoting an understanding of how language functions in our lives has been integrated in teacher preparation. Teachers have always been required to develop knowledge and skills in language in order to work effectively with learners and other participants in schools. As a pre-requisite for their professional roles, not only have teachers been required to possess and demonstrate adequate language skills, but to reflect a meta-linguistic awareness about how language functions, how it is characterized, and is utilized in learning teaching situations.

In culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms, this has become more necessary than ever before. Studying language traits, aspects and functions has become the basis for understanding language and academic development of all students. Thus teachers are expected to become linguistic detectives in an attempt to understand how students learn, and more importantly to draw implications for curriculum planning and delivery to enhance learning outcomes. This need is imperative especially when working with second language learners who bring unique linguistic experiences that should be cultivated.

This paper provides a foundation for understanding various linguistic phenomena related to language descriptions, functions, and dynamics which are necessary for successful discourse in learning/teaching situations. In particular, the discussion provides a framework for promoting successful discourse in terms of the unique linguistic behaviors embedded in human interaction. Finally, pedagogical implications for enhancing linguistic and academic discourse are drawn for teachers working with English language learners.

Definition of Language

Language has long been defined and redefined by educators, researches, linguists and philosophers. There are countless definitions of language ranging from technical definitions of dictionaries to the sophisticated descriptions by philosophers and linguists. Nonetheless, there is a common thread among most definitions and accounts of language. The consensus involves the premise of describing a complex and dynamic system of communication which has salient traits and characteristics. In addition, the users...
of language have unique ways of harnessing this communicative tool to fulfill their social, cognitive, emotional, cultural needs and wants, a premise which has become significant in defining language. Language users employ a series of functions in a way that is embedded within their biological endowments. Consequently defining language results in defining human beings and their complex cognitive faculties and social dynamics.

Culling from various definitions and accounts of language, Hammerly (1987) synthesizes the following definition: “A language is a complete, complex, changing, arbitrary system of primarily oral symbols learned and used for communicating within the cultural framework of a linguistic community” (p.26). Yet, distinction should be made when we refer to language and a language: the former, refers to the general construct that has a universal value describing the communicative system of any kind including the code of communication among humans; and the latter referring to a specific language such as English, German, Chinese, Sign Language…etc. The distinction is significant in understanding cross-linguistic aspects in linguistically diverse settings. It also helps us understand any language within a larger context of what universal linguistic phenomena might entail. Specific languages have in fact been seen as representations of such larger construct (LANGUAGE).

As a complex social phenomenon, language exerts a huge power on interaction as well as on learning and teaching. Language is a system of communication without which human interactions might be impossible. While linguists have viewed language as a window on the human mind, it can also account for diverse psychological patterns and sociocultural behaviors.

Language: Traits and Properties

Language has a unique set of properties and traits that have direct implications for learning and teaching especially in second and foreign language classrooms. A major task of developing language and academic skills is to meet the learning demands that are often dictated by the nature of language, its properties and characteristics. Each language manifests its traits in certain ways that may vary from one language to another at the surface level. Nonetheless, there are underlying characteristics that universally describe any language. These include, but not limited to, the following:

Language is unique

Language represents a set of unique patterns that shape the interaction processes among individuals and groups. Human beings are endowed to use language in unique ways. What distinguishes language use among humans is the fact that it is so comprehensive, unrestricted, evolving and dynamic. Children represent an example of how language comes alive in their early struggle to get their countless wants and needs met. Thus language is a tool for survival; it is also a medium that can preserve the cultural and ethnic beings of individuals and groups. At the same time, the sociocultural environment can play a significant role in enhancing the linguistic being of individuals and communities.

Unlike the restricted function of language among non-humans (e.g. how bees communicate), the infinite possibilities of language use are only unique to humans. In fact, this enormous range of possibilities is seen as a complex need for existence. Thus, language functions as a tool not only to fulfill human communicative needs (psychological, social, ethnic, cognitive, educational…etc.), but is necessary for their survival.

Humans reflect countless utterances that indicate language uniqueness. The language use in humans is a reflection of the complex biological, physical, emotional, cultural, and social needs and wants. Much of the light is shed on language as a unique phenomenon when one learns a second or foreign language. This usually involves unique ways to communicate and utilize aspects of language (such as phonemes, morphemes, vocabulary, grammar rules, etc.) to fulfill communicative needs and demands.

Let’s draw an analogy to illustrate how language is unique. Consider food which is universally essential for fulfilling human needs for survival. Food is uniquely prepared and flavored depending on where one lives and society’s shared traditions and customs. How ingredients are combined and cooked for final preparation are also unique to individuals and groups despite the common essence of food ingredients. Ultimately food is meant to be digested to sustain life. In like a manner, language is unique depending on geography, ethnicity and culture. Various groups reflect various flavors of language displayed by visible features (spelling systems, icons, etc.), audible characteristics (acoustic features,
intonation, etc.), and semantic values (interpretations, symbolisms… etc.) of universally used linguistic signs and utterances.

Linguistically and culturally diverse learners reflect behaviors that can manifest language uniqueness in many ways. At the same time, they reflect their own unique ways to harness language in fulfilling communicative needs. In their developmental stages learning English, for example, they tend to translate their needs by communicating in unique ways that may range form being idiosyncratic to innovative. Regardless of the form or strategy they use to accomplish this, they do so by what every unique human does when using language.

**Language is universal**

Related to the first characteristic, language echoes universal thought patterns and processes. This property is also a natural reflection of the basic needs of human beings regardless of their history, geography, and culture. Human interactions and actions have always been accomplished regardless of cultural, social, historical, geographical barriers and gaps. Language has made it possible to understand human experience and activities based on commonalities that bond humans together.

It has been assumed that language is a window on the mind that promotes our understanding of the essence of who we are as humans (Chomsky, 1986). As far as language is concerned, it reflects universal literacy patterns that promote a global understanding of this unique social phenomenon. Accordingly, when we study language and literacy, we are allowed access to social, cultural, ethnic, and cognitive behaviors that are bound by various determiners based on variations of intelligences, perspectives, thoughts, beliefs, and actions. Language is a universal medium to facilitate interaction with the world around us. Understanding the medium and its complex components and the relationship among its components allows us to better understand ourselves and others.

Structurally, language can uniquely vary across the continuum of human experience. Nonetheless, there are universal structural features that characterize almost any language such as (1) All languages, for the most part, have sound systems; (2) Most languages, if not all, use words and sentences; and (3) All languages have rules that govern use. However, variations in nuances, forms, and conventions vary. Still structural traits hold a universal value. In second language classrooms, variations of language use are manifested especially at the structural levels. For example, languages vary in their pronunciation patterns of sounds found elsewhere. Rules may be applied differently based on the language at hand. An understanding of the way second language learners use English can help in promoting an awareness of the universal traits of language.

**Language is both verbal and non-verbal**

Despite the primacy of speech, language can take non-verbal and kinesthetic forms. Very early in their life, children display this property by their verbal and non-verbal behaviors. Although oral discourse is the pathway to developing other language skills, non-verbal discourse is a major part of the process as well. The value of non-verbal cues lies in their role of enhancing the verbal messages to ensure effective communication; the reverse can be true as well.

It is worth noting that non-verbal cues are culturally-bound and may cause communication barriers in the diverse settings. For example, while the OK sign that might connote approval and praise in one culture, it can be interpreted as a sign of threat and warning in other cultures (such as the case in some Semitic languages like Arabic). Likewise, rising pitch and intonation contours in one’s speech, while appropriate and acceptable by speakers of a given region, might be interpreted as evasive and rude by members of other regions.

**Language is arbitrary and non-arbitrary**

One of the most challenging traits involves the arbitrariness of language symbols and signs despite the existence of non-arbitrary icons and sounds. Arbitrariness in language abounds ranging from how sounds are articulated and represented to the way rules and conventions apply while exceptions exist. Nonetheless, there are certain non-arbitrary elements that can be identified at the sound and word levels. For example, onomatopoeic words such as buzz, crash, and many others illustrate the one-to-one correspondence between meaning and sound.
Although the evolution of language signs and symbols might reflect predictability and patterning, language changes over time have made it difficult to reason and rationalize about the arbitrary nature of language signs and symbols. In many instances, students learning English as a second or foreign language face a huge burden of trying to make sense of inexplicable conventions, rules, and linguistic items that should be learned “as is” without any rationale attached. For example, gender marker can be ambiguous in English; words *pilot, teacher, architect, doctor* …etc. can refer to a male or female while in other languages a gender marker is attached in some way to refer to each gender.

In second language classrooms, arbitrariness can pose a huge challenge when learning a language. For example, learners of English as a second language face a lot of challenges while learning unpredictable patterns in pronunciation as well as the relationship between what is seen (spelling) and what is said/heard (pronunciation). Unlike many languages such as Spanish and Arabic, English is not phonetic; i.e. there is no one-to-one-correspondence between pronunciation and spelling. For learners of English as a second language, this will sound a chaotic process especially if their native language has a more predictable sound-letter relationships. Even for teachers of English as a second or foreign language, this will cause a pedagogical challenge when teaching students.

**Language includes receptive and productive skills - both heard and spoken.**

Although language skills are interdependent, they fall within the dichotomy of one’s receptive and productive abilities to use language. Generally, the receptive skills include listening to and understanding audible signals and comprehending the written texts while productive skills include the ability to speak and write. A set of sub-skills presupposes each in some hierarchical sequence. For example, one’s ability to write is based on their ability to decipher the interrelations between spoken and visual signs, combining these in words, phrases, and sentences, and most importantly making sense out of what is written and/or spoken.

The relationships among these elements are hierarchical and sequential. The sequence and directionality can be horizontal and vertical. For example, the text can be described as a structural hierarchy of letters combined into more complex language units and aspects woven together to represent a larger message and content. The way one reads and/or writes a given text presupposes an ability to understand the intricate structure, hierarchy, directionality, and the overall lexical representation of the written piece.

Certainly not all languages have the same hierarchical orientation such as directionality. For example, in some languages people read and write from right to left (e.g. Hebrew, Arabic, Farsi…etc.) while in others reading takes place from left to right (e.g. English, Spanish, German…etc.). Learners of English as a second language will have to make necessary adjustments to re-orient their language tools accordingly.

**Language is governed by explicit and implicit rules.**

Language is by no means a random phenomenon. It has a set of governing rules and regulations. Some of these are purely linguistic, while others are social and psychological or a combination of both. At the same time, some of these rules are overtly applied; others are covertly followed. Of course, rules have exceptions as well. To illustrate, consider the following questions when one engages in a conversation with in a given context:

- How is a conversation initiated appropriately?
- What words are chosen in the context of the conversation?
- What social rules are followed when people converse?
- How are turns taken or given during a conversation?
- What expressions are used and what expressions are avoided?

These questions and others can reveal the rule-governed nature of language. Many of the rules we apply are dictated by structural conventions while others are required by social norms.

Regardless of their nature, rules can provide patterns to organize and manage the linguistic system. Rules are natural ways to facilitate any systemic processes and outcomes. Although there are universally embedded rules across human languages, such rules vary and may be determined by non-linguistic determiners such culture, region, ethnicity and the like.
Language is creative, dynamic, and constantly changing.

Reflecting the nature of its users, language is a dynamic process that represents human intelligence and creativity, and changes to meet the communicative demands in time and space. Most importantly, it responds to human needs with a high degree of flexibility and complexity. The intellectual capital of its users is transmitted from one generation to another. Similarly, human experiences and civilizations are permanently recorded through language and its devices.

As a vehicle to undertake these complex social functions and roles, language can only do so if it is dynamic (and not static or rigid). One can examine this through language comparisons over time. For example, much of the terms used hundreds of years ago may have been altered to meet the communicative demands of today; likewise, countless numbers of language items and words that reflect society’s technological communicative demands today never existed before but have become a major part of our daily routines.

Language Aspects

In addition to language traits and properties, there are several aspects of language that affect the scope and sequence of language learning and teaching especially in diverse settings. Language aspects have been delineated by many linguists in an attempt to understand the structural dimensions of language (see e.g. Bollinger 1980, 1981). These aspects are systematic and uniquely interrelated. They also represent various levels of complexity that current language arts frameworks and guidelines, including the English language development (ELD) standards, seek to address. While these aspects represent an integral component of the language system, each aspect has a set of layers within its own structure. These aspects include:

1. **Phonological elements and patterns:** These consist of phonological and phonetic elements that make up the sound system of language.

2. **Orthographic representations:** The spelling system of how linguistic signs are visually represented in some written form.

3. **Morphological components:** The various components that compose words and vocabulary.

4. **Syntactic structural patterns:** The sets of rules that govern sentence structures.

5. **Semantic levels and meanings:** The interpretation and meaning of language signs and their combination especially at the word and sentence levels.

6. **Pragmatics and contextual language use:** The ways in which all aspects of language interact and how they are utilized by language users to meaningfully communicate in a given context.

Despite this universal structural frame that characterizes language as a human system, these properties and aspects may be shaped by certain unique cultural, ethnic, geographical, and historical variables. In other words, they vary from one language to another in the way they are utilized in the communicative process. In addition, language use varies based on sociocultural contexts and expectations of a given group and/or individual. These components are the basic ingredients of any discourse event or activity (spoken or written) in which we engage. They also provide us with the linguistic tools necessary to undertake any linguistic task (*more about how these affect second language learning and teaching will be discussed later*). In fact, users of any language employ these structural components as a holistic system that functions in a very complex, yet dynamic, way.

The Anatomy of the Speech Event: Elements and Functions

For native speakers of any language, interaction is a natural process when engaging in any speech or communicative event. In other words, it is a spontaneous, automatic, subconscious, and systematic process which is frequently taken for granted. For example, we don’t think about how we talk the way we don’t think about how we walk. We tend not to be conscious about the dynamics of walking or talking unless something breaks down.

Yet there are complex underlying factors that could determine the ease or difficulty in the communication process. The deeper level of interaction involves a balanced juggling act which requires subconscious application of multiple rules and principles. It is also dictated and governed by certain conditions, factors, elements and certainly demands. All of these are determined by a given context which frames the bulk of linguistic elements to give language use social and individual utility and value.
The context also sets the parameters of “doing language” as to, for example, what to say, when, to whom, where, why, and how. In other words, there is a wide range of functions and purposes that are accomplished simultaneously when the interaction occurs in a given context.

In an attempt to unravel this process, a Russian born American philosopher, Roman Jakobson, provided model that dissects the discourse process and explains the underlying premise of various elements involved. Jakobson’s classic piece, *Linguistics and Poetics*, appeared in 1960, outlined several functions of language that illustrate hidden elements of discourse during any speech event. This landmark account has gained little attention among linguists and educators. Nonetheless, the model proposed by Jakobson has provided the impetus for many developments in linguistic theories and subfields of language study such as semiotics, pragmatics, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics (see e.g. Gumperz, 1982, 1986).

According to Jakobson, any speech or communicative event involves six elements or factors. These include:

1. **Context**: the social and physical aspects in which the messages interchangeably take place.
2. **Message**: the subject or topic of the conversational event.
3. **Addresser**: the person involved in sending the verbal message (sender/enunciator).
4. **Addressee**: the person on the receiving end of the event (a receiver, or enunciatee of the message).
5. **Contact**: the link and connection between sender/addresser and receiver/addressee through which the message is channeled.
6. **Code**: common language or agreed upon code of communication between participants.

In addition, Jakobson (1960) spoke about the multifunctionality of the speech event and identified six functions of language. Summarized by the Wikipedia as appeared on its website, these functions are:

1. **The Referential Function**: corresponds to the factor of Context and describes a situation, object or mental state. The descriptive statements of the referential function can consist of both definite descriptions and deictic words, e.g. "The autumn leaves have all fallen now."

2. **The Expressive (alternatively called "emotive" or "affective") Function**: relates to the Addresser and is best exemplified by interjections and other sound changes that do not alter the denotative meaning of an utterance but do add information about the Addresser's (speaker's) internal state, e.g. "Wow, what a view!"

3. **The Conative Function**: engages the Addressee directly and is best illustrated by vocatives and imperatives, e.g. "Tom! Come inside and eat!"

4. **The Poetic Function**: focuses on "the message for its own sake" and is the operative function in poetry as well as slogans.

5. **The Phatic Function**: is language for the sake of interaction and is therefore associated with the Contact factor. The Phatic Function can be observed in greetings and casual discussions of the weather, particularly with strangers.

6. **The Metalingual (alternatively called "metalinguistic" or "reflexive") Function**: is the use of language (what Jakobson calls "Code") to discuss or describe itself.


As pointed out earlier, language users for the most part, take this complex process for granted during speech events since it is a subconscious, and automatic activity. The automatic interplay of the multiple functions is hardly noticed until the communicative process is interrupted. Once communication breaks down due to a “mal-function” of one or more elements(s) under certain conditions, users of language become more conscious and engage in “repairing” strategies to continue carrying on the discourse task at hand. Examples of repairing activities may be illustrated when one asks for clarification or repeating of what was said. This also can apply to written discourse in some ways because readers and writers assume the same roles as senders and receivers of the intended messages in the texts.

It can be concluded from Jakobson’s model that the language use is systemic and involves an exchange of multiple domains that transcend the purely linguistic ones. Generally, these domains are two-fold: cognitive and social in nature. Within each domain, there is a series of elements, components, factors, and conditions that should be present for a successful communication in a given context.
Abstract as it might seem, the process becomes more concrete during the application and use of these functions in real-life situations. Having this mind, Halliday (1973, 1975) studied how children utilize these functions in their daily interaction with others (adults, peers) and the world around them. His findings echo the conceptual framework for the Jakobsonian discourse model. Linguistic data collected from Halliday’s observations of children reflect a systematic pattern that could be categorized in a series of functions. Halliday identified seven language functions that describe the discourse activity, as well as the social and cognitive exchange, among language users (See also Halliday, 1989, 2004). These language functions include:

- **Instrumental:** is based on the need to get something
- **Regulatory:** is based on control of the present situation
- **Interactional:** is based on the social exchange among language users
- **Personal:** is based on the self-disclosure using language as a tool
- **Heuristic:** is based on inquiry and need to obtain information
- **Imaginative:** is based on the creative aspect of language use
- **Informative:** is based on the shared knowledge via language

One can easily decipher these conceptualizations by Jakobson and Halliday by paying closer attention to the dynamics of the speech events the way we utilize them in everyday life. Similarly, observing others using language can provide a greater insight about the overt and covert patterns of interaction. Of course, variations abound in the way language functions are employed based on the contextual demands, nature of the message, traits of participants (personality, mood, gender, age…etc.), and a whole host of other intervening variables and conditions.

Generally, the discourse process results in the accomplishment of multiple cognitive, linguistic, cultural, and emotional tasks intended (consciously or subconsciously) by participants. A major outcome of this engagement in the discourse activity is maintaining what Jakobson referred as a “phatic communion” or rapport which is not merely linguistic in nature but socio-cultural as well.

Interestingly, the discourse engagement is not rigid nor static; it is rather dynamic and flexible process. It allows participants in the speech event to use fixations and repairs to maintain the communion, focus, flow, clarity, emphasis, and meaningful communication. This can be illustrated by many shifts in tone, mood, roles, style, and even some times in language.

If such process takes place in one language, it arguably can occur in more that one and/or a combination of two languages. A good example of this possibility is seen in the process of code-switching which involves alternating from one form or language to another during the course of the conversation. Code-switching also takes place in written discourse. There are many forms and manifestations of code-switching in any linguistic community.

Although this phenomenon may be more noticeable among linguistically and culturally diverse participants, it also exists among participants engaging in discourse using one common language or “code”. In monolingual settings, participants shift in style all the time (e.g. from formal to informal and vice versa) to maintain communicative continuity and rapport. In some languages, it is a typical discourse activity in which contextual demands and speech situations dictate switching from one form to another form of the same language. Some languages have a case of diglossia in which two forms of the same language are asymmetrically functional. For example, Arabic is a diglossic language which has two forms: one High or Classic form of the language that is used in formal settings (spoken or written), and the Low or Informal form that is used in less formal and casual spoken or written discourse. Sometimes, code-switching involves diglossic discourse not only within the language itself but across a second or foreign language as the following diagram illustrates in which the code-switching occurs between forms of Arabic and French among Tunisians. This form of diglossic code-switching is a very common interactional phenomenon among Arabic language users when also using English.

Although most languages are not diglossic (in the technical sense at least), they tend to reflect such dichotomy of various forms used in certain varying contexts. For example, Wheeler (2008) examines the process of code-switching among urban African American learners and their strategies involved in using certain grammatical notions during the communicative process.
For learners of a second language and multilinguals, code-switching is a frequent occurrence and can be employed under certain conditions and for various purposes. While some learners of a second language display avoidance and silence (under-use) during the language learning process, other learners generally tend to use (or often over-use) everything at their disposal in discourse events to maintain communication.

Successful interaction and communication using language systems and functions involve a high level of cognitively demanding tasks. In addition, the linguistic tools available for individuals and groups facilitate these tasks and make them feasible to accomplish. Integrating language components in the cognitive and social exchanges is an indicator of the intricate relationship that should not be taken for granted in language learning and teaching particularly in linguistically diverse contexts. Accordingly, being aware of the process, its dimensions, intricacies, and demands, can have direct implications for language learners and teachers alike.

**Implications and Applications**

The complexity of linguistic behavior displays an array of intervening set of factors, characteristics, components and functions. This complexity should not be examined or understood in the abstract sense. Rather it should be viewed and analyzed through the prism of concrete experiences of individuals and groups utilizing language to fulfill their cognitive and social needs. Models that have accounted for various linguistic dynamics have enhanced our understanding of what goes on in the minds and lives of language users at the individual and group levels. What is gleaned from these views can help in providing the appropriate conditions for effective utilization of language systems and functions. As they seek to systematically and meaningfully fulfill complex wants and needs, human beings rely heavily on language in thinking, learning, and exploring the world around them. In particular, teachers of language can integrate the implications of existing models to enhance learning outcomes in schools.

Finally, understanding language traits, components, elements, functions, and other determiners can assist teachers and learners. Knowledge about how these are interwoven and utilized in the communicative process should embed instructional planning and delivery. Unless learners and teachers develop an understanding of the value of language and how it functions, it might be difficult to effectively utilize linguistic tools to promote learning and teaching outcomes. Accordingly, instructional planning requires building on language traits, components, and functions. One way to accomplish this is to account for cognitive and social demands as learners use language tools at their disposal. In addition, contexts and situations should be provided for concrete experiences in language learning and teaching.
References

An illustration of these elements and factors is depicted by the following figure:

source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jakobson%27s_Communication_Model
An Issue of Legitimacy:
Hmong Religious and Ethnonational Borders in Northern Thailand

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Abstract
The Hmong are a small hill tribe ethnic group that traditionally practice shamanism. They believe in spirits and worship their ancestors through diverse practices, such as animal sacrifice and spirit calling. In addition to traditional Hmong belief (dab qhuas), many messianic religious groups have recently surfaced within the Hmong diaspora, often accompanied by a prophetic leader, criticisms of traditional Hmong practices, and a hopeful vision of the future in which there exists a Hmong country. My research on this subject is based on an ethnographic field study in northern Thailand among the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv, a Hmong messianic religious group. Using traditional anthropological field methods, I acquired data on the practices and beliefs of the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv as well as investigated their conceptions of nationalism, ethnicity, and identity. I posit that the rituals and beliefs of the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv reveal the group’s desire for Hmong political and cultural legitimacy and national sovereignty. These beliefs and rituals also serve as boundaries that provide a clear distinction between messianic and non-messianic Hmong. Additionally, I explain how the characteristics of the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv religion help its devotees deal with the social and ethnic disruptions that globalization has presented.

I found myself sitting outside the worship house of the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv, the small Hmong messianic religious group whose members I had begun to know rather well. I had often been inside the worship house for the weekly Sunday meetings, but this time I was participating in a different sort of ceremony. Huaj Yang, the leader of the group, took from his apprentice the contract he had written both in Hmong RPA and in the revealed orthography Ntawv Puaj Txwm, looking them over with care and purpose. Huaj then turned to my mentor and I and read the contract over with us, laying out the rules of agreement of our interactions and involvement with his religious group. We listened carefully, taking note of the conditions under which we were allowed to photograph their books of scripture. We were to treat each other like cousins or family, which meant that we should act honestly and not cause trouble for one another. We were also to use the photographs to translate the scriptures using text analysis software and to submit the scriptures to the United States Library of Congress. And finally, we were to use our research to let others know about the Hmong and the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv, to show their goodness and their beliefs. After some minor revisions and clarifications concerning our roles, we signed the document with our Hmong and English names, and Huaj and his apprentice signed as well.

Following our discussion of the contracts, we went inside the worship house and participated in a ritual to notify God of our transnational and trans-ethnic collaboration. Huaj’s wife, See Yang, chanted and prayed in front of the three-tiered altar whose levels represent God, heaven, and earth, exhorting God to bless our endeavors and asking that we may work together peaceably. We sat behind See as she prayed, keeping our hands together in the sign of prayer. Finally, it seemed our message had reached God and we had earned his approval, so we left the sacred altar house to begin our work.

Reflecting back on this event, I found this unique religious petitioning to be a compelling example of the desire for authenticity within this small Hmong messianic religion. It also speaks to the religious differences that provide a stark contrast between this group and the traditional Hmong. The Kev Cai Raug Xaiv—or Kev Cai for short—see the Hmong as a people fallen from God’s presence and blessings due to their indifference towards his commandments. As with other Hmong messianic groups, they also uphold a
prophetic leader, use a revealed divine orthography, have deep-seated criticisms of traditional Hmong practices that they feel should be replaced by a new set of ritual practices, and adhere to a hopeful vision of the future in which there finally exists a country for the Hmong. Although these are standard beliefs for a Hmong messianic religion, they beg to be defined in their unique historical and cultural contexts. Why do these Hmong messianic groups exist? How do they set themselves apart from normal Hmong traditions? And why do they see the need to do so? The nature of these questions implies that meaningful changes are occurring in Hmong society.

Those changes as well as the concepts of Hmong ethnicity and identity are the foci of this paper. Herein I address what I believe to be the cultural and ethnonational implications of these Hmong religious groups as seen through one such group, the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv based in northern Thailand. I argue that their rituals and beliefs expose their desire for Hmong political and cultural legitimacy and national sovereignty. In addition, these beliefs and rituals serve as a way to create and maintain an identity based on clear distinctions between messianic and non-messianic Hmong.

Contextualizing Hmongness and Messianism

The Hmong are a stateless ethnic group comprising approximately 5 million people worldwide and living primarily in the highland areas of the Southeast Asian massif, including Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, and China, and also in recent war-relocation diasporas (Lemoine, 2005). They are one of the most populous upland ethnic minority groups in Southeast Asia and China, and they are further subdivided into a variety of ethnolinguistic groups. The Hmong are generally considered to have originated in China, as with many other ethnic hill tribe groups in the region, such as the Akha and Mien. Many Hmong around the world consider China to be their ethnic “homeland” and the site of an ancient “Hmong kingdom”. For a people who are stateless, this myth is the basis for political and cultural legitimacy (Hickman, 2011).

Over time, the Hmong and other ethnic minorities were displaced from Southern China as part of the ethnic battle between them and the majority Han. The Hmong took flight from Southern China with the most significant wave in the nineteenth century, ending up largely in the mountainous regions of the Southeast Asian peninsula (Culas & Michaud, 1997). More recently, Hmong have been resettled as refugees of the Indochinese wars to places like the United States, France, Australia, French Guyana, Canada, and Germany. As such, they are typically considered refugees in the varying countries in which they reside, including Thailand. They rely on culture and language to remain an ethnically distinct group, often defining themselves in contrast to the dominant culture. Because of their statelessness, however, Hmong ethnic identity is synonymous with their nationality, giving rise to the use of the term ethnonationalism. This concept refers to a “nation”, official or otherwise, that is defined by ethnicity.

The Hmong have lived in Thailand since their migrations from China began in the nineteenth century. However, the Hmong population grew most sharply after the wars in 1975 when hundreds of thousands of Hmong fled Laos. As mentioned previously, most were resettled outside of Southeast Asia, but about 42,000 remained in Thailand permanently (Tapp, 2004). The current Hmong population in Thailand is approximately 150,000 (Lemoine, 2005).

Hmong Kinship and Traditional Religion

The Hmong are an exogamous, patrilineal, clan-based people. This means that an individual is born into a line of descent that consists of the immediate nuclear family and the extended household, as well as the lineage cluster of blood relatives on the father’s side. The sub-clan—which is comprised of members of the clan who follow the same sets of ancestral rituals—and the clan (or people bearing the same family name) serve as reference groups (Lee, 1996).

The clan has not only physical and familial authority, but also spiritual. Males stay within their clan all their lives and females are a part of their clan until they marry out, at which point they join the descent line of their husbands. This means that a Hmong woman, upon marriage, no longer belongs to her parent’s ritual domain. People from the same clan are considered family, and thus there exists an incest taboo that forbids persons from the same clan from intermarrying, even if they are not related by blood (Lee, 1996).

Traditionally, the Hmong have been deemed by early anthropologists as animist and shamanist, which mean that they practice ancestor worship and spirit rituals. These rituals are performed either in the
household (for ancestral spirits) or outside (for farming or territorial spirits). Additionally, the Hmong believe that each person has a soul, and they often perform soul-calling ceremonies (hu plig) when a person is sick or is born. Shamanic trances (ua neeb) are commonly used to retrieve a lost soul in order to cure illness. Funeral ceremonies—including animal sacrifice and playing the flute (qeej) and drums—are also indicative of traditional Hmong beliefs in spirits and ancestors (Lee, 1996).

The Kev Cai Raug Xaiv

As I have already mentioned, my fieldwork was conducted mainly with the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv, a small Hmong messianic religious group whose members live largely within Ban Saab. The religion is named after their prophet, who lived in Laos during the mid-twentieth century. According to the group’s current leader Huaj Yang, God visited the prophet in the Hmong regions of northern Laos in July of 1943 while France was still in control of Laos. Over time, the prophet organized a large following and established a town made up of four villages of believers. Huaj—whose father lived in the same village with the prophet—shared with my mentor and me several photographs of this village and its unique inhabitants. According to his account, after the communists took over Laos the town was invaded and about 75% of the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv members were killed. The survivors fled to neighboring Thailand where they were accepted as refugees. Huaj and his family and relatives were relocated to Ban Saab while others went to the Chang Kham refugee camp and still others went to the United States. The Kev Cai group in Ban Saab is a revitalization of the original religion that began in Laos, and is now much smaller and is still suffering from the effects of these troubling past events. The prophet, who died about a decade before I did my fieldwork, is now worshipped as God.

The Field Site

I conducted my fieldwork in Ban Saab, which is located in northern Thailand. Employing traditional anthropological methods, I spent three months effecting ethnography at this site over the spring and summer of 2012 under the direction of my mentor, Dr. Jacob Hickman. With approximately 5,000 Hmong living in this village, Ban Saab is one of the larger Hmong villages in Thailand. Rather than being situated in the mountains, where most Hmong traditionally lived, Ban Saab is at a comparatively lower elevation at only 350 meters (Hickman, 2011).

An Issue of Ethnic Legitimacy

Now that we have established some historical and cultural context, let us turn our attention to my response to the questions I spoke of before: Why does the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv group exist? How do they set themselves apart from normal Hmong traditions? And why do they see the need to do so? I posit that the rituals and beliefs of the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv group in Ban Saab, Thailand reveal the group’s desire for Hmong political and cultural legitimacy and national sovereignty. These rituals and beliefs also serve as identity-forming tools that provide a clear distinction between messianic and non-messianic Hmong.

The Kev Cai’s desires for the Hmong aim at bringing this ethnic group up to par with other developed ethnicities with their own nation-states and written languages. And it is their rituals and desires that create distinctions and separations between them and the traditional Hmong, who continue to practice well-known and established Hmong rituals, such as animal sacrifice for shamanic services and funeral music. In fact, the Kev Cai use these differences as a way to distinguish and define themselves as progressive, seeking unity among Hmong and striving for greater legitimacy. Although the members of the Kev Cai group are not unsusceptible to improper behavior (which could also be seen as “Hmong behavior”, in the eyes of the Kev Cai), they believe that their religious and cultural beliefs stand as exemplars to all Hmong everywhere on how to be bona-fide global citizens. Of course, the Kev Cai explain that these were the ways God intended the Hmong to act from the beginning, and that their current ways of living are in fact fallen and incorrect as a result of the many times the Hmong failed God’s word and commandments. However, the Kev Cai’s differing rituals and practices challenge the fundamental definitions of what it means to be Hmong, making it difficult for other Hmong to take them seriously.

Although not explicit about it, the Kev Cai see their ideas as more progressive than traditional Hmong practices. The Kev Cai desire many changes to Hmong traditional practices, the most noteworthy including the elimination of clan distinctions and the ending of animal sacrifice. Additional factors that
emphasis the *Kev Cai’s* progressivism are their written language, scriptures written in that language, and their desire for a Hmong nation.

**Clan Elimination**

Clan distinctions are one of the most radical ways in which the *Kev Cai* differ from traditional Hmong. As written above, the Hmong are known as a patrilineal, clan-based people, whose cosmological and cultural understandings of the world revolve around the clan-based kinship group. Those who share the same clan name are considered related, with no regard to true blood relation. The clans often have different expectations or traditions for performing certain rituals, they have different taboos (concerning food, funerals, sex, etc.), and their loyalty is first and foremost to their clan. Hmong society is based on this system.

The *Kev Cai*, however, see the clan-based system as a major reason why the Hmong have not progressed. In a free-list exercise, the *Kev Cai* group leader Huaj Yang wrote that “Members [of *Kev Cai*] don’t separate into different clans and beliefs, everyone just lives together as a family. Members can be [live] together regardless of their last name. Non-members cannot be together due to their differences in last name.” The *Kev Cai*, in an effort to bring all Hmong together (eventually in the form of a nation), want to do away with clan distinction entirely, as evidenced by the fact that the *Kev Cai* believe their prophet was born without clan affiliation. Members of the *Kev Cai* group act on this precept, as well, allowing inter-clan marriages and for daughters to continue to live with her parents after her marriage.

Traditional Hmong I interviewed also saw clan-based distinctions as the reason for the impossibility of a good Hmong leader—this hypothetical leader would inevitably and necessarily give preference to his own clan, his own family, and all other clans would be subject to his dictatorial rule. *Dab qhuas* Hmong I talked to, however, would never consider the elimination of clans a reasonable reaction as the *Kev Cai* do. *Dab qhuas* Hmong would rather the Hmong never get into power and instead live their lives subject to the countries and leaders they live under. For the *Kev Cai*, however, clan distinction keeps the Hmong from leading themselves, further reinforcing their submission to powerful nations and leaders from other ethnic groups. This inevitably makes the Hmong nation unfeasible and restricts it from becoming a world power, which is what they strive for in an attempt to gain authority and credibility. The *Kev Cai* want to do away with clan distinctions because they want their religion and their ethnic group to be seen as progressive, but they cannot achieve progressivism if their people are internally separated.

From our understanding of Hmong history and culture, it seems that clans are a major underpinning of Hmong society. If this foundation were to be eradicated as the *Kev Cai* desire, would the result still be Hmong or something else entirely? The *dab qhuas*’s fear toward this loss of “Hmongness” is, I believe, one of the underlying reasons why the *Kev Cai* are so ostracized and their religion is so unpopular within their community. *Dab qhuas* Hmong are comfortable with the current system and see no need to change their ways if they can still achieve a sense of legitimacy through a powerful foreign government, so the *Kev Cai* religion—as a way to achieve political and ethnic legitimacy—is rendered useless. I will discuss this subject in more detail below.

**Abolition of Animal Sacrifice**

Next is the topic of animal sacrifice, which has a very important role in Hmong animist beliefs and rituals. As I discussed previously, the Hmong are traditionally animist and shamanist, meaning that they worship their ancestors and perform spirit rituals at altars. The sacrifice of a cow, pig, or chicken is an essential part of various Hmong traditional ceremonies, including soul-calling ceremonies (*or hu plig*), shamanic trances (*or ua neeb*), and funerals. Animal sacrifice is strongly tied to the Hmong belief in the soul, as animal souls are used often to seek out or lead human souls that have become detached from their bodies. For instance, at a funeral one or more bulls are tied with small strings to the casket of the deceased and then killed, with the belief that the bull(s) will help lead the soul of the deceased to the world of the ancestors. Chickens are also killed and buried with the body as a gift for the soul in the afterlife.

In contrast, my informants within the *Kev Cai* group consistently repeated the lack of animal sacrifice in *Kev Cai* practices as something that delineated them from traditional practices. It was referred to as “evil” and a “bad practice”—particularly when I attended a traditional Hmong funeral that Huaj also attended in which three bulls were sacrificed. The *Kev Cai* see animal sacrifice as one of the worst
practices to which traditional Hmong adhere. In their own rituals they instead use flowers, candles, and fruits as sacrifices to God, using chickens only as food during those ceremonies.

The Kev Cai do not see this as overtly about legitimacy, though. Instead, they attribute it to sinning against God, and thus something that needs to be changed. Although the Kev Cai outwardly justify their changing of traditional Hmong practices through religion and God’s commandments, I believe that the elimination of animal sacrifice is also an attempt at progressive thinking, especially since animal sacrifice is not practiced by major societies (including Thai society and American society). The attempt to distance the Hmong from clan separation and animal sacrifice would potentially cause the Hmong to be more like other peoples of stronger nations, which is the Kev Cai’s underlying goal in trying to achieve Hmong political and national sovereignty. Animal sacrifice is a large contributing factor to the perceived backwardness of the Hmong, and in order for them to become a legitimate force in the world this aspect of their culture and religion must be stopped.

**Divine Orthography and Scriptures**

Traditionally, the Hmong do not have a writing system. In the 1950s three Western missionaries serving in Laos devised the RPA system, which has been used transnationally since then (and is what I use in this article) to write in Hmong. The Kev Cai, however, have their own writing system called *Ntawv Puaj Txwm* (‘original, primeval writing’) that they hold was revealed by God to the prophet. To them, it is a pure writing system, one that is perfect and meant for the Hmong themselves. As the leader of the Kev Cai group stated, it will allow Hmong to one day be as prolific as English is today. Although this is largely a new system of writing for the already-existing Hmong language (instead of using the RPA, for instance), a few new or revealed words are also *Kev Cai Raug Xaiv* specific. These are considered to be more proper and moral than the everyday Hmong equivalents. For instance, I was taught the words *tub xib mis* for “student” and *xeej kws lus* for “university”, whereas the common Hmong words are *nyuam kawm* and *tsev kawm siab* respectively. I was told that there were even revealed words for “ice cream” and “cake”. This type of event, though, is not necessarily unique to the *Kev Cai Raug Xaiv* —new orthographies are a common feature of nearly all Hmong messianic groups (Smalley & Wimuttikosol, 1998; Smalley, 1990; Hickman, 2012).

The prophet also produced at least nine books of scripture, whose precepts God revealed to him. All of these books are written in the revealed orthography *Ntawv Puaj Txwm*. In fact, the first book of scripture is devoted solely to the alphabet’s characters and their meanings. The current group in Ban Saab has possession of these books and I had the privilege of photographing six of the nine during my study. My mentor and I were entrusted to photograph them with the intent to have them translated into English (and eventually into Hmong RPA) to aid in the proliferation of the group’s message to all Hmong. As I photographed, Huaj Yang would often tell me of the meanings of particularly interesting drawings or pages. Commonly, these pages would refer to the Hmong’s relationship to God, their place in the universe, stories in which they fell from God’s presence by not following his mandates, and what the Hmong needed to do to get back to God and overcome their fallen natures.

The Kev Cai draw from their revealed scriptures extensively to understand their own beliefs, to read stories explaining those beliefs, and, as I argue, to create legitimacy. As Smalley and Wimuttikosol (1998) have written, the inability of historical Hmong to read and write their language became symbolic of their powerlessness and of their subordinate political status. This is in part why messianic mythology developed, in which God or some Supreme Ruler would one day provide writing for the Hmong as one element in transforming them into an independent people on a par with peoples who already had writing (Smalley & Wimuttikosol, 1998). In light of a traditional Hmong cosmology that has been passed down through the ages from family to family—which creates highly idiosyncratic ways of performing rituals—scriptures set religious beliefs in stone, as it were. This can be seen in various religions holding ancient scripture, such as Christianity, Judaism, and Buddhism. Furthermore, Thai Buddhists and American and European Christians have scriptures, and their religions are worldwide and important. To strive for the same level of significance, the Kev Cai also have scriptures. As I took photographs of the Kev Cai scriptures, Huaj asked that we translate them using software designed for that kind of analysis and that, once edited and refined, we submit them to the Library of Congress. Again, I argue that they desire
legitimacy that they feel is to be found through the governments of other powerful nations. Having us, Americans and educated people, was quite a good resource to gain that legitimacy, which is especially evident in their desire to secure contracts with us (reflecting their understanding of how Westerners approach deal-making) and in their asking us to give them political and legal advice.

**Hmong Country**

Finally, the Hmong nation—although seemingly unachievable at the moment—is something that the *Kev Cai* strongly desire and advocate. It is perhaps the basis of their religion and the reason why they strive for ethnic legitimacy at all. Traditional Hmong I interviewed considered a Hmong nation to be impossible due to ethnic inadequacies and inherent shortcomings, and that it would be better for the Hmong to simply live and be good citizens in whichever country they reside. There is also the idea that I referred to above, where the *dab ghuas* Hmong see no need to change their ways if they can still achieve a sense of legitimacy through a powerful foreign government. Without the backing from a nation, the *Kev Cai* religion will not succeed among *dab ghuas* Hmong because of these assumptions of what creates legitimacy. Unfortunately, the *Kev Cai* are going about it in the opposite fashion—they are first establishing a religion and then seeking a nation.

But the concept of a Hmong country, even if the *Kev Cai* were seen as credible in the eyes of the *dab ghuas* Hmong, is a moot point to the traditional Hmong I spoke to. Indeed, I received the strongest negative reactions during my interviews when I asked *dab ghuas* Hmong if there should be a Hmong state. Hnub Thao, for example, said in reaction to this question, “Oh, no! Not at all. If there were a Hmong country, they'd all kill each other off. There would be no more Hmong left in the world. Just let the Hmong people in Thailand live as they are as good citizens.” Hnub quickly dismisses the idea of a Hmong country, saying that fighting would be the end of the Hmong ethnicity. And again, she appeals to Thai citizenship and insinuates that the Hmong are better left in the hands of a larger, more powerful government than attempting to establish their own.

*Kev Cai* members are also skeptical of a Hmong nation, citing certain prerequisites (such as unity, love for one another, and not creating trouble for one another) as necessary to be achieved before a Hmong country or place can become a reality. *Kev Cai* Hmong seem to share the view of many *dab ghuas* Hmong that the Hmong are better off being subject to another country if they cannot meet those prerequisites of mutual love and support. In fact, Pheej Thao also considered the same possibility, saying, “I think that before you can start designing a Hmong country, you really need the Hmong to have love and unity with one another. This is necessary before they can be together [in a country].” Nevertheless, the *Kev Cai* actively strive for such changes to occur, and not necessarily through their religion.

Additionally, when asked why he would live in a Hmong country were there one, Ntxawg Yang said, “Because, I am Hmong so I must support and go help my people so that my people can have a successful country like other nations and also have a clear vision of prosperity just as others do.” Ntxawg’s last sentence speaks particularly well to the idea that the *Kev Cai* use other powerful nations as examples of what they desire. For the *Kev Cai*, the pinnacle of legitimacy lies in the establishment of a nation made uniquely for the Hmong ethnic group, just as other ethnicities have their own countries. This is particularly important when referencing the historical homelessness of the Hmong and their subjugation to other countries, often accompanied by persecution.

As mentioned above, the impossibility of a good Hmong leader or of the Hmong to respect a leader is also a reason for this skepticism. The *Kev Cai* see this as a hindrance to their goal of eventually having a Hmong country. Although this is a dream to be realized far in the future, it is one that the Hmong *Kev Cai* perhaps speak of the most.

**Significance: Discussion and Conclusions**

What do these differences in ritual, practice, belief, and cosmology tell us about the fundamental nature of the *Kev Cai Raug Xaiv* group and the Hmong overall? What led to these differences in the first place? Dr. Jacob Hickman has posited that Hmong messianic groups serve as coping mechanisms for the Hmong after a long history of constant displacement and the lack of a “homeland”. He believes that these movements primarily offer an alternative vision and narrative of Hmong authenticity and tradition. Writing on the same group with which I spent much of my time, he says, “For [Kev Cai Raug Xaiv],
tradition is located in an ancient state of being in God’s good grace, before written language and an organized political society to govern all Hmong was lost. These messianic visions offer the assurance of this state being restored in the near future” (Hickman, 2011, p. 72). As I explain below, I agree that Hmong messianic groups such as the Kev Cai Raug Xiav are a result of the hard history of the Hmong. My analysis, however, emphasizes the important role of achieving a state of sovereignty and legitimacy for all Hmong, including the Kev Cai.

As was mentioned previously, the Kev Cai religion was born in a time of political trouble for the Hmong. As they became involved in national and ideological wars, they simultaneously became aware of the standards of living and ways of life of other peoples. Of course, the Hmong had long been exposed to various other ethnic groups—such as the Chinese and other hill tribe groups—but they had never thought of themselves as having the potential or ability to be at the same level of development, advancement, wealth, and power. Their desire for this type of prestige was certainly existent, but it was not until after having roles in military leadership while fighting on both sides of the communist wars and developing important relationships with such powerhouses as the United States and France through the Indochinese Wars that the Hmong as a people came to understand their potential for achieving such prestige.

The Hmong not involved with the Indochinese wars may not have had the same types of experiences, but the eventual effect was the same. For instance, the Hmong that migrated to Thailand beginning in the nineteenth century migrated to a well-established country that had asserted political power in the area. Though not important at first, over time the Thai state exerted control over the Hmong living within Thai borders and thus established their sovereignty and legitimacy over the hill tribe ethnic group. The Hmong thus became acquainted with the Thais—a large and authoritative group that served as a lucid example for what it meant to be a bona-fide society. Naturally, the Hmong as a people would desire this same type of prestige and aspire to the same legitimacy.

Nonetheless, I want to avoid the false impression that these events led to cut-and-dry ideologies aspiring for Hmong legitimacy. Certainly, it was obvious to me over the course of my field study that various idiosyncrasies existed between individuals. For example, through Dr. Hickman, I became aware of several members of the dab qhuas community that held strong messianic proclivities without adhering to a specific messianic religious group—an oddity according to my argument. And as I have previously mentioned, the dab qhuas Hmong I encountered thoroughly rejected the idea of a Hmong country, often stating that such an arrangement would result in the death of all Hmong involved due to in-fighting. Indeed many Kev Cai members responded similarly, as well.

However, all of these seeming disparities can be explained through the concept of the Hmong desire for legitimacy. Firstly, Hmong living in Thailand for more than one generation generally saw disrespect to the Thai state as a reason why new religious groups (such as the Kev Cai) were unwanted. For instance, one informant, Hnub Thao, reported that in order to respect the country in which they live and the King of Thailand, the Hmong have to practice Buddhism. Since these new religious groups—which Hnub believed often originated in Laos—do not adhere to Buddhism and instead have their own original religion, they will be ostracized from their community. Better than having a Hmong country, she mentioned, is to just have the Hmong live well under the authority of a stronger nation or power. Her narrative in these cases and the opinions of the other dab qhuas Hmong I talked to betray their perception of what is most important for the Hmong—to gain legitimacy in and through the Thai state rather than through new religions or new countries.

This describes another deep-set reason for the discrepancies between the dab qhuas and Kev Cai Hmong—the Kev Cai have a message of legitimacy through religion (ritual, language, scripture, and nation), but the dab qhuas already have a source of legitimacy from which they draw: Thailand (religion, country, and King). Although I was unable to speak to any of them, I imagine that the views of those few individuals that show messianic proclivities but that are not associated with any new religion can also be explained in this way. Although they live in Thailand, they do not see Thailand as the ultimate source of Hmong ethnic legitimacy—religion or nationalism is a better alternative.
Conclusion

In conclusion, Hmong messianic religious groups share not only a common set of religious desires and histories, they also share a common function in attempting to establish a secure method of obtaining legitimacy as defined by the example of today’s global and world powers. The Kev Cai Raug Xaiv serve as exemplars of this trend, and within their context their attempts at securing legitimacy simultaneously serve to distinguish them from non-messianic Hmong. They use this as a way to define themselves, though at the same time striving for Hmong unification under the precepts of their religion. This has far-reaching implications for the popular messianic groups sprouting up throughout the Hmong diaspora and serves as one avenue of explaining the current prevalence of these groups. Overall, the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv of northern Thailand are a localized example of the trend spreading throughout the global Hmong society: that the Hmong deserve a higher status of ethnic and political importance on par with that of other ethnic groups, but with the caveat that these goals cannot be achieved while the Hmong continue to practice certain traditional religious and cultural customs.
References

i This is a pseudonym meaning “The Chosen Ritual Tradition”.
ii All informants’ personal names are pseudonyms.
iii As defined by Wallace (1956).
iv This is a pseudonym meaning “Lake Town”.
v Smalley and Wimuttikosol (1998) have also written about this group prior to my meeting them in Thailand. Some of the events related here conflict with information given to them, which is quite interesting in and of itself. However, my writing is based on what I was told during my fieldwork and my experiences with Huaj Yang’s group in Ban Saab.
vi Stands for “Romanized Popular Alphabet”.
vii This system is discussed extensively and in greater linguistic depth in Smalley and Wimuttikosol (1998). They refer to it as the “Sayaboury script” because it supposedly came from that province in Laos.
viii Taken from my field notes. For now, though, it is important that the members of the Kev Cai group learn to use this orthography. For now, it seems the orthography is the most important part, but there are a few words specific to the Kev Cai group that do not exist in Hmong.
ix This book follows the pattern of the Thai language, in which each written consonant has an associated sound and word. An English example would be to say “’A’. Apple”.
x This could be interpreted as evidence for the greater importance of legitimate Hmongness over their religion. If true, that could be significant in showing that the real reasons for the Kev Cai Raug Xaiv group lie in ethnic legitimacy, as I argue. This sentiment was only shared by a few informants, however, and would need to be investigated further.
xii Although, according to Ntxawg Yang, people from other ethnicities would be welcome to live there, too.
xii These world powers gained many Hmong as their allies to fight in various wars within Southeast Asia. The Hmong were strategically important because of their knowledge of the mountains and their tenacity in living in difficult, high-altitude locations.