Name of Publication: NATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL
Issue: Volume 39 # 2 ISSN 2154-1736
Frequency: Quarterly
Office of Publication: National Social Science Association
Mailing Address
2020 Hills Lake Drive
El Cajon CA  92020

Association Office
9131 Fletcher Parkway, Suite 119
La Mesa CA 91942

On Line journals: http://nssa.us
e-mail address: natsocsci@aol.com; nssa1@cox.net

The National Social Science Journal is being abstracted in: Cabell's Directory; Eric Clearinghouse; EBSCO, Economic Abstracts; Historical Abstracts; Index to Periodical Articles; Social Science Source; Social Science Index; Sociological Abstracts; the University Reference System.

We wish to thank all authors for the licensing of the articles. And we wish to thank all those who have reviewed these articles for publication

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Educators’ Knowledge of English Language Learners

Nancy J. Adams
Nancy Leffel Carlson
Pamela Monk
Vance Cortrez-Rucker
Lamar University

Purpose
The study examined educators’ understanding of the educational laws and guidelines of federal and state agencies governing the English Language Learner (ELL) population. Information gleaned from the survey provided a basis for identifying professional development needs of educators of English Language Learners and the schools they serve.

Background
Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination based on race, color, or national origin. In Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S.563, 569 (1974), the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the United States Department of Education (USDOE) memorandum of May 25, 1970 which directed school districts to take steps to help limited-English proficient (LEP) students overcome language barriers and to ensure their meaningful participation in the district's educational programs (USDOE, 2005). This federal law required programs that educate children with limited English proficiency to be (a) based on a sound educational theory, (b) adequately supported, with adequate and effective staff and resources to support a realistic chance of success, and (c) periodically evaluated and, if necessary, revised (USDOE, 2005).

Definition
The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 defined limited English proficient students as, “…ages 3-21, enrolled in elementary or secondary education, often born outside the United States or speaking a language other than English in their homes, and not having sufficient mastery of English to meet state standards and excel in an English-language classroom” (USDOE, 2001). The term limited English proficient (LEP) and English language learner (ELL), were both used to describe students who are not native speakers of English and whose English language skills are such that the student has difficulty performing ordinary class work in English (USDOE, 2005).

Literature Review
English Language Learners
According to the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (2011), approximately 5.4 million English Language Learners were enrolled in grades pre-K through 12 in the 2008-2009 school year, an increase of more than fifty-one percent since 1997-1998. Non-English-speaking students were the fastest growing subgroup of children among public school populations, increasing approximately 10 percent annually (McCardle, 2005). While more than 400 languages were spoken by this group, approximately eighty percent spoke Spanish as their native language (NCELA, 2011). The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (USDOE, 2001) mandated that students meet state standards, that classrooms be staffed with highly qualified teachers, and that parents be notified in their native languages of their children’s progress. Schools were mandated by NCLB to disaggregate the performance of LEP children on standardized tests. Title III of NCLB mandated that states improve the English proficiency of LEP students (USDOE, 2005).
Home Language

According to the 2000 census, about six in seven LEP students at the elementary level lived in linguistically isolated households, meaning homes where everyone over age 14 was Limited English Proficient (LEP). This pointed to the need for translation and interpretation assistance to help meet NCLB parental involvement requirements. It also emphasized the importance of involving limited English speaking families in the education of their children as mandated by NCLB (Capps, Fix, Murray, Ost, Passel, & Herwantoro, 2005).

School Responsibility

Under Title I and Title III, NCLB provided more than $13 billion (FY 04 funding) for LEP students for English language acquisition and academic achievement (Ed.Gov, 2004). Title III, Part A, Section 3102, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), as reauthorized under the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (USDOE, 2001), aimed to ensure that English language learners (ELL) and immigrant students attained English language proficiency and met the same challenging state academic content and student academic achievement standards as all children were expected to meet. According to the Office of Civil Rights (USDOE, 2005), limited English proficient (LEP) students who were not offered services to assist in overcoming language barriers may experience repeated failure in the classroom, fall behind in grade levels, drop out of school, may be inappropriately placed in special education classes, and not have access to high track courses or Gifted and Talented programs. Parents could choose to decline ELL services, and “when that occurs, the district retains a responsibility to ensure that the student has an equal opportunity to have his or her English language and academic needs met” in a variety of ways, “such as adequate training to classroom teachers on second language acquisition and monitoring the educational progress of the student” (USDOE, 2005).

Limited English Proficient Classification

Limited English Proficient (LEP) classification changed as students gained language proficiency. Its’ membership changed from year-to-year with language proficient students exiting each year and new LEP students entering each year. ELL students were provided alternative services until they were proficient enough in English to participate meaningfully in the regular program. To determine whether a child was ready to exit, a district considered factors such as the “student’s ability to keep up with their non-ELL peers in the regular education program and their ability to participate successfully without the use of adapted or simplified English materials; moreover, exit criteria must include some objective measure of a student's ability to read, write, speak and comprehend English” (USDOE, 2005.)

Research Design

A non-experimental basic research design using a survey method was used for this study. The following components are described: research questions, instrument, limitations, and participants.

Research Questions

The research questions investigated participant knowledge of the laws and guidelines governing the ELL school population. Survey questions and responses were clustered into four categories: knowledge of eligibility for services, knowledge of Language Proficiency Assessment committee (LPAC) roles and responsibilities, knowledge of ELL parents’ rights, and knowledge of ELL exit criteria.

Instrument

The survey instrument was developed based upon a review of the literature covering characteristics, terms associated with English language learners (ELL), and the Federal and state laws and guidelines governing education of the ELL population. The questionnaire, processed through Survey Monkey, was distributed via electronic mail. Part I contained demographic information. Part II contained items requiring respondents to answer “strongly agree”, “strongly disagree”, or “no knowledge”. A panel of experts, including university professors and educational professionals from the field, provided face validity for the instrument.

Limitations

A basic assumption of this study was the premise that respondents were actively involved with the education of ELL students. A limitation of this study was commensurate with survey research methods.
For this survey, data were collected at one point in time and reflected the experiences and biases of the respondents whose input was strictly voluntary.

**Participants**

Participants were practicing educators who are Master’s degree candidates in Educational Leadership, Educational Technology Leadership, Teacher Leadership, and Counseling programs in Texas. Two thousand six hundred fifty-nine (2,654) surveys were distributed; three hundred twenty-four (324) or approximately 13% were received.

**Findings**

**Participant Characteristics**

Table 1 (see Appendix A) shows the majority of respondents (80%) were female. Respondents included several age groups from young educators at age 21 to seasoned educators at age 61 or over. The majority of the respondents were between 31 and 50 years old.

The respondents represented several ethnic groups (see Table 2, Appendix A). The ethnic group represented by the greatest number of respondents was Caucasian (71%). The next largest group was Hispanic (17%). Almost 90%, of respondents were Caucasian or Hispanic. Groups least represented included Asian (1%), African American (6%), Native American (<1%), mixed ethnic (3%), and a group indicated as other (1%).

The respondents represented several areas of employment (see Appendix A, Table 3). Seventy-four percent (74%) of the respondents listed general education as their area of employment. The next greatest area of employment was ELL/ESL/Bilingual (21%). Groups least represented were special education (11%) and counselors (6%).

Most respondents indicated they taught, or had taught grades 11-12 (34%), while the least represented grade levels were PK-1st (18%). Other grade levels represented were 2nd-3rd (22%), 4th-5th (23%), 6th-7th (23%), 8th grade (20%), and 9th-10th (31%). The majority (65%) taught or had previously taught grades 9-12 (see Appendix A, Table 4).

Respondents reported their teaching experience. Most respondents, (25%), had 4-7 years teaching experience, while 12% had only 0-3 years experience. Others indicated 8-11 years experience (22%), 12-15 years experience (18%) and over 15 years experience (24%).

Analysis of respondents’ demographics indicated the most likely respondent to this survey was a Caucasian female, between the ages of 31-40 with 4-7 years experience, employed in general education, who taught grades 9-12 (high school).

**Educators’ Knowledge of eligibility for services**

Table 5 (see Appendix B) shows the majority of respondents (99%) were familiar with the term ELL. The majority of respondents (91%) were familiar with the guideline that students with a home language other than English are identified as LEP and shall be provided the opportunity to participate in bilingual or ESL program. Respondents (64%) were least aware that each school district or charter school with an enrollment of 20 or more LEP students of the same language classification in the same grade level district-wide shall offer a bilingual education program for LEP students in grades Pre-K to 5, and Grade 6 if clustered with elementary grades. Almost one-third of the respondents (28%) were not aware of the law requiring that all LEP students for whom a district is not required to offer a bilingual education program shall be provided an ESL program, regardless of the students’ grade levels and home language, and the number of students.

**Educators’ Knowledge of LPAC guidelines**

Table 6 (see Appendix C) shows the majority of respondents (84%) were aware that LPAC committees are responsible for identifying students, recommending the best instructional setting, and for securing and monitoring academic and linguistic progress of ELL students. Most of respondents (42%) were not familiar with the required membership of the LPAC for bilingual programs. Many respondents, 38%, did not know districts have four weeks (20 school days) to complete language testing and for the LPAC to meet to determine LEP status of the child.
Educators’ Knowledge of parents’ rights

Table 7 (see Appendix D) shows the majority of respondents (94%) agreed that parents have the right to deny ELL services; however, 34% were not aware that progress of LEP students with a parent denial on file must be closely monitored by the LPAC to ensure success.

Educators’ Knowledge of ELL exit criteria

Table 8 (see Appendix D) shows the majority of respondents (77%) were aware that English Language Proficiency Standards (ELPS) dictate that districts ensure ELL’s master both content area knowledge and academic language in each subject of the required curriculum based on the TEKS curriculum; whereas, a total of 59% of respondents were unaware that students in Pre-K and kindergarten may not be exited from a bilingual or ESL program. Additionally, 30% of respondents were not aware that criteria for reclassification as non-LEP included proficiency in oral English language, proficiency in English reading and writing, and subjective teacher evaluation.

Summary and Conclusions

Three hundred twenty-four Master’s degree candidates in Educational Leadership, Educational Technology Leadership, Teacher Leadership, and Counseling programs in Texas responded to an online survey identifying their knowledge of guidelines and laws governing ELL programs. Four areas were surveyed: knowledge of eligibility for services, knowledge of LPAC roles and responsibilities, knowledge of ELL parents’ rights, and knowledge of ELL exit criteria.

Most respondents to this survey were Caucasian females, between the ages of 31-40 with 4-7 years experience, employed in general education, who taught grades 9-12 (high school). Almost all respondents were familiar with the term English Language Learner (ELL). Twenty-one percent of respondents (21%) were ELL, ESL, or bilingual teachers.

There were areas where respondents did not know the laws and guidelines governing the provision of services for ELL students. Many respondents (ranging from 25-57%) did not know the criteria for providing a mandatory bilingual program, and the criteria for providing mandatory oral language proficiency testing. Many respondents indicated they did not know the criteria for providing ESL services and the timeline for completion of testing and determination of eligibility. Many respondents did not understand the responsibilities of the LPAC such as requirement for meeting several times each school year, and the required membership for ESL and bilingual LPAC’s. Many respondents did not have an understanding of the rights of ELL students to receive progress monitoring services after parent denial, and ELL exit criteria.

Recommendations

Based on survey responses, there appears to be a need for professional development related to laws and guidelines governing English language learners (ELL) in the areas of eligibility for ELL services, roles and responsibilities of the Language Proficiency Assessment Committee (LPAC), parents’ rights, and exit criteria. Professional development in each area would ensure that teachers and schools are in compliance with identification, assessment, exit criteria, and LPAC guidelines. Understanding the compliance criteria may provide for the ELL population to be served as intended according to federal and state law. Ensuring that school personnel effectively communicate with parents regarding the rights and services available for ELL children is critical to student success.

References


Appendix A

Table 1
Participant Characteristics Gender (N= 324)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>% responding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
Participant Characteristics Ethnic Group (N= 324)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>% responding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>71.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>&lt;1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3
Participant Characteristics Area of Employment (N= 324)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Employment</th>
<th>% responding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Education</td>
<td>74.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELL/ESL</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Education</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counselors</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4
Participant Characteristics Grade Level Taught (N= 324)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade Level Taught</th>
<th>% responding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PK-1st grade</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd – 3rd grade</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th - 5th grade</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th - 7th grade</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th grade</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th – 10th</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th – 12th</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Multiple grade levels were accepted
## Appendix B

### Table 5
**Practicing Teachers’ Knowledge of Eligibility for ELL Services (N=324)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge area</th>
<th>% Yes</th>
<th>% No</th>
<th>% No Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Familiarity with the term ELL</td>
<td>99.7%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Every student who has a home language other than English and who is identified as LEP shall be provided a full opportunity to participate in a bilingual education or ESL program.</td>
<td>91.0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. School districts are required by federal law to provide bilingual education and/or ESL programs and must establish and operate a Language Proficiency Assessment Committee (LPAC).</td>
<td>89.2%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Each school district or charter school which has an enrollment of 20 or more LEP students of the same language classification in the same grade level district-wide shall offer a bilingual education program for LEP student in grades Pre-k to 5, and grade 6 is included when clustered with elementary grades.</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Law requires that all LEP students for whom a district is not required to offer a bilingual program shall be provided an ESL program, regardless of the students’ grade levels and home language, and regardless of the number of students.</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Students enrolling in public schools for the first time must complete the Home Language survey (HLS) to determine what language the child speaks and the language spoken at home.</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. If the answer to any question on the HLS is anything other than English, the student must be tested with the Oral Language Proficiency Test (OLPT).</td>
<td>75.3%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix C

**Table 6**  
*Practicing Teachers’ Knowledge of LPAC Guidelines (N=324)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge area</th>
<th>% Yes</th>
<th>% No</th>
<th>% No Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. All LPAC members must be trained.</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
<td>6.80%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Districts have 4 weeks (20 days) to complete language testing and for the LPAC to meet to determine the LEP status of the child.</td>
<td>61.7%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. LPAC committees are responsible for identifying students, recommending the best instructional setting, and for securing and monitoring academic and linguistic progress of ELL students.</td>
<td>84.3%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. LPAC committees notify the parent about classification, obtain permission in writing for program entry, and determine the best state testing option for each LEP student.</td>
<td>83.1%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The LPAC committee should meet a minimum of 3 times per year: (a) Upon initial enrollment, within the student's first 4 weeks (20 school days), (b) in early spring before state assessments, and (c) at the end of the year for annual review and for the following year's placement decision.</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. It is recommended that LPAC members for ESL programs should consist of (a) an ESL certified teacher or teacher assigned to ESL, (b) a parent of a current LEP student who is not employed by the district, and (c) a campus administrator.</td>
<td>70.0%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. LPAC members for bilingual programs should consist of (a) a campus administrator, (b) an ESL certified teacher or a teacher assigned to ESL, (c) a professional certified in LEP[bilingual teacher], and (d) a parent of a current LEP student who is not employed by the school district.</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix D

#### Table 7
*Practicing Teachers’ Knowledge of Parent Rights (N=324)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge area</th>
<th>% Yes</th>
<th>% No</th>
<th>% No Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Parents have the right to deny ELL services.</td>
<td>93.6%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Before parents sign a waiver to deny services, a conference is held to explain benefits of the program.</td>
<td>84.1%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. After the parent conference, the parent can sign a waiver and the student is placed in a regular education class, but is still identified as LEP with a parent denial in PEIMS until the student meets exit criteria.</td>
<td>74.9%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The progress of the LEP student with a parent denial on file is closely monitored by the LPAC so that these students are successful.</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table 8
*Practicing Teachers’ Knowledge of Exit Criteria (N=324)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge area</th>
<th>% Yes</th>
<th>% No</th>
<th>% No Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A student may be considered for reclassification as non-LEP based on the following criteria: (a) proficiency in oral English language, (b) proficiency in English reading and writing, and (c) consideration of subjective teacher evaluation.</td>
<td>69.9%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Students in Pre-K and kindergarten may not be exited from a bilingual or ESL program.</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>45.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The English Language Proficiency Standards (ELPS), effective 12/2007, dictates that districts ensure ELL’s master both content area knowledge and academic language in each subject of the required curriculum which is based on the TEKS curriculum.</td>
<td>77.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Prospects for Statehood and Unity in Palestine

Daniel Baracskay
Valdosta State University

Introduction

For Palestinian Arabs, the vision of statehood is as much a political aspiration as it is a spiritual quest. As stated in the Palestinian National Covenant, “The liberation of Palestine, from a spiritual point of view, will provide the Holy Land with an atmosphere of safety and tranquility, which in turn will safeguard the country’s religious sanctuaries and guarantee freedom of worship and of visit to all” (Article 16, 1964). Over the past two decades, limited progress has been made towards peace, lasting only for brief periods of time before religious and ideological differences caused Israelis and Palestinians to resume hostilities. Palestinians continue to envision an independent Palestinian state which they can govern autonomously through the concept of self-determination.1 While the Oslo Accords of 1993 attempted to realize such a vision, there have been numerous setbacks in realizing full autonomy from the perspective of the international community. These include continued acts of terrorism and violence between Arab Palestinians and Israel, the existence of Jewish settlements within areas of Palestinian territory, and until recently, the split in the authority of Palestinians between Hamas, or the Islamic Resistance Movement, in the Gaza Strip, and the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the West Bank in 2007. The most recent round of proposals submitted to the United Nations (UN) by Palestine are designed to secure full membership status as an autonomous nation in the international community, and have yet to be decided by the UN General Assembly. This article applies several key properties intrinsic to modern states from the literature to Palestine. These in particular include the properties of: 1) territoriality and sovereignty, 2) the monopoly of power and formal institutions of government, 3) strength and legitimacy as an actor in international politics, and 4) the capability to respond to internal and external pressures as an adaptive entity. These are properties that are crucial for statehood and unity to exist in Palestine.

1) The Properties of Territoriality and Sovereignty

An analysis of statehood reasonably starts with reflection on the nature of territoriality. In recent years, conceptual precision has allowed researchers to more effectively respond to earlier critiques which detail the problems associated with elusive boundaries and ambiguous theories. The territoriality of modern nation-states reflects a synthesis of the political, social, and economic activities performed by institutions within each respective realm. While earlier studies have not fully resolved the dilemma of ambiguity, the concept of statehood has remained a viable mode for analyzing political systems from a global perspective. Modern states comprise centralized systems of authority which maintain supremacy over people, resources, and all other entities in a society through established systems of government which operate within the territory under control. The pre-modern modes of shared political authority which divided power among secular and religious groups (i.e. emperors, nobility, bishops, abbots and the papacy, guilds and cities, landlords, etc.) have been supplanted in modern eras by the creation of a final authority designed to legitimize the sovereignty of the state (Axtmann 2004). The concept of “internal sovereignty” refers to the constitutional nature of legitimate authority which exists inside the state, while “external sovereignty” is a concept in international law where the state is recognized by other countries as being legitimate in the possession of its rights as represented by a population of people inhabiting a territory (Goldmann 2001).

Consequently, territoriality reflects the existence of authority and control over a specific population. Over the course of several centuries, distinct territorial boundaries separated the domestic arena from the international, as space, people, and resources became part of the progression towards territorial
containment. This has caused the modern state to exist as “a differentiated ensemble of governmental institutions, offices, and personnel that claims the exclusive power of authoritative political rule-making for a population within a continuous territory that has a clear, internationally recognized boundary” (Axtmann 2004, 260). Further, states have distinctive administrative organizations in addition to the police and military, which represent but a portion of the entire political system. Political systems include “institutions through which social interests are represented in state policy making as well as institutions through which nonstate actors are mobilized” (Skocpol 1979, 29).

**The Territoriality and Sovereignty of Palestine**

As mentioned above, territoriality promotes resource mobilization and facilitates the existence of a bounded space, people, and land distinguishable from other states in the international community (Axtmann 2004). It also infers a social function by promoting the collective unity of a nation of people, which may also include the existence of sub-nations within the larger whole. After its declaration of statehood, Israel was formally recognized by the international community in 1949, and comprises a total land area of 21,642 sq. km. (CIA. 2010). Palestinian Arabs became a nation of people enclosed within the boundaries of the State of Israel, both sharing geographical borders but incompatible political and religious beliefs. While the bulk of Israeli support has come from the United States and other pro-democratic Western and European states, the Arab world has consistently challenged Israel’s right to exist. The Palestinian liberation movement has comprised various militant factions, namely the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), whose primary goal has been to bring about the destruction of the state of Israel and the creation of Palestine as an independent state (Nassar 1991).

From the perspective of territoriality, Palestinians were largely a displaced people living in a state of diaspora. The efforts of the PLO and other militant groups to acquire a homeland for Palestinians were relatively unsuccessful, and Palestinians became a nation within a nation, inhabiting surrounding states like Jordan and Lebanon. The PLO’s battles with Israeli forces and the Jordanian and Lebanese armies left thousands dead on both sides over the course of several decades, and eventually it was forced into exile in the 1980s, fragmented in areas of adjoining Middle Eastern states. While Yasser Arafat and other high ranking PLO leaders declared Palestine a state in 1988, it was not until the Oslo Accords in 1993 that Palestinians were granted the official territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip under the Palestinian Authority (PA) as part of a process towards building an autonomous state (Turner 2009). The product of these accords not only designated the allocation of specific territories, but also contained numerous provisions for constructing the new Palestinian state, inclusive of formal institutions of government (discussed below). In terms of territory, the West Bank, including Judea and Samaria, consists of a total land area of 5,640 sq. km. of land occupied as Palestinian Territory, inclusive of areas with Israeli settlements. The Gaza Strip has a total land area of 360 sq. km. and lies along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea near the southwestern border of Egypt and southern border of Israel (CIA. 2010).

Through the negotiation process in 1995, three “Area” distinctions were created which divided the territory into 16 governorates. Area ‘A’ is controlled entirely by the PA, and comprises all Palestinian cities and surrounding locations without Israeli settlements. Area ‘B’ falls under joint Palestinian civil control and the domain of Israeli security forces. Area ‘C’ is largely controlled by Israeli forces (except over Palestinian civilians) and includes several Israeli localities (Gvirtzman 1998). Having 11 of the 16 governorates, the West Bank comprises the largest total number of inhabitants with 2.5 million people, while the Gaza Strip has 5 governorates and approximately 1.5 million inhabitants. The purpose of the 1995 plan was to create an arrangement where the West Bank and Gaza Strip would eventually become a single territorial unit, which would be implemented at the conclusion of the permanent status negotiations. However, this has yet to be realized, and from a territorial standpoint, Palestine today continues to exist as a land divided between the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestinian sovereignty is weak in light of the continued existence of Israeli settlements located in these areas, the sustained presence of Israeli forces to maintain security in crucial strategic locations, and the instability which persists due to the activities of Palestinian militant groups.
2) The Properties of Monopoly of Power and Institutions of Government

From nineteenth-century political thought emerged the concept of the modern nation-state, where legitimate government is rooted in the principle of national self-determination, and ideally the state and nation become indistinguishable (Axtmann 2004). States have governments which perform distinctive administrative functions and exist apart from other sectors of society (Nettl 1968). Nations represent unitary bodies where sovereignty exists, and nationalism tightens the relationship between the “state” and “society.” The modern activities performed by the nation-state comprise protecting physical security, economic well-being, and the cultural identity of its citizens through the monopolization of coercive power and police and military forces. States engage in regulatory activities designed to extract necessary resources for use in advancing their economic, military, and political goals (Axtmann 2004). State capacity is not synonymous with sovereignty, but is conceptualized in terms of the potential for effective action, or autonomy (Goldmann 2001).

Parekh identifies several requisites of modern statehood which are related to the monopoly of power and construction of formal political institutions. Not only should it be territorially distinct (property 1 above) and possess a single source of sovereignty such that it enjoys legally unlimited authority within its boundaries, but power should rest upon a single set of constitutional principles which cultivate a singular identity. Additionally, Parekh holds that a state represents a homogenous legal space in which its members move about freely in the performance of basic rights and obligations, and its citizens are related directly to the state rather than indirectly through membership in intermediate communities. This becomes the core of social relationships. Lastly, members are considered to constitute a single and united people, and states with federal structures allocate the same rights and powers to lower levels (Parekh 2002, 41-2).

Monopoly of Power and Institutions of Government in Palestine

In applying this property of statehood, Palestinian power bases have been weak to moderate since the establishment of the PA in 1994, but efforts to build institutions of government have represented a significant facet of the state building process. This warrants further explanation. Power, sovereignty, and political institutions are strongly interrelated if unity is to exist. While the boundaries between the state and society often blur, the former is distinguished by possessing a monopoly of power over the latter through formal institutions of government (Mitchell 1991; Goldmann 2001; Axtmann 2004). Though the PLO has historically been labeled an international terrorist organization, it has also comprised a complex hierarchical and bureaucratic structure which Palestinian leaders often regarded as a “government in exile.” This structure became a model for building the Palestinian government under the PA, with specific political institutions and administrative units being responsible for implementing designated functions and policies. This was a product of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement signed in 1994, when Israel and the Palestinians established the PA as the Self-Governing Palestinian Authority in Gaza and Jericho, which officially commenced the Interim Period (Reut Institute 2004). The agreements not only designated the means by which formal institutions of government would be established, but established a process for democracy which included an electoral system. The first article of the agreement maintained that full Palestinian authority of the new state would follow a transitional period of five years or less. The actual process of governing is detailed in later articles and annexes. Legislative authority is vested in the Palestinian National Council, whose jurisdiction rests exclusively in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Both areas were to merge into a single territorial unit over the course of the transition. The Ra’ees, or president of the PA, functions as the chief executive. Legislative and presidential terms were set at five years, with the Council possessing legislative and executive authority to maintain police and security forces in the two territories. The Interim Agreement allocated jurisdiction of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the Palestinian Legislative Council over a series of 18 months, with Israel retaining authority to maintain external security. A judiciary system and police force were established to ensure security. A network of administrative agencies and units control broad policy spheres like education, health, social welfare, taxation, and tourism.

Annexed sections to the agreement further delineate the importance of functional areas that are essential for building a stable system of government. For example, Annex I explains the protocols for
elections, including the right to participate, and the procedures for supervision and international observation. The Oslo Accords refer to the election process as “a significant interim preparatory step toward the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements” (Declaration of Principles On Interim Self-Government Arrangements 1993). Annex II relates to instilling autonomy and authority in the PA by offering a process for the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area. In so doing, the PA is granted broad powers to govern excluding issues relating to external security, the relocation of Jewish settlements, foreign relations, and other such matters with regional implications. Annex II also elaborates upon the construction of a Palestinian police force designed to eventually assume responsibility for the functions of a joint Palestinian-Israeli Coordination and Cooperation Committee charged with executing security functions. Other provisions of Annex II include additional thought for developing an economic development and stabilization program, inclusive of the formation of an Emergency Fund as an initiative to stimulate foreign investment and financial support. Further, the agreement contained a provision relating to promoting economic development activities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a measure of developing trade and industry. This is closely linked to provisions for the development of infrastructure.

There were plans for the construction of bureaucratic structures, namely the Palestinian Electricity Authority, Palestinian Development Bank, Gaza Sea Port Authority, Palestinian Export Promotion Board, Palestinian Land Authority, Palestinian Environmental Authority, and the Palestinian Water Administration Authority among others (Declaration of Principles On Interim Self-Government Arrangements 1993). These reinforce a process for administration, with an infrastructure and interface with other states (Axtmann 2004). The creation of the Israeli-Palestinian Continuing Committee for Economic Cooperation was granted oversight powers for facilitating major policy areas like water facilities, electricity, energy, transportation, trade promotion, human resources and labor development, environmental protection, and communication efforts. Finally, Annex IV recognizes Palestine as a formal state in the international community, and includes a strategy to request G-7 assistance as well as counsel from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, and members of the Arab world (Declaration of Principles On Interim Self-Government Arrangements 1993).

Oslo II, or the “Taba Agreement,” was the interim agreement signed between Israel and the Palestinians in 1995. It was intended to replace the Gaza-Jericho Agreement and facilitate peaceful relations between both sides to produce a workable Permanent Status Agreement. Had this occurred, it would have completed the transition process into a fully autonomous Palestinian state. Soon after, the Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron was drafted early in 1997 in accordance with the provisions of the Interim Agreement. The Hebron protocol further facilitated the process of state building and the cultivation of authority in an official Palestinian police force. It stipulated that Palestinian police stations were to be situated in tactical locations throughout the city, and consist of 400 officers, 20 vehicles, and a vast assortment of firearms. Further, Joint Mobile Units (JMU) were designed to observe activities along the border, with a particular focus on the areas of Abu Sneinah, Harat A-Sheikh, Sha'aba, and the high ground overlooking Route Number 35. A Joint Coordination Center (JCC) was composed of Israeli and Palestinian officers to collaborate on the joint security of the city, and Rapid Response Teams (RRT) were located at police stations to address security threats (Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron 1997).

The literature on state theory holds that independent states may use power to free public officials from societal constraints as a way to avert challenges and sanctions. This strategy of resilience counteracts societal opposition (Nordlinger, Lowi, Fabbrini 1988). Arafat was relatively successful as a vanguard of the Palestinian people during his tenure as chairman of the PLO and PA. While he was unable to prevent radical militants from within the PLO from instigating acts of terrorism, he was able to guide the larger base of Palestinians towards a path of statehood in the 1990s which would not have otherwise been possible under weaker leadership. With Arafat’s death in 2004, the traditional leadership approaches and vision embraced by the PLO were forced to evolve. Conflict between Fatah and Hamas split power in 2007 between both factions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip respectively, and signaled that factionalization has been a powerful force in preventing a monopoly of power to exist as a necessary
sequence in cultivating a strong state. Prior to 2011, little progress had been made towards reunifying the two territories of Palestinian land, until efforts in May 2011 led to a reunification agreement between Fatah and Hamas under a special unity government. Government institutions continue to subsist as the fabric of a weak state which continues to falter under internal disagreement and power struggles which make complete autonomy difficult.

3) The Properties of Strength and Legitimacy

As Nettl notes, “the state represents a unit in the field of international relations” such that it “is the gatekeeper between intrasocietal and extrasocietal flows of action” (Nettl 1968, 563, 564). Modern states occupy central roles in the international community, particularly in terms of resource mobilization. Just since the end of World War II, the number of states in the world increased from 74 to 192 by the turn of the century (Sørensen 2004). And, state-centric analyses which promote the international relations theory of realism proceed on the assumption that the international system is a system of sovereign states (Morgenthau 1966; Waltz 1979; Sørensen 2004). Yet, there are degrees of “stateness” as a function of intrasocietal roles and recognition from the international community (Nettl 1968). Stateness reflects the existence of varying stages in development. The labels “strong” and “weak” state further denote distinctions of strength and stability. Strong states which enjoy high levels of support from society capitalize on this to solidify their status and capacities in the global arena. Contrary, when the preferences of states and societies diverge, the state has the option of forcing the preferences of society to again converge (Sørensen 2004). Further, independent states that do not act in accordance with the preferences of society may exercise their authority to free public officials from societal constraints, and use coercive powers to threaten and repress opponents as a strategy to obviate challenges and sanctions. This is referred to as resilience, such that it counteracts the effects of manifest and potential societal opposition (Nordlinger, Lowi, Fabbrini 1988). Consequently, the state is better able to advance a perception of cohesiveness and solidarity to the international community as a legitimate political player. The degree of statism then reflects the extent of state autonomy and the degree of congruity between the state and its environment (Krasner 1984). Not only are states crucial mediators among the growing expansion in supranational and subnational actors, they also facilitate functional linkages and promote material interdependencies among different spheres of action (Jessop 2002). As Sørensen notes, “the sovereign state continues to look formidably strong: it is the prevailing form of political organization… In other ways, the sovereign state appears to be under attack from global market forces, regional institutions, international organizations, popular movements, and many other entities” (Sørensen 2004, 2).

Strength and Legitimacy in Palestine

Attaining broad and universal recognition by the international community as a legitimate and autonomous entity has perhaps represented the largest obstacle for Palestine in developing a strong state in recent decades. Despite many attempts for closure, the transition process begun by the Oslo Accords continues to be incomplete, and securing international legitimacy in light of instability and recurring acts of terrorism remains at the core of Palestinian politics. Such trends lessen a state’s capacity to forge political, economic, and social relationships with other members of the international community, and also impair its ability to interface with international organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO), and World Bank which are imperative for promoting economic development, industry, and trade (Sørensen 2004).

Palestine’s path towards recognition by the international community has been gradual. After the declaration of statehood in 1988, Arafat was formally invited to address the UN General Assembly, which afterward adopted UN Resolution 43/177 as an acknowledgement of the proclamation of the State of Palestine. The Assembly also resolved to use the name “Palestine” in the UN system, rather than referring to the PLO for all official matters relating to the Palestinian people. This resolution was backed by 104 states with 44 abstentions, with only two votes of “no” coming from the U.S. and Israel. The majority decision of UN member states held that Palestine was to be regarded as a state, and in an ancillary draft of UN Resolution 3237 in 1989, it was decided that “Palestine” would be considered a “state” in all UN documents. In the years following 1988, 94 states came to recognize Palestine’s claim to statehood. This was in addition to those undecided states which refused to formally recognize
Palestine, not because they did not regard it as such an entity, but because of the perceptual difference that exists between degrees of recognition and non-recognition, with Palestine falling somewhere in between. This perspective was most outwardly expressed by the French President Francois Mitterand, whose approach typified the European stand (Flory 1989).

It also signified the premise discussed above, that formal status as a state rests not only in internal legitimacy and sovereignty with the monopolization of power in institutions of government, but has international facets which must also be satisfied for acceptance on a global basis. This is essentially what John Quigley notes in his statement that “the attitude of other states is a key ingredient in regard to statehood. If an entity is accepted as a state, then it is a state. Palestine was regarded as a state even by states that did not formally recognize it” (Quigley 2009, 7). However, in light of some interpretations in international law, Palestine’s declaration was essentially an affirmation of an existing state, since after the Ottoman Empire dissipated, the Ottoman’s sovereignty ended and Palestine emerged in its place. The territory was administered by Great Britain under a League of Nations mandate, which according to Article 22, was predicated on the idea that such conditions may be necessary before a society of people are fully able to grasp autonomy, given the “strenuous conditions of the modern world” (League of Nations Covenant 1919).

Quigley maintains in his analysis that “Palestine was party to treaties that were published in the League of Nations Treaty Series like the treaties of other states... Had Britain and Palestine constituted a single sovereignty, there would have been no point to a treaty between them. Sovereignty resided with Palestine” (Quigley 2009, 9). However, this perspective has not universally been the consensus among international legal scholars, who have offered volumes of alternative legal interpretations. For example, the attitude taken by PLO and PA leaders themselves does not directly regard Palestine as a formal state, as found in studies of earlier historical documents and records. These indicate that the PLO was created with the intent to liberate the homeland and declare Palestinian statehood through the concepts of armed struggle and revolution, but the process would not reach conclusion until these dynamics are satisfied on a global basis. Further, the PLO and PA’s input into the peace-making process which came from the Oslo Accords is not conclusive confirmation that a Palestinian state actually exists. Through three intifadas and numerous other upsurges of hostilities, the UN and many others in the international community have supported a strategy of having Israel retain overall responsibility for safeguarding the land, indicating that the PA has not successfully demonstrated its ability to govern in the West Bank or Gaza Strip autonomously (Ash 2009, 189).

Additionally, the current president of the PA, Mahmoud Abbas, has publicly stated in previous speeches that Palestinians are looking to future times when the nation of people has successfully achieved statehood and can rule through the principle of self-determination. This was particularly the stand taken during his presidential inauguration speech in 2005, at which time he pledged his fidelity towards realizing this vision. Robert Weston Ash notes that this was a theme which Abbas again accentuated in his address to the UN General Assembly in 2008. In that speech, Abbas stated succinctly that “we [the Palestinian people] are certain that your role contributes in [a] clear and effective way in enhancing international solidarity with our just cause and enlarges the circle of international support for the aspirations of our people for freedom and independence and the establishment of their state” (Ash 2009, 189).

Further, the Israeli J’lem District Court ruled definitively in a 2006 court case that the PA did successfully fulfill the necessary criteria to be legally considered a state. The Haaretz, Israel’s oldest daily newspaper, reported that the court’s verdict decreed “that the PA consists of population, territory and government, and, as it accumulates other aspects of a sovereign state, such as elected political authorities, international standing, police force and an independent currency, it will increasingly resemble a political entity” (Haaretz 2006). Despite the ruling, verdicts reached under Israeli law cannot be legally binding in territories falling under PA sovereignty, and furthermore the PA cannot be compelled to enforce Israeli laws. In an interview with Haaretz, PA Prime Minister Salam Fayyad stated that in 2011 “the birth of a Palestinian state will be celebrated as a day of joy by the entire community of nations.” His message was intended to also inspire Israelis to support the concept of the new state and work
towards forging peaceful relations between both sides. It was similarly an appeal to the international community to acknowledge Palestine’s existence as an autonomous state in the global arena, and as a natural progression towards the 2009 plan proposed by the PA to establish a state within 24 months. Fayyad’s message avowed that “if for one reason or another, by August 2011 [the plan] will have failed…I believe we will have amassed such credit, in form of positive facts on the ground, that the reality is bound to force itself on the political process to produce the outcome” (Eldar 2010). The Palestinian proposal to upgrade its status to a member state is the most recent step toward establishing autonomy and stability, and will be discussed below.

4) The Property of Modern States as Adaptive Entities: Responses to Internal and External Pressures

Finally, while states are adaptive entities which evolve, domestic and international pressures have represented significant challenges which warrant consideration. While internationalization led to the development of many modern states, it has also given rise to a host of challenges. As Goldmann observes, problems (e.g. health, environment, and crime) are internationalized and easily transported from one country to another. Social internationalization has resulted in the development of complex networks of relationships as societies depend upon the exchanges of goods, services, ideas, and information. Further, states collaborate in the process of political decision making through negotiations, international agreements, and supranational action (Goldmann 2001). These reinforcing dimensions make states interdependent economically, socially, and politically, as cross-national alliances foster both cooperation and competition. Yet, Jessop also questions whether internationalization has “denationalized” the state and hollowed out the national apparatus in lieu of newer capacities designed to reorganize systems which function interactively on supranational, national, subnational, and transnational levels in an effort to enhance operational autonomies and strategic capacities (Jessop 2002). This relates closely to the phenomenon of “destatization,” which “involves redrawing the public-private divide, reallocating tasks, and rearticulating the relationship between organizations and tasks across this divide on whatever territorial scale(s) the state in question acts” (Jessop 2002, 199). Destatization promotes civil society and the creation of policy communities, policy networks, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) which have received responsibilities directly from the state to perform discrete economic and social functions. The outcome is analogous to privatization such that partnerships between actors result in the sharing of once entirely public tasks between government institutions and the private sector (Ronit 2001). Further, the transnationalization of social interactions has contributed to the destatization process by elevating the stature of multilateral institutions like the UN, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the WTO relative to that of their member states, causing many to experience a decline in autonomy over crucial policy matters (Axtmann 2004).

Bobbitt similarly denotes several related threats to the state’s capacity to preserve stability, namely the formal recognition of human rights which compels adherence irrespective of their own domestic laws, the development of weapons of mass destruction which make the defense of territorial borders ineffectual, the surge of global threats (i.e. disease, famine, environmental hazards) which extend across national borders, the expansion of global markets and capitalism, and the creation of a global communications network that supersedes traditional geographical boundaries. These trends have not only eroded the autonomy of the state, but have emphasized the rise of a market-state no longer focused on the wellbeing of citizens, but rather a strategy to “make the world available” by creating choice and autonomy in decision-making (Bobbitt 2002).

Palestine as an Adaptive State: Internal and External Pressures

As the literature denotes, modern states confront a multitude of pressures which challenge their structural integrity and autonomy (Bobbitt 2002). Internally, Palestine continues to exhibit signs of instability and conflict. While multiculturalism represents a pressure for many states (Axtmann 2004), Palestinians are ethnically a homogenous people. Yet, ideologically, there are perceptible differences in Palestinians’ perspectives of statehood. Remnants of the old PLO guard continue to view Israel’s status in the Middle East as a threat to Palestinian sovereignty and autonomy. For instance, despite progress made through the Oslo Accords years earlier, the rate of terrorist attacks initiated by Palestinian militants against Israeli targets increased considerably during the second intifada (uprising) in September 2000, as
did Israel’s retaliation against Palestinian targets in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In all, the second intifada claimed the lives of approximately 800 Israelis and 2,600 Palestinians. But the second intifada also indicated that the strategy of economic development outlined in the Oslo Accords as a requisite for a durable statehood had not yet been realized. It underscored the frail nature of the Palestinian economy, where approximately 60 percent of Palestinians lived below the poverty line. Residents in the West Bank and Gaza Strip held that the Israeli’s occupation of their territory, along with the continued presence of Israeli security forces, had depressed social and economic conditions (TIME 2003).

With the PA elections in 2005, internal fragmentation among PLO factions damaged both the peace process and prospects for statehood, as the perception of conflict between the two factions caused several of the economic sanctions which had been placed on Palestinians to be sustained. This caused a continued downward spiral in the economy, with more than 45 percent of Gaza’s workforce being unemployed, and almost 26 percent unemployed in the West Bank. Poverty levels continue to escalate, with 19 percent living in official poverty in the West Bank, and 52 percent in the Gaza Strip. Of this number, those considered to be living in deep poverty amount to almost 10 percent in the West Bank, and 35 percent in the Gaza Strip (Awad 2008).

Most recently, in the early part of 2010, news that a third intifada which had begun months earlier would likely continue. Prior to the reunification between Hamas and Fatah in May 2011, there was considerable infighting which demonstrated that the ideologies of both factions are divergent in many respects. For instance, Hamas has continually asserted that Fatah’s strategy of nonviolent demonstrations against Israel undermines the concept of armed struggle, one of the earliest precepts of the PLO’s core doctrine. These sentiments have been closely echoed by other extremist groups, including the Islamic Jihad, which rejects the notion of peaceful relations with Israel. The consequence has been continued hostility and violence, which have precluded the possibility of bringing the transitional period outlined in the Oslo Accords to a successful closure. Further, it has shown that Palestine, split by internal conflict, has not been able to maintain a stable state from the perspective of the international community. Attempts at a US-sponsored peace process between Palestinians and Israelis have failed, particularly in light of Israel’s recent announcement that it plans to expand construction of 112 apartments at the Beitar Illit settlement in the Bethlehem area as an exception to the settlement freeze arrived at the previous November under pressure by the U.S. (Karmi 2010). Two weeks after this announcement, Israeli tanks were deployed into the Gaza Strip after a clash between both sides led to the deaths of two Israeli soldiers and two Palestinians. Soon after, a temporary ceasefire was agreed upon between Israel and Hamas (BBC 2010).

The reconciliation pact signed by Hamas and Fatah in May 2011 shows a willingness to again unite the forces of two frequently oppositional factions under a unified government in the hopes of achieving UN membership in a path toward attaining a stronger and more autonomous state. While the pact had the support of both PA President Mahmoud Abbas and Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal, it has stalled and deteriorated into periods of renewed conflict and acts of terrorism which continue to undermine the prospects for Israeli-Palestinian peace. The nature of this ongoing tension suggests that Palestinians continue to confront considerable challenges in building a strong and autonomous state which the international community recognizes universally. For example, when the de facto truce between Hamas and Israel ended in August 2011, Palestinian militants soon after fired a series of rockets from the Gaza Strip into southern Israel, killing several in the process, and prompting retaliatory fire from Israel in Gaza. While segments of the Fatah and Hamas leadership circles embrace political pragmatism, Palestinian militants continue to defy the move toward a more moderate stand in dealing with Israel, which has been a debilitating facet of statehood.

Future Directions and Conclusion

Figure 1 below summarizes each property of statehood and its applications to Palestine. Currently, the proposal for Palestinian statehood submitted by PA President Mahmoud Abbas is being considered by the U.N. The proposal seeks an upgrade in Palestine’s status from the status of an “observer entity” granted in 1974, to an “observer state,” a “nonmember state,” or a “member state.” Observer status is one category higher than observer entity, and would not require a U.N. Security Council vote. However,
nonmember state status is more of a symbolic victory since it would not allow Palestinians to contest Israel’s occupation of territory in the West Bank or Gaza Strip. Achieving full member state status would most clearly satisfy the vision of Palestinian statehood and allow it to function more as an independent nation. The progression toward this status is problematic though, given the likelihood that the U.S. and Israel would veto the bid in the UN Security Council, which then relays its decision to the General Assembly. The European Union (EU) has also been divided among member states on the prospective Palestinian vote for statehood (MSNBC 2011).

Palestinians must first demonstrate stability and the capacity to govern autonomously as a sovereign nation. These are crucial components of building a strong state and convincing the international community that membership status is warranted. In the past, acts of terrorism committed by Palestinian militant groups have negated progress toward state building, which will be cause for reflection as members of the UN register their votes. Further, the affairs of Palestine will be considered as part of the larger picture of events that have transpired in the Middle East starting in December 2010 with demonstrations and protests (known as the Arab Spring) occurring in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Syria, and Yemen. The Israeli government has maintained a hardline position under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, causing the negotiation process to stall on both sides. Finally, there continues to be considerable volatility over the issue of Israeli occupation in areas of the West Bank and east Jerusalem, which Palestinians have contested in their quest for total autonomy.

Achieving formal status as a state in the international community largely relies upon effectively satisfying the properties of statehood discussed above. In a spectrum from weak to strong state status, Palestine continues to face significant challenges in becoming a strong and autonomous state. These challenges have both internal and external dimensions, which have over time prevented the transition period created through the Oslo Accords from coming to a successful conclusion. As Palestinians continue their quest for statehood and full membership status in the UN, they will need to develop a strategy for addressing the use of terrorism by militant groups, the nation’s relationship with Israel, and the effort to reunify Fatah and Hamas forces. Future directions in Palestinian statehood will to a large extent depend upon strategies to unify and promote a stable nation of people dedicated to a common vision.

**Figure 1: Properties of Statehood and Their Applications to Palestine**

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<tr>
<th>Properties of Statehood</th>
<th>Applications to Palestine</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Territoriality and Sovereignty</td>
<td>Palestine exists as a weak state with limited recognition in the international community</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monopoly of power and institutions of government</td>
<td>Institutions of government were established with the Oslo Accords of 1993, which vested power in the Palestinian Authority (PA) under the supervision of Israeli forces. Since then, power in one sovereign authority has been problematic given factionalization and conflict between Fatah and Hamas in 2007. While both sides reunited in May 2011, there continues to be concerns over sovereignty.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strength and Legitimacy: Modern States as Actors in International Politics</td>
<td>Palestine’s path towards recognition by the international community has been gradual. Formal status as a state rests not only in internal legitimacy and sovereignty with the monopolization of power in institutions of government, but has international facets which must also be satisfied for acceptance on a global basis. Palestine has faced challenges on both fronts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Modern States as Adaptive Entities</td>
<td>Palestinians are a relatively homogenous people. Yet, ideologically, there are perceptible differences in Palestinians’ perspectives of statehood. Remnants of the old PLO guard continue to view Israel’s status in the Middle East as a threat to Palestinian sovereignty and autonomy. Many of these radical groups have continued to use violence as a means of destabilizing the State of Israel.</td>
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References:

1 The United Nations Charter signed in 1945 asserts that the legal right of self-determination is existence without interference from domestic constitutional trivialities. In the words of Louis B. Sohn, the Charter incorporated the concept of self-determination into Article 1, paragraph 2 to reflect that people have a fundamental right “to determine their political, economic, social, and cultural status” (Sohn 1956, 808).
2 Afterward, permanent settlement of the lands would be based upon UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. UN Resolution 242 was unanimously adopted in November 1967 after the Six Day War to provide for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Occupied Territories gained from the conflict, and UN Resolution 338, adopted in October 1973, negotiated for a ceasefire in the Yom Kippur War through a joint proposal offered by the US and Soviet Union. These two aspects of Resolutions 242 and 338-- the Israeli withdrawal from Occupied Territories and the ceasefire between Arabs and Jews-- represented the basis for the creation of a PA to govern peacefully over the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
Anything but Primary! Fostering Historical Inquiry with Library of Congress Primary Sources

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Troy University

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of the method of historical inquiry on elementary student achievement as well as pedagogical growth of pre-service teachers. Pre-service elementary teachers received training in the effective use of Library of Congress (LOC) primary sources for developing interactive, student-centered, inquiry-oriented lessons. In addition, training was provided in oral history methodology and technology, specifically Photo Story 3. Pre-service teachers developed multimedia presentations integrating oral histories and primary sources. These presentations along with pre- and post-test measures were integrated into a lesson and presented to elementary students. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected to measure the impact of this teaching methodology on student achievement. In addition, professional reflections were collected from the pre-service teachers to determine depth of pedagogical growth.

This project was funded by a grant from The Library of Congress Teaching with Primary Sources Midwest Region at Illinois State University, located within Milner Library. The purpose of these grants is to increase instructional use of LOC digital primary sources with K-12 classrooms. By partnering with educational entities, the LOC seeks to deepen student historical content knowledge. The grant received for this project was for pre-service teacher training and required modification of existing pre-service curricula to include the integration of primary sources from the LOC (LOC, 2011).

The guiding research questions for this study are:

1. To what extent does structured training in historical inquiry methodology impact pre-service teachers’ pedagogical growth?
2. To what extent do LOC primary sources in combination with historical inquiry methodology impact elementary student social studies achievement?

Literature Review

Pre-service teachers

Although many factors impact student achievement (Zuelke, 2001), research indicates that the greatest determinant of student achievement is the teacher (Collias, Pajak, & Rigden, 2000; Lasley, Siedentop, & Yinger, 2006; Public Education Network, 2004). Variables that impact the level of teacher quality include teaching experience, teacher training, pedagogical practices, and professional development experiences. However, it is often a combination of these variables that produces the greatest effects on student achievement (Darling-Hammond & Sikes, 2003). In the current study, the focus is primarily on the variables of teacher content knowledge and pedagogical practices.

Wenglinsky (2002) found that pedagogical practices had the strongest effects on achievement. In particular, students performed better when given hands-on inquiry learning opportunities. However, an overwhelming number of social studies teachers continue to use teaching methods that are ineffective. Specifically, social studies teachers use textbooks as their primary instructional tool even though studies indicate that students find textbooks boring (Kickbusch, 1987; Wade, 1993). Research suggests that teacher willingness to engage students in hands-on inquiry learning rather than textbook-centered instruction seems to lie in their underlying beliefs about how students learn (Levstik & Kern, 2006). Pre-
service teachers need experience with inquiry-based learning methodologies to expand their thinking about best practices for student achievement.

One unintended consequence of No Child Left Behind (2001) is the marginalization of social studies in elementary schools (Heafner, Libscomb, & Rock, 2006). A ripple effect of this practice is lack of pre-service teachers’ exposure to exemplary instructional strategies. This practice is often compounded by teachers’ own lack of positive experiences in the social studies and the subsequent inability to think historically themselves (Bohan and Davis, 1998; Britzman, 2003). Historical thinking as well as higher test scores is often facilitated by the use of primary sources, yet few teachers use them (National Center for Education Statistics, 2001).

This project was designed to give pre-service teachers experience with collecting oral histories since few of them have seen a project of this type in their field experiences nor had a personal experience with it in their own educational background. When collecting oral histories, pre-service teachers participate in the same process that real historians do. This inquiry-based process involves researching historical background on a particular topic, conducting an interview with someone who has a first-hand experience with the topic, analyzing the responses of the interviewee in context of other sources, and sharing their findings with others. Collecting oral histories “provides a learning experience for students in which they can learn history in a personal and meaningful way” (Busby, 2011, 177). Students are participants in their own learning rather passive recipients of textbook-oriented, teacher-directed instruction. In addition, collecting oral histories often allows the student to become emotionally attached to the content, increasing the likelihood of remembering the content (Hirschfield, 1991). In essence, oral history methodology allows the pre-service teacher an opportunity to increase content knowledge about some aspect of history as well as learn inquiry-based pedagogical methods of teaching. Teacher effectiveness is greatly impacted by high levels of both content and pedagogical knowledge (Capraro, et.al., 2002; Cooney, 2003).

Elementary students

There are many benefits to using oral history methodology for elementary students as well. First-hand experiences and other primary sources allow students a more comprehensive background for studying history compared to solely using social studies textbooks. Personal connections with the person being interviewed combined with the infusion of emotion that is inherent in this storytelling approach are more motivating for students. Furthermore, it provides a rationale for the frequently-asked question of ‘Why do we need to learn this?’ Students begin to understand how disciplines are connected to each other as they use the language arts skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing in the process of gathering, analyzing, and reporting oral histories. Technology standards are also easily integrated into oral history projects as students learn to produce slideshows or movies of their interviews. Oral history projects also offer students the opportunities to recognize that every person is a part of history, not just the famous ones that are often discussed in textbooks.

Textbooks are often limited in developing such higher-level thinking processes, including critical thinking, problem solving, and decision making that are vital to the continuation of democracy. Cotton (1996) maintains, “…the ability to generate hypotheses, gather and evaluate evidence, see and understand competing positions in a controversy, and remain open-minded enough to change one’s view when the evidence warrants are key features of democratic deliberation.” Students learn that all of history is subjective and dependent on the interpretation of the recorder. Oral history depends upon human memory and additional sources are needed to establish accuracy of what the interviewee says. The student is involved in an authentic, real-life experience instead of a textbook-centered activity (Wood, 2001).

Methodology

In this interdisciplinary project, pre-service teachers expanded their experiential base through historical inquiry involving the examination of primary sources, construction of essential questions, identifying multiple perspectives, comparing and contrasting sources, and drawing inferences based on their own understandings rather than those found in a textbook. To increase pedagogical and technology skills, pre-service teachers received hands-on training by LOC experts on navigation of LOC website including accessing, saving, presenting and citing primary sources. In addition, participants received hands-on training on how to use Photo Story 3. Pre-service teachers were required to apply knowledge
gained during the training in their field experiences. This step involved conducting an oral history project correlated to state standards, locating primary sources related to that topic, and then integrating the two together to produce a Photo Story to show the elementary students in their field experiences. Finally, pre-service teachers measured historical thinking by designing and implementing pre- and post-assessments of their projects. After teaching this lesson in their field experiences, pre-service teachers analyzed the results of their findings and reflected on the project as a whole. This method provided pre-service teachers with both a knowledge and pedagogical base for effective social studies instruction. Modification of subsequent syllabi for this course was made to include teaching with LOC primary sources.

Participants

The initial project audience was one class of undergraduate elementary education majors from Troy University in Troy, Alabama. There were 25 pre-service teachers enrolled in ELE 3360 Methods of Teaching Social Science in the K-6 Classroom who participated in this project. These pre-service teachers were trained in the use of LOC primary sources as well as the application of Photo Story 3 for the development of historical thinking. As a course assignment, pre-service teachers created an interdisciplinary (social studies, technology, and literacy) lesson plan requiring application of the skills they gained during the training sessions. Pre-service teachers taught the lessons they developed in their field experiences, which involved over 600 elementary students in grades K-6.

Example

PhotoStory1_4 kerry heinz.wmv

Data Collection

Both quantitative and qualitative data was collected in this study. To organize the data, a summary chart (Appendix A) was created including the following: results of cooperating teacher’s evaluation of lesson delivery, elementary students’ results of pre- and posttests, and pre-service teachers’ professional reflections. This chart was useful in providing an overall picture of performance for each pre-service teacher of several types of data.

Pre-service teachers collected pre- and post-measurements (Appendix B) of their elementary students regarding the content taught using Photo Story 3 with oral histories and primary sources. Each pre-service teacher designed his or her own assessments; therefore, various instruments were used. Some of the instruments included anticipation guides, traditional paper/pencil tests, discussions and others.

Data was collected from the pre-service teachers’ lesson reflections (Appendix C) that were completed after their lessons were taught in the elementary school setting. Pre-service teachers reflected on the following three questions:

1. What went well with the lesson?
2. What did not go well with the lesson?
3. What would you do differently the next time you teach this lesson?

Data was also collected from the cooperating teachers who supervised pre-service teachers in their field experiences. Cooperating teachers completed an evaluation of the lesson (Appendix D) taught using a modification of the Alabama Professional Education Personnel Evaluation (PEPE).

Analysis

Descriptive statistics and qualitative analysis were used to reduce the data and extract meaning from it. Pre-service teachers designed, collected, and analyzed their own assessments. Because the assessments were all different, the methods of analysis varied. Teachers compared their pretest results with the posttest results to determine if there was an improvement, no change, or a decline.

For each of the three questions, pre-service teachers’ responses were transcribed into the summary chart referenced above. The responses were then analyzed for frequency of common responses as well as overarching themes.
Each lesson evaluation completed by cooperating teachers was examined individually. The evaluation instrument is designed with a Likert-type scale where teachers mark each performance competency with a score of one to four with one representing ‘Excellent’, two representing ‘Area of Strength,’ three representing ‘Needs Improvement’ and four representing “Unsatisfactory.” Only scores of one or two were recorded on the summary chart. Any comments provided by the cooperating teachers were also recorded on the summary chart. The summary chart was then examined for evidence of pre-service teachers’ strengths and weaknesses.

Results

Pre-service teacher lesson reflections

For question one, “What went well with the lesson?” the most frequent responses in descending order were: 1) teacher preparation, 2) few classroom management issues, 3) student enjoyment, 4) teacher learned the content, and 5) students learned the content. Representative comments from pre-service teachers are as follows:

- “I think I was well prepared for the lesson because I didn’t have any problems delivering it.” (K.M.)
- “Because they were interested, I also had very few discipline problems. I feel as though my preparation also helped with the success of the lesson. Even though I did have some technical problems, my preparation ahead of time and familiarity with the material helped me improvise when needed.” (A.P.)
- “The graphics that I included in my presentation and the personal story really kept my audience attentive. The students had many questions after the lesson was over. This showed me that there were interested in the topic.” (L.F.)
- “I could tell the students remained interested in the Photo Story from their attention during the video and their questions afterward. From making this Photo Story, I learned many life lessons on how people should be treated. I learned that one person’s actions should not determine how you treat another person.” (G.L.)

For question two, “What did not go well with the lesson?” the most frequent responses in descending order were: 1) computer/technical issues, 2) assessment, 3) lack of student background knowledge, 4) student attention span, and 5) few accommodations for special needs students. Representative comments from pre-service teachers are as follows:

- “…I had trouble getting Photo Story to pull up and play. Even though I figured out what was wrong, it was still unnecessary time wasted.” (M.P.)
- “I had low expectations for the students…my anticipation guide could have been more difficult than what it was.” (K.H.)
- “…wrong with the test…[there were] no accommodation plans for ELL students or special [needs] students. I know that is something I will have to fix for the future.” (S.T.)

For question three, “What will you do differently the next time you teach this lesson?” the most frequent responses in descending order were: 1) practice with technology before teaching, 2) make assessment more accurate, 3) [this project seems] more suitable for higher grades, 4) [need to] give better directions, 5) increase teacher content knowledge, and 6) spend more time on vocabulary and lesson introduction. Representative comments from pre-service teachers are as follows:

- “I would explain and not rush…the children need time to think about what is being taught…” (A.B.)
- “I would love to use this teaching strategy in my own classroom…seems like the students had more fun learning with this than they would with reading out of a textbook.” (L.P.)

Cooperating teachers’ evaluations of lessons

There were seven performance competencies on the lesson evaluation form completed by
cooperating teachers. There were three of 25 pre-service teachers who received a score of two on one part of the seven performance competencies. Two pre-service teachers’ evaluations were marked with a score of two for the professional competency of ‘provides practice and summarization.’ One pre-service teacher’s evaluation was marked with a score of two for the professional competency of ‘selects/states long-range goals and short-term measurable objectives.’ All other students received three or four on all of their performance competencies indicating a very positive outcome on lesson delivery by the pre-service teachers.

**Elementary students’ pre- and post-tests**

Of the 25 pre-service teachers, one reported that there was ‘no change’ from the pretest to the posttest results. One pre-service teacher reported ‘worse’ performance with the elementary students from the pretest to the posttest results. The remaining 23 pre-service teachers reported that overall performance by the elementary students improved from the pretest to the posttest results. Representative comments from pre-service teachers are as follows:

- “The class average for the pre-test was 56.25%. The class average for the post-test was 77.5%. Improvement was specifically noticed on the more objective, definition-related questions.” (M.H.)
- “After grading and reviewing the test scores of my Photo Story lesson, I find areas I need to be clearer in my teaching of [some of] the concepts.” (L.W.)
- “The question was, ‘Do you think you would like to be a soldier?’ One of the answers was, ‘Yes, because they do for our country.’ I thought this was a wonderful answer, and I hope my Photo Story inspired this answer.”

**Discussion**

Overall, the responses indicated that pre-service teachers reflected on content, pedagogy, and even classroom management. Responses indicate that pre-service teachers are beginning to understand the importance of detailed planning and understanding of students’ diverse needs when planning lessons. Responses also indicate that pre-service teachers are learning to be flexible when lessons do not go as planned (especially with technical issues), a difficult skill to learn in the university setting.

Like all educational teaching methods, oral history projects have advantages and disadvantages, which is why a variety of strategies should be used in an elementary school setting. In the pre-service teachers’ lesson reflections, the following limitations of oral history projects are identified: time, technology issues, low expectations of students, and making accommodations for special needs students.

Experiencing oral history projects firsthand is vital for pre-service teachers if they are to implement this strategy in their own classrooms. Without such experiences, these future teachers will be unable to fully support and guide their elementary students. In addition, pre-service teachers refresh their own content knowledge and many of them report learning to enjoy and appreciate history for the first time. Summarily, oral histories are an effective instructional method to increase content knowledge of history as well as learn to love it—for both pre-service and elementary students (Busby, 2011, 182)!
References


Heafner, T.L., Libscomb, G. B., & Rock, T.C. (2006). To test or not to test? The role of testing in elementary social studies, a collaborative study conducted by NCPSSSE and SCPSSE. *Social Studies Research and Practice, 1*(2), 145-164.


## Appendix A

### Data Summary Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Service Teacher Number</th>
<th>Evaluation by Cooperating Teacher PEPE form</th>
<th>Elem Student learning: Pretest results</th>
<th>Elem Student learning: Posttest results</th>
<th>Pre-service Teacher Reflection: What went well</th>
<th>Pre-service Teacher Reflection: What didn’t go well?</th>
<th>Pre-service Teacher Reflection: What would you do differently the next time you teach this lesson?</th>
<th>Pre-service Teacher Reflection: What other info would you like to add to help me assess the usefulness of this program?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Appendix B
Pre- and Post-test

Name____________________________ Date__________________

Hurricane Katrina Anticipation Guide

True/False

Before Lesson:
1. Katrina is the name of one of the most destructive hurricanes to ever make landfall in the United States.
2. Hurricane Katrina occurred in the year 2009.
3. A hurricane is a light rainfall and it is fun to play outside in.
4. Hurricanes sometimes make people evacuate their homes because they are so dangerous.
5. Hurricanes are very powerful and can destroy entire cities and maybe even states.
6. Hurricanes are most common in the gulf coast.
7. The gulf coast is very far away from Alabama so we will never experience in hurricane in this state.
8. Debris is any kind of object that has been destroyed from a storm (such as a piece of a house or a car).

After Lesson:
1. Katrina is the name of one of the most destructive hurricanes to ever make landfall in the United States.
2. Hurricane Katrina occurred in the year 2009.
3. A hurricane is a light rainfall and it is fun to play outside in.
4. Hurricanes sometimes make people evacuate their homes because they are so dangerous.
5. Hurricanes are very powerful and can destroy entire cities and maybe even states.
6. Hurricanes are very common in the gulf coast.
7. The gulf coast is very far away from Alabama so we will never experience in hurricane in this state.
8. Debris is any kind of object that has been destroyed from a storm (such as a piece of a house or a car).
9. What was the most interesting thing you learned from the Photo Story? Why?

10. Did you enjoy the technology (the photo story) used in this lesson? What are some ways that you use technology in your everyday life?
Appendix C
Lesson Plan with Reflection

Name: K.H.  Date: March 1, 2010
School: XYZ  Grade Level: 3
Teaching Strategy: Whole group  Time required: 30 minutes

I. Subject/Content Area: Social Studies/ Hurricane Katrina  Technology/Photo Story

II. Course of Study
   [Social Studies]:
   ALCOS # 3.4: Locate population shifts due to geographic, economic, and historic changes in the western hemisphere.
   ALCOS # 3.9: Identify ways to prepare for natural disasters in the United States.

   [Technology]:
   ALCOS # 3.7: Explain the influence of technology on society.

   [Science]:
   ALCOS # 3.12: Identify conditions that will result in specific weather phenomena, including thunderstorms, tornadoes, and hurricanes. Identify positive and negative effects of weather phenomena.

III. Concepts:
   Hurricane, gulf coast, evacuate, flood, debris, natural disaster, devastation

IV. Behavioral Objectives
   TSWBAT: describe what a hurricane is and identify the effects that it has on the land and the people.

V. Evaluation
   The teacher will assess students’ knowledge of today’s objectives by grading the post-test.

VI. Materials:
   Photo Story, pre-test/post-test for each student.

VII. Teaching/Learning Procedures
   A. Motivation
      1. Administer pretest.
      2. Ask students if they have ever experienced a hurricane or tornado or any kind of bad storm.
      3. By the end of today’s lesson, every student should be able to describe the effects that a hurricane could possibly have on our country.

   B. Instructional Procedures
      1. BEFORE: Pre-teach vocabulary by writing the words on the board and discussing them.
      2. DURING: The teacher will observe the student reactions.
      3. AFTER: The teacher will administer an open discussion with the class about their reactions and feelings towards the photo story. Administer the post-test.

   C. Closure
      1. Gather post-tests and go over the correct answers as a whole group.
      2. Tell the students about the exciting hurricane art project they will be doing in art class the following day.

VIII. Supplemental Activities (Early Finishers, Enrichment, Remediation)
   Early Finishers- Pre-test and post-test will be done as a whole group; therefore, there should not be any early finishers.

   Enrichment- Students will film themselves acting as news reporters from New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina. They must gather information from the website www.katrinadestruction.com in order to come up with the information for their news report.
**Remediation** - Students will choose from library books about hurricanes that the teacher has already checked out and write down the 5 most important facts that they can find from the book.

**IX. Professional Reflection:** Oral History Lesson Reflection

I taught my lesson about hurricanes in Mrs. H.D. 3rd grade classroom at Troy Elementary on Tuesday, March 16, 2010. I started teaching at 1:45 pm and finished around 2:35 pm. The 8 and 9 year old students were very talkative and hyper at this time of the afternoon, so I had some trouble managing the class. They were all very excited to watch the photo story that I had prepared. I was a bit nervous before I began my lesson, but as soon as I started talking to the students, I realized that everything was going to go smoother than I thought. I held the lesson plan in my hand throughout the entire lesson in order to make sure that I did not forget anything.

The lesson started off great as the students took the pretest. I gave them approximately 8 minutes to complete it and then I collected their tests. The next part of my lesson was a class discussion about hurricanes. During this time, I had originally planned on writing the vocabulary words on the board and having the class help me define them, but I realized that we were going to be pressed for time. I made a quick change as I was presenting and decided to just have the students raise their hand and tell me what they thought each word meant. We briefly discussed each term and then I continued the lesson by showing them the video. I allowed the students to get out of their desks and sit on the floor so that they could all see the video well. The students loved my photo story and begged me to play it over again. I was very pleased with their reactions. When the video was over, we had another class discussion about Hurricane Katrina. I allowed the children to raise their hands and ask me any questions that they had about the video. The last part of my lesson was the posttest. The students sat back in their desks and answered each question. We went over the posttest together as a class. When I got back home after teaching, I was very happy to find a significant difference between the pre and post tests. I feel that the 3rd graders learned a lot from my lesson and they thoroughly enjoyed the video.

The hardest part about the lesson was managing the class. They were extremely hyper and were ready for the school day to be over. Mrs. Davis’ had to raise her voice and punish a few students at the beginning of my lesson. She was just as frustrated as I was that her class would not cooperate. Once the lesson got rolling, the children naturally settled down and things became much easier for me. Overall, I believe that the lesson was a great success. I am very happy with the results and I plan on using this same lesson in the future.
Distributive Justice

The variety and complexity of ethical issues involved with healthcare seems almost endless. Research protocols are subject to serious, and sometimes highly emotional, debates related to the protection of animal or human subjects. Potential uses of genetic discoveries are incredibly exciting to some but murky and frightening to others. Stem cell research is proceeding cautiously and clinicians deal daily with ethical dilemmas primarily surrounding beginning of life and end of life decisions. While these are all immensely important areas, attention is also needed on ethical issues specifically related to economics and health care financing. The root of all economic problems and thus the need for ethical decision making is that societal resources are limited while individual needs and wants are unlimited. This is particularly true of health care because it is both a universally accepted social good and an economic product that is consumed by individual customers (Dombeck & Olsan, 2002). While there is much agreement throughout society over what constitutes good health and the fact that improving health care services advance society, there is substantial disagreement over rights to health care and the characteristics that constitute a just distribution system.

Ethical issues for the distribution of health care in the United states have been defined by the struggles between consequentialist and virtue based ethical frameworks; between paternal traditions in medicine based on advanced scientific knowledge and the American social traditions valuing individualism and autonomy; and between liberal political views that just distribution should be based on need versus conservative principles that society is best served when contribution is the primary determinant of distribution. Americans fear that universal health care is equivalent to socialized medicine that would result in “making people more dependent on handouts, expanding the clumsy hand of regulation, and hobbling individual choice” (Menzel & Light, 2006). The real conflict comes when individuals’ desires for care are contrary to society’s judgment regarding the prudent allocation of resources. In the United States, it has been the tradition that individuals who have resources (cash, insurance, or eligibility for government programs) have the autonomous right to pursue extraordinary procedures even when medical judgment is that those measures will be futile or have very minimal chances of success (Garrett, Baillie, & Garrett, 2001). Courts have frequently ordered the continuation of intensive services for individuals even when a strong consensus of medical opinions held that they were futile and inappropriate. Such cases can be interpreted to unjustly focus resources on one person that could have been used to help many others. At the same time, however, managed care plan benefits and practices have often been designed to reduce insurance company expenses by withholding medically appropriate services from beneficiaries (Dombeck & Olsan, 2002). Clinicians, who are trained to assess need, urgency, and the effectiveness of available treatments in distributing care, are caught in the middle of this economic and political tug-of-war.

Autonomy versus paternalism

Strong social movements during the 1950’s and 1960’s marked the beginning of the end of absolute authority for physicians in the United States. Physician paternalism was replaced by patient autonomy and a collaborative model where physicians admit to imperfect knowledge of all factors impacting a medical decision and accept patient input and the right to give informed consent. This doctrine includes
the patient’s absolute right to refuse even low risk, life saving treatments. However, in most situations, a highly knowledgeable physician develops opinions based on thorough testing, diagnosis, and extensive experience while working with a patient who is inexperienced, stressed, and fearful. Because of this typical situation, paternalism can be particularly problematic in health care. Pure paternalism would involve acting without the patient’s consent or even overruling the patient’s decision. Advocating strong medical paternalism would be to assume that there is only one right and ethical course of action in each situation and that the physician knows enough about each individual patient to determine that one correct course of action. In fact, ethical principles require the doctor to attempt to persuade the patient toward what the physician has determined to be the best course of action (paternalism) while at the same time fully communicating all relevant information and respecting the patient’s right to an informed choice (autonomy) (Garrett, Baillie, & Garrett, 2001).

The struggle between autonomy and paternalism in making individual patient care choices is also evident at the macroeconomic level impacting the distribution of health care resources. A paternalistic approach holds that the better educated and economically advantaged will make better choices on behalf of the poor than the poor will make for themselves. Wynia et al. (2004) found that people disadvantaged by economic stress or by chronic physical or mental illness were much less likely to actively participate in decision making regarding their own health care. In fact they clearly recommended a paternalistic approach in stating: “A health care system that does not protect its most vulnerable patients is failing medically, ethically, and socially” (Wynia et al., 2004). In most western countries limitations on resources have led to an authoritarian model where politicians control costs by dictating supply. Rationing is then done by queuing. The American approach, on the other hand, has tilted strongly toward valuing autonomy and contribution. While most Americans express a desire for more equitable distribution of health care services, they have not been willing to accept government control of the system out of fears for bureaucratic inefficiency and rigid rationing programs. The managed care model, which reached its peak of market share and cost control effectiveness during the 1990’s, attempted to modify American spending habits by inserting an element of paternalism through limited provider networks, gatekeeper mechanisms, standard protocols for diagnosing and treating certain conditions, and requiring prior approvals for expensive services. The model lost its effectiveness, however, as strong consumer backlash forced employers and politicians to limit controls restoring greater autonomy to individual patients. In the wake of managed care’s decline, some have recommended that the U. S. health care system be reshaped around the values of individualism and autonomy that have dominated American culture. In recent years, however, relaxation of managed care controls and a return to greater autonomy have reignited health care cost inflation. It has been argued that even political conservatives should support a paternalistic approach to mandatory universal health coverage because it would eliminate free riding, enhance efficiency, and allow both individuals and small employers to better assert their autonomy by providing for their own needs (Menzel & Light, 2006).

**Contribution versus need**

An ethical distribution system for health care should consider both the needs and contributions of individuals. A practical system must meet the basic needs of individuals while fitting with the traditions, values, and resources of the society. The Ethical Force Program suggested that while the American health care system has attempted to meet individual needs for services it has been ineffective in large part because it has been too complex, opaque, and paternalistic. The system should be reformed to meet needs for understandable information and full patient participation in design and decision making (Wynia et al., 2004). However, people in crisis situations, such as injury or illness, quickly give high priority to some needs and suppress others. In health care this means that access to needed services becomes the top priority while autonomy and participative decision making are secondary (Slomka, 2004).

Traditional societal values in the United States suggest that distribution of health care services should be driven primarily by contribution. Deontologists, however, would assert that all citizens have a claim to comprehensive health care because it is a natural right essential to the well being of a person. No one would choose inadequate health care for herself therefore it is a moral necessity for everyone. Similarly, proponents of virtue ethics suggest that benevolence dictates that communities should guarantee adequate
health care to all citizens. Owen (2009), for example, argued that consumer driven style health system reforms are antagonistic to the principles of human rights. Even Kant, however, put some limits on ethical responsibilities with his “ought implies can” doctrine. That is, society has a moral duty to provide universal health care only if it can. Utilitarians hold that comprehensive health care should be implemented only if it enhances the well being of society as a whole (Boylan, 2000).

Capitalism emphasizes contribution as the key criterion for distributive justice; that is, each person should receive according to her production. Socialism, on the other hand, holds that each should receive according to his needs while an aristocratic system emphasizes receipt by inheritance. Elements of all three systems can be clearly seen in American values and policies. Ethical duty is modified by the basic nature of the need and by the capabilities of the persons in need. That is, being ill does not automatically create a societal duty to cure if a person is capable of overcoming the illness or of acquiring needed medications and services. This is consistent with the American approach to health care which puts the responsibility on private citizens to provide for their own care (primarily through acquiring health insurance coverage) but establishes programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, or SCHIP for those who are less capable of doing so.

**Moral hazard and agency**

The impact of third party payment on health care expenditures has been well documented. For any product or service, spending increases when someone other than the consumer pays the bill. With about 85% of health care costs paid by someone other than the patient, health care in the United States has been particularly impacted by this moral hazard. Hadley and Holahan found that health care spending per person among the insured was nearly triple the amount consumed by the uninsured. It was also interesting to note that among the insured, spending was highest by those covered through public programs (Hadley & Holahan, 2003). Several factors converge with the predominance of third party payment to raise ethical questions regarding the financing of health care. Means tested programs such as Medicaid and voucher systems remove benefits as income rises creating disincentives for productivity and penalties that are disproportionate and unfair for those at the margin. The payment system is predominately fee for service; that is, clinicians and institutions are paid for each unit of service provided meaning they have financial incentives to do more. In addition, consumers are not the only ones insulated from the true cost of care; so are physicians who prescribe most of the treatments and services. Most physicians give little consideration to cost when considering treatment alternatives and many do not know what costs are for services ordered (Fuchs & Emanuel, 2005).

Combining the effects of moral hazard with the paternalistic position of physicians in American society has created an expenditure engine with very little limitation. Physicians function as trusted agents ordering services on behalf of patients. Most patients have little reason to consider costs because someone else is paying the bill and physicians benefit financially when they order more rather than less. Add in the capitalistic system where many institutions and most suppliers are seeking profit, and the result is supplier driven demand even for marginally effective services with little dampening from consumers because price is usually not a factor in buying decisions (Menzel & Light, 2006).

Another contributing factor has been media orientation toward dramatized medical programming and heavy paid advertising for new pharmaceuticals that have induced demand and created high expectations among Americans. The combination of unbridled consumer demand, fueled by moral hazard and media attention to heroic medicine, with supplier induced demand has been the primary factor driving rapid increases in health care spending. Rising insurance premiums caused employers to curtail or eliminate health plans offered to employees. The spiral makes it constantly more difficult to conceive of a solution that will both appease the majority’s expectation of free access to all services while justly distributing needed care within the resources that the society can reasonably afford.

**Market segmentation and managed care**

The private investor based health insurance financing system has two main objectives: provide services to the sick and a return on investment to those who take the financial risk of underwriting care. While these are not mutually exclusive goals, attempts to achieve both have certainly produced ethical dilemmas. It has become apparent that the most effective way to enhance profits is to control cost by
seeking to insure healthy people while avoiding those with risk factors such as age, a history of illness, or chronic conditions such as high blood pressure or diabetes (Neuhauser, 2003). Commercial insurance companies began employing this strategy as early as the 1950’s enabling them to move ahead of Blue Cross in market share. One of the reasons for their success was experience rating which attracted younger, healthier groups by offering them lower premiums. Blue Cross was forced to switch away from their traditional community rating policy further fragmenting the health care system by increasingly leaving older persons, the poor, and the chronically ill without coverage. This move away from a community or social insurance model was accelerated by the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) of 1974 which gave strong incentives to large employers to withdraw from broad risk pools by self insuring their health care benefits, further isolating small groups and individuals, making coverage for them more scarce and expensive (Moran, 2005).

As health expenditure growth rates accelerated during the 1970’s, American employers and political leaders turned to the managed care model. From a distribution standpoint, managed care was an attempt to increase efficiency by shifting the responsibility for health service procurement away from individuals toward providers and insurers and by injecting price competition at the insurance plan level. In virtually all other industrialized countries, the responsibility for establishing and managing health care priorities has been taken over by the government but Americans’ preferences for private enterprise and minimal governmental control prevented that from happening. This strong value for autonomy derailed the effectiveness of managed care plans which came to be seen by citizens, employers, and politicians as unethical in their market segmentation practices and unjust in their policies of limiting or denying coverage (Robinson, 2006).

As costs reaccelerated after the year 2000, increasing numbers of employers reduced or eliminated their health insurance benefits to employees. By 2005 the percentage of small employers offering coverage dropped below 50% for the first time (Gabel et al., 2005). On the other hand, arguments have been made for the effectiveness of the paternalistic approach taken by managed care. Berenson (2005) noted, as just one example, that Kaiser Permanente not only saved money but saved its subscribers from serious injuries by severely limiting the availability of Vioxx and Celebrex through its health plans.

Impact of Consumer Driven Health Care on ethical issues

Consumer driven models have two goals: one, to shift more of the responsibility for both health insurance premiums and first dollar costs from employers to employees and, two, to address moral hazard by giving consumers financial incentives to consider the price when deciding which health care services to use. Criticisms of high deductible health care seem to fall into two main categories. First, most health care expenditures are for catastrophic or chronic cases that far exceed deductibles. Once the annual deductible is exceeded, or even is expected to be exceeded, services again become “free” in the mind of the consumer who might even have incentive to use more elective services in that year in the hope of staying under the deductible in succeeding years. This affect can be partially ameliorated by the use of coinsurance payments but will still apply to the many severe cases that exceed their annual out of pocket maximum.

The second major criticism of consumer driven health plans is that they favor younger, healthier, and higher income people who will be better able to pay high deductibles and coinsurance, fund savings accounts, and accumulate balances in them over the years. Lower income workers are much less able to meet higher out of pocket costs and may therefore be more likely to forego needed primary and preventive services or to go without health insurance at all (Fuchs & Emanuel, 2005). Proponents argue that lower income workers are already discriminated against by the current system and that more employers are forced to drop health insurance coverage every year because of rapidly rising premiums. They suggest that consumer driven plans will lower premiums in the short run and make the health care financing system more efficient in the long run thus allowing more employers and employees to afford health insurance. In fact, the percentage of small employers offering health insurance benefits which dipped to a low of 47% by 2005, rebounded significantly to 59% by 2010. At the same time, the percentage of covered workers at small firms enrolled in high deductible health plans jumped from 16%
in 2006 to 40% in 2010 (Kaiser, 2010). It appears that small employers have not simply shifted to high deductible plans but that many have added coverage where it was not offered before.

Various mechanisms have been used or suggested to moderate the negative impact on some segments of the population including sliding scale deductibles, mandating coverage, and waiving deductibles and co-payments for preventive services. It seems interesting that while one of the advantages of the consumer driven approach is its congruence with American values for autonomy and contribution, modifications are deemed necessary to make it more paternalistic out of concern for the needy and doubts that consumers will make wise decisions regarding preventive services.

Trends toward emphasizing outcome measurement in clinical medicine and personal responsibility for health have paralleled the beginnings of movement toward increased personal financial responsibility. Emphasis on analyzing evidence to predict likely outcomes from a particular treatment protocol, technology application, or prescription drug; estimating the costs of the procedures; and then comparing those outcomes and costs with those of alternative treatments clearly come from a consequentialist or utilitarian ethical construct. The chances for consumer driven health care to succeed in overcoming moral hazard clearly hinge on the availability to consumers of accurate and understandable information regarding both clinical outcomes and cost.

Consumer driven health care seems consistent with American society’s predilection for autonomy, utilitarianism, individual responsibility, and distribution according to contribution. Individuals are given control over which services they purchase from which providers; have financial incentives to make cost effective choices; and have the opportunity to accumulate savings if they stay healthy, forego unnecessary or ineffective services, and make wise choices when they do need care. Critics argue, however, that the U.S. health care distribution system already leans too far toward contribution and that the consumer driven approach will drive financing even farther away from need considerations. Robinson (2006) expressed concerns that principles of consumer driven health care while enhancing personal accountability will weaken societal feelings of responsibility for vulnerable citizens who are already underserved.

Reliance on the cultural values listed in the preceding paragraph has resulted in a health care system in the United States where 85% of the population has access to the most advanced medical care in the world but where the remaining 47 million residents are uninsured. This system has also facilitated a free riding effect wherein employers and individuals can choose not to sponsor or acquire health insurance coverage. While many of the uninsured are truly needy because of low income and lack of employer subsidized health plans, one study found that most of the uninsured with incomes more than 300% of the federal poverty level were young males with good earnings whose catastrophic care, if needed, was covered by the rest of society anyway. It appears that high deductible health care by itself will not adequately overcome either lack of coverage for the needy or the free riding effect. Individual and employer mandates, such as those adopted first in Massachusetts and then nationally in 2010, along with expansion of public programs have been deemed necessary to address these issues (Menzel & Light, 2006).

Alternatives.

For many Americans the ethical debate with regard to health care comes down to the question of whether universal access to basic health services is just or if there should be equitable distribution of all health services. It is interesting to note that on other social issues such as food or housing the policy of assuring a minimum standard for all Americans has been in place for decades with little, if any, outcry for equal distribution to all. Yet strong advocacy against any disparities in access to health care has been a barrier to adopting a national policy because basic access for all may not be enough and complete access for all may be unaffordable (Berenson, 2005). Nearly all other industrialized countries have implemented policies that provide access for all to basic health care and assign government the responsibility of determining what should be included and for rationing resources to distribute those services. Even conservatives in those countries have recognized that basic health care is a right to the same extent as minimum requirements for nutrition, shelter, or basic education because people need these resources if they are to take personal responsibility for their own well being and advancement (Menzel & Light, 2006). Americans seem to be alone in allowing their distrust of government and preference for
distribution according to contribution to block adoption of universal access to basic health care. The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 attempted to expand coverage by mandating both personal and employer participation in the existing private insurance system. While this reform attempts to attack both the free riding effect and market based exclusion of persons considered to be risky for coverage, it may also exacerbate the cost escalation impacts of moral hazard and supplier induced demand.

Private sector cost control is still needed and there appear to be only two alternatives recognized at this point: a return to stronger managed care controls or broad implementation of high deductible health care. The social and ethical objections that forced loosening of managed care restrictions would seem to be insurmountable barriers. Patients felt deceived and unjustly denied care while physicians were frustrated by approval processes that impeded their ability to individualize patient care. Both patients and physicians reached the point where they felt justified in manipulating the system to get coverage for procedures. Insurers and employers were forced to assume responsibility for rationing care and became the targets of blame for restrictions perceived to be unjust and unethical (Wynia et al., 2004). Employers and insurers clearly moved to get out of this denial position and seem unlikely to resume that responsibility. However, as managed care controls relaxed, health care costs quickly reaccelerated. Insurers, employers, and the Bush administration turned to consumer driven health care to shift more financial responsibility to patients, mitigate the impact of moral hazard, and encourage more employers to offer health benefit plans.

Alternatives for government intervention fall into several categories: a nationalized health care system where all health care providers and institutions are operated by government or a modified version where basic health services are available to all in tax financed clinics; a voucher system where low income individuals are provided with tax subsidized credits that can be used to purchase health insurance; or mandates wherein individuals are required to obtain health insurance either through their employers, private plans, or government managed pools. Even with increasing calls for government intervention, a fully nationalized system like the British or Canadian was too incongruent with American values for autonomy, private investment, distribution based on contribution, and distrust of big government to be politically feasible. Expansion of “free” clinics for basic services such as federally subsidized Community Health Centers appears to have a better chance of adoption but runs contrary to findings by Cunningham and Hadley (2004) that extension of insurance coverage to low income people had far greater impact in improving access to care than spending the same amount of money to expand the Community Health Centers program. These findings would seem to support the type of subsidy system included in the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 that provides low and moderate income people with resources to assist in paying for health insurance. Such an approach is more consistent with freedom of choice among insurance plans and providers, private enterprise, and the option of buying higher levels of coverage for those who have the resources and desire to do so. Fuchs and Emanuel (2005) strongly supported this approach, suggesting that in addition to the above advantages it would lead to a smaller number of competing health plans and improved efficiency in both the financing and delivery systems. The subsidy approach does, however, run into some ethical hurdles. It does nothing to alleviate moral hazard and, in fact, exacerbates the impact. Hadley and Holahan (2003) found that health care spending approximately doubled when uninsured people acquired coverage. They estimated the additional expenditures to be in the range of 3% to 6% of total health care spending which would be about $75 billion to $150 billion in 2008 dollars. Proponents have argued that this is a relatively small price to pay for extending coverage to all of the uninsured while skeptics hold that health care expenditures are already too high, the federal deficit is at record levels, and government subsidized health plans such as Medicare and Medicaid are already under funded and careening toward insolvency. Another ethical objection to subsidies was articulated by Menzel (1983). He argued that vouchers limit autonomy and freedom of choice and that the poor should be given cash and allowed to spend it on their most pressing needs rather than the paternalistic approach of providing them with vouchers good only for health care purchases.
Ethicists have argued that mandates in the Massachusetts and now federal laws eliminate the free riding effect that has been rampant in the U. S. health care system; are consistent with traditions valuing personal responsibility and private enterprise; and expand accessibility to primary and preventive services. Any kind of government mandates have generally been opposed in the United States by business leaders and conservatives but these same groups have supported mandated automobile insurance coverage and conservatives in nearly all other industrialized countries have supported health care systems that eliminate free riding and support individuals’ ability to take responsibility for their own health (Fuchs & Emanuel, 2005). Issues of moral hazard, just distribution to the poor, and inefficient delivery remain to be addressed, however, in the implementation of coverage mandates.

Conclusions

It is interesting to note that several authors arrived at a conclusion that a combination of approaches would be the best way to reform the American health care system. They did not all arrive at the same combinations but there seem to be definite similarities in their findings. Cunningham and Hadley (2004) concluded that while direct service through Community Health Centers should be maintained, expansion of access to insurance coverage through a voucher system would be the most effective way to improve health care for the currently uninsured. Fuchs and Emanuel (2005) favored a similar approach but went further in recommending that a federally funded voucher system guarantee universal basic coverage for all with individuals having choices among competing plans and the opportunity to purchase more extensive coverage from their own funds. Cunningham and Kirby (2004) made a strong case for the political and social effectiveness of expanding Medicaid to cover more children but also noted that consumer driven plans would also enhance access by making health insurance affordable for more small businesses and middle income households. Menzel and Light (2006) concluded that a three pronged approach is needed: mandated coverage to eliminate the free rider effect; tax financed subsidies for low income individuals; and heavy regulation of the insurance market to assure open access. Interestingly, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 incorporates all three of these elements.

Each of these models ignored, or at least failed to comprehensively address, the central issue of demand for services. Each would provide more buying power to more consumers without implementing controls on either demand or supply. Thus Americans are still left with four choices that each has undesirable characteristics: (1) third party payment with rapidly escalating health care costs; (2) return to tight managed care controls on supply; (3) government rationing of supply through a nationalized financing and or delivery system; or (4) substantially increased out of pocket expenditures at the point of service to curb demand.

Certain ethical principles have been preferred (with modifiers) by American society. Autonomy includes not only the freedom to choose but the personal responsibility to make informed choices and to provide for one’s own needs. Distribution according to contribution builds on the autonomy principle but has been modified by social safety net programs to assure that basic needs are universally met in areas such as food, housing, education, clean air and water, public transportation, and others. Combination of these preferences with a bias toward utilitarian decision models is manifest in an economic system that promotes private ownership and entrepreneurship while taxing income and property to protect natural rights such as those listed above and to provide for the common good through programs such as national defense.

Proponents of high deductible health care contend that this approach is congruent with autonomy and personal responsibility and will address moral hazard and thus enhance accessibility by making health insurance more affordable. Opponents have cited two main ethical concerns: high out of pocket costs hit harder at low and moderate income households unjustly increasing the gap in accessibility by income level; and, the health care system is so complex both scientifically and administratively that consumers will be forced to make risky choices with inadequate information. However, movement toward consumer driven health plans in the form of higher deductibles and copayments, often in combination with a health savings plan, has already occurred and is accelerating. It seems prudent then that public policy initiatives should not be aimed at stopping high deductible health care but at incorporating its principles in ways that make use of its strengths while overcoming its potential ethical challenges. The combination of income
based subsidies, mandated coverage, and more effective regulation included in the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 would appear to approach this goal. Finally, one of the keys to just distribution will be improved consumer decision making through easier access to accurate information regarding both effectiveness and cost of health services and through stronger partnership with clinicians especially primary care physicians, nurses, and physician assistants. For example, disease management programs or evidence based protocols should not be seen as alternatives to consumer driven health care but as a valuable complement to it.

References
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My university has partnered with a local public elementary school in order to enhance the “teaching of writing” course required of EC-6 majors in the College of Education. For most of the semester, the university class meets on the elementary school campus in a room specifically designed to accommodate the course. The resident fourth-grade teachers select a group of fourth graders who they feel could benefit from extensive individual help, and I, as the professor, pair each of them with one of my university students to provide a setting of one-on-one tutoring. Thus, for two 30-minute sessions a week during our university class time, the elementary students receive welcomed and needed individual attention, while the university students learn to hone their teaching skills prior to being solely responsible for an entire classroom. It has resulted in an atmosphere filled with warmth and encouragement, extensive skill development at two separate levels of learning, and no disciplinary considerations—a win-win situation.

During one class period, as I was explaining a correction while helping a fourth-grader revise and edit her essay, she looked at me quizzically and blurted out: “Now how am I s’posed to know that?” She had a point. I assured her that she wasn’t necessarily supposed to, since learning to write is an ongoing process, regardless of skill and grade level, and the desired results come only from constant practice. Although she seemed to accept my explanation, I wondered if she would remember to apply any newly acquired knowledge when she faced another similar situation in her writing. In reality, I was concerned if there would be the necessary frequent writing practice that would allow incremental learning to coalesce ultimately into polished written products.

This concern did not result from a suspicion that my particular elementary school partner teachers were not tending to their responsibilities. Rather, it stemmed from echoed challenges—from the National Assessment of Educational Progress, the National Council of Teachers of English, the American Association of School Administrators, and the National Academy of Education’s Commission on Reading—that students need to write more across all content areas and expand their range of writing tasks (National Writing Project & Nagin, 2003). A report of the National Commission on Writing (2003) noted that 97% of students at the elementary school level spent only three hours a week or less on writing assignments, which amounted to about 15% of the time they spent watching television. The Commission concluded that both the teaching and practice of writing were shortchanged throughout the school years (National Commission on Writing, 2003).

The publication of A Nation at Risk in 1983 spearheaded a school improvement journey, but, according to The National Commission on Writing (2003), the neglected element was writing. The signing in 2002 of the No Child Left Behind Act led to testing of writing skills in specific grades, but features of students’ writing other than correctness—such as thinking, inquiry, and purposeful communication—were notably absent from its stated goals (Lesnick, 2006). Contributing to the problem was the Act’s reliance on standardized assessments, and the associated state education standards, which do not typically focus on written expression (Alaka, 2010).

In those instances when academic performance is dependent on an examination of students’ written products, problems have been identified, both in students’ failure to demonstrate knowledge of subject-area content, and in “an insufficiency in their ability to demonstrate adequate written communication
skills on academic topics” (Cameron, Hunt, & Linton, 1996, p. 127). W. Johnson has noted that the obligation of the writer to the reader is not just to be “grammatically fashionable, but to be clear and coherent” (Johnson, 2004, p. 529). The notion of writing as inquiry, problem solving, and discovery has powerful implications, as its purposes inevitably serve to deepen learning across subject areas. Above all else, the primary purpose in writing something for another to read is to communicate effectively.

The need for skill improvement affects both the private and public sectors, as both citizens and workers contend with unclear instructions or incomprehensible narratives lacking in any communicative value. A director of the education initiative for the Business Roundtable observed that the demand for skilled writers in our workforce had increased. In fast-paced environments, accuracy, clarity, spelling, punctuation, grammar and conciseness ranked among the most sought-after skills (Read, 2004). A 2004 survey conducted by the National Governors Association revealed that two-thirds of private companies and 100% of state governmental offices considered writing to be an important responsibility for their workers. The survey responses also pointed out that states spent nearly a quarter of a billion dollars a year on remedial writing instruction for their employees, sometimes sending workers to $400-per-employee classes (USA Today, 2005).

Research has shown that writing is a highly fluid process that requires frequent practice, constant monitoring of progress toward task goals, and unique motivational challenges (Bruning & Horn, 2000). D. Graves (1991) found that children who wrote only one day a week disliked writing and developed clever ways to avoid it. But if allowed a time to write four days in a row, they complained when no writing was done on the fifth. Writing with regularity led to good use of time during the actual writing (Graves, 1991, p. 25).

J. Gilbert and S. Graham (2010) surveyed a random sample of elementary teachers in grades 4-6 across the United States about their writing practices. The teachers reported that they taught writing for only 15 minutes a day and these assignments involved mostly writing-to-learn activities, including responding with short answers, completing worksheets, summarizing material read, writing journal entries, and making lists. More involved types of writing, such as persuasive, informative, description, and research, were assigned infrequently (Gilbert & Graham, 2010).

M. Whiteman (1980) has offered three reasons for the lack of attention to writing in our schools. First, since writing is not easily evaluated quantitatively, more attention is given only to the mechanics of writing. As Johnson (2004) noted, one can learn to write with mechanical correctness without learning how to write with “significance and validity” (Johnson, 2004, p. 528). The latter requires an enormous amount of time that does not easily fall into the confines of a teacher’s daily schedule. Second, the textbooks that govern much of classroom time do not emphasize the use of extensive writing assignments. Unless the teacher is willing and able to inject writing into the course, there will be little or none. Finally, few teachers have had courses in the teaching of writing; thus, even if they wish to incorporate that aspect, they do not feel competent in modeling and evaluating writing assignments as an integral part of their courses (Whiteman, 1980). J. Birnbaum (1980) has provided an added dimension by noting that a student’s environment can add to a lack of interest in writing. He or she may have little or no opportunity outside of school to observe others writing or to explore the purposes of written language. Their social environments may place a higher premium on television, the telephone, and face-to-face communication (Birnbaum, 1980).

Nagin (2003) has observed that “composition pedagogy” is a neglected area of study at most of the nation’s thirteen hundred schools of education, where future public school teachers are trained. Furthermore, it is not a specific requirement in most state teacher certification programs. Although successful teaching strategies have been identified and innovative programs implemented, their broad dissemination remains a critical challenge for serious school reform in focusing on developing writing skills (National Writing Project & Nagin, 2003). Research has shown that students discontinue using strategies designed to improve writing skills when they are not regularly required to apply them (Schunk & Swartz, 1993).

Through their research of elementary school writing practices, Gilbert and Graham (2010) concluded and recommended that teacher education programs must do a better job of encouraging and preparing
teachers to teach writing, particularly to children in the classrooms of grades 4-6. L. Calkins (1997) has observed that it is fairly rare to find teachers who have an expertise in writing. She found that teachers “usually assign and correct writing, but spend very little time coaching children on the strategies writers use in order to write well” (Calkins, 1997, p. 167). Graham, MacArthur, and Fitzgerald (2007) claimed that young teachers receive very little training on how to teach writing, and the “teacher who will be effective in the teaching of writing has much to learn, and the starting point for every teacher who wants to be a writing teacher is to realize that there is much that can be learned” (Graham, MacArthur, & Fitzgerald, 2007, p. 23).

While conducting professional development for over twenty years in the teaching of writing, C. Fleischer (2004) found that many teachers, even veterans, considered writing a bit frightening and were unsure of their knowledge of composition (Fleischer, 2004). This led to my wondering about my own university students’ feelings of preparedness for “composition pedagogy.” These are primarily students who are in the process of being certified to teach either at the elementary or middle school level. At the point of taking my class, they are at least junior level, have passed the writing portion of high school state competency exams, fulfilled the writing exam requirements for university acceptance, and exhibited the writing skills necessary for entry into our College of Education. Through all their years of schooling, they presumably have a history of writing sentences, paragraphs, essays, themes, term papers, and elaborate answers to subjective exam questions. What they have not done is faced a group of elementary or middle school students and created the classroom conditions in which those young students can learn to write with clarity, significance, validity, and mechanical correctness.

**Methodology**

At the beginning of the fall semester 2010, I asked the students in my “Writing in the Elementary/Middle School” classes to respond to the following fifteen statements by choosing one of the Likert Scale categories (*Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree, or No Opinion*):

1. Possibilities for social and professional progress are determined by our ability to use our language (spoken and written) correctly and effectively.
2. The writing I do (beyond required school assignments) primarily includes “low-risk” activities, such as shopping lists, short notes, or responses to e-mails.
3. In teaching writing, the teacher should provide his or her own examples of writing in order to demonstrate the process.
4. Students will care more about writing when it is personal.
5. Students need to revise and edit everything they write.
6. Students of all ages need to learn how to express themselves within a variety of genres (e.g., e-mails, thank-you notes, letters, biographies, lists, stories, poems, expository texts).
7. Like reading and math, daily writing practice is necessary for most students in order to master the skill.
8. The principles of order and clarity are fundamental in practically all descriptive, narrative, and expository writing.
9. Teachers of writing should be careful not to expect students to write for “publishing” (a final, polished copy) too frequently, as this can cause burnout for both students and teachers.
10. Although one may have learned how to write with mechanical correctness, one may still need much instruction in writing with significance and validity.
11. Unless the emphasis is placed upon writing as a form of communication and directed to an actual reader, the importance of clarity, organization, and validity is not likely to become very apparent.
12. Integrating writing (not just copying) with subjects such as social studies and science helps students more easily learn the concepts of these subjects.
13. Student progress in writing should be evaluated through a single-draft essay on a state-designed topic.
14. It is important to have “structured times” for students to learn explicitly about the use of grammatical rules.
15. I feel I have a solid sense of how to teach writing to elementary/middle school students.

Discussion

As might be expected, many of the responses were affirmative. One hundred percent of the students either “strongly agreed or agreed” with item numbers 1, 10, and 12. Only 1% to 5% showed any disagreement with item numbers 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14. However, 41% “disagreed or strongly disagreed” with item number 2, while 35% “disagreed or strongly disagreed” with item number 11. Item numbers 3, 6, 8, and 11 revealed 5% or less in the “no opinion” category.

Twenty-four percent “disagreed or strongly disagreed” with item number 9, which is a somewhat curious finding, since for some time teachers have been encouraged to let young students spend time merely developing and elaborating their ideas without expectation of a final, published form. Equally surprising, only 21% disagreed with item number 5, indicating that some felt editing and revising should be addressed on every piece of writing. These two items also showed 5% or less in the “no opinion” category.

The most dramatic disagreement was found on item numbers 13 and 15. Eighty-five percent either “disagreed or strongly disagreed” with 13, which coincides with Nichols’ and Berliner’s findings that high-stakes testing in schools distorts and corrupts education, as well as limits the learning outcomes of students (Nichols & Berliner, 2007). Eighty-six percent disagreed or strongly disagreed with 15, an indication of the widespread feeling of the university students’ sense of inadequacy in approaching writing instruction in the elementary or middle school. These items revealed 3% or less opting for the “no opinion” category.

In order to help determine the effectiveness of a “writing course” for prospective elementary/middle school teachers, these university students who completed the survey at the beginning of the semester were asked to respond to this same survey at the end of the semester. The results for thirteen of the items showed negligible or no difference from the responses given at the beginning of the semester. Item number 3 showed a slight variance. Initially, 91% of the respondents either strongly agreed or agreed that teachers should provide their own examples in demonstrating the process being taught. The responses to this particular item at the end of the semester showed that 100% strongly agreed or agreed with this practice. During the course of the semester, the university students themselves completed writing assignments of various modes, including numerous narrative topics, as well as expository, persuasive, descriptive, and conversation writing. These are the actual modes that they, when certified, will conceivably be teaching to their own future students. In each instance, personal samples of mine were provided and, at the time of the assignment, the students universally agreed this practice was very helpful to them in fashioning their own product of that mode. Graham, MacArthur, and Fitzgerald (2007) have noted that teachers can facilitate young students’ understanding of the conventions of written language and modes by modeling writing behaviors. It appears that even university students can benefit from this careful guidance in written expression.

The greatest difference in response percentages from the “beginning and ending” administration of the survey was found in item number 15. The initial survey showed only 11% either strongly agreed or agreed that they had a solid sense of teaching writing to elementary or middle school students. At the end of the course, 83% fell in those two categories. Twelve percent still felt they did not have a solid sense of teaching writing and 5% had no opinion. I feel that much of the credit for this change in attitude can be attributed to the “win-win” situation alluded to in the opening paragraph of this paper. By working with actual fourth-grade students on their turf, with the focus solely on encouragement and improvement of the elementary students’ writing skills, the university students were able not only to offer much needed assistance to young, developing writers, but also to avail themselves of the opportunity to determine their own strengths and weaknesses as both writers and potential teachers of this subject.

Conclusion

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While the constant evolution of the cell phone, the explosion of the abbreviated approach of texting, and the many avenues for visual stimulation have perhaps made it seem that lucid, developed written expression is becoming less and less important in our everyday lives, the skill of crystallizing thought through use of the written word remains extremely critical. Writing is a powerful tool that makes it possible to convey knowledge with great detail and accuracy. It makes ideas readily available while encouraging the connections between them and promoting the exploration of unexamined assumptions.

Students use writing to communicate, share, learn, persuade, and explore feelings. Ultimately, it is an evaluative instrument essential to determining academic achievement. The power of writing resides in the many ways in which it can be used; it is a central component of daily life in industrialized societies, and those who do not learn to write well are unlikely to realize their educational, occupational, or personal potential.

In order to do a better job of teaching writing, educators need to be informed of what is known about the factors that foster writing proficiency and proven methods for promoting the development of this neglected “R.” This theoretical base can be learned to a degree in the formal classrooms through the use of textbooks, libraries, computers, and professorial lectures. But exposing university students directly to young learners who are in the early stages of developing their writing skill seems to be a worthy endeavor that merits consideration by all K-8 programs in colleges of education. If university students have the opportunity to interact with young students in programs designed to benefit both levels of learning, perhaps these prospective teachers will overcome any reluctance to inject frequent writing assignments into their future classroom curricula. The ripple effect of using this strategy to combat the neglected “R” could conceivably strengthen the skill to the extent that private companies and governmental offices no longer need to expend large sums of money to make up for the lack of writing skill they encounter in the workforce.

References


Historically, workplaces have been organized hierarchically, with each individual a subordinate to someone else. Usually one individual is clearly identified at the top of a “chain of command.” While such a corporate administrative structure is likely to be maintained to some degree in the future, new workplace models based on collaboration and community are increasingly emerging (Tapscott & Williams, 2007).

Collaborative skills are critical to the success of the contemporary workplace environment. As a result, managers and administrators are encouraging collaboration, specifically seeking to collectively focus a group's attention on a specific problem and solve it as quickly and as efficiently as possible (Sykes, 2011).

This movement toward the collaborative workplace has been tremendously accelerated through technology. More and more workers are accustomed to electronically interacting with others, sharing their voices and interacting with others through such technologies as Twitter, blogs, chat rooms, online forums, and other internet-based arenas. Because of these increasingly ubiquitous experiences, workers are bringing growing inherent expectations for collaborative practices to their workplaces. As is the case with most change, new challenges inevitably emerge.

For example, professionals in the contemporary workplace face complex decisions about whether to use wikis, blogs, groups, tags, bookmarks, simple file stores or even email when they want to work together (Matthews, Whittaker, Moran, & Yang, M., 2010). In fact, Gibson and Cohen (2003) report that virtual teams, in which members use technology to interact with one another across geographic, organizational, and other boundaries are becoming commonplace in organizations.

However, while the specific mechanisms through which collaboration is practiced may be evolving, certain fundamental characteristics about collaboration remain unchanged. This includes the potential for conflict, an outcome inherent in any interaction between human beings. While conflicts may be inevitable, they need not be insurmountable obstacles to the ultimate success of collaborative efforts. Indeed, some degree of conflict may well have utility at certain points in the collaborative process. What is required is that collaborators (a) recognize beforehand that conflicts are likely to emerge in any collaborative efforts, and (b) be prepared to address those conflicts in a healthy and productive fashion.

Trust

Trust issues remain a primary barrier to effective collaborative practice. Trust issues have been reported as the most universally cited of collaboration issues in the workplace (Beaulieu, M. D., Samson, L., Rocher, G., Rioux, M., Laurier Boucher, L., & Del Gran, C., 2009). In a 1989 study of team effectiveness, Larson and LaFasto found that teams are most productive when the surrounding atmosphere is one of trust. They go on to explain why trust is necessary for teams to function well together.

First, when team members trust each other, they can stay problem focused and goal oriented, rather than concentrating on guarding and protecting themselves. In the absence of trust, personal agendas come to the forefront, and considerable energies are expended in developing and protecting against personal attacks.

Second, an atmosphere of trust yields a more efficient use of time. Individuals can speak frankly and directly, without others trying to determine “what he’s really saying.”
Finally, when team members trust each other, each member feels comfortable in proposing answers or solutions that may be risky. Each is willing to propose possibilities that have some chance of failure. Participants will contribute ideas and suggestions freely, without worrying about potentially hurtful personal criticism. In social interactions characterized by mistrust, people tend not to propose answers, or to propose only those that are conservative and safe. This self-censoring results in the suppression of potentially valuable contributions.

Trust often functions as a self-fulfilling prophecy. If one enters into a relationship expecting rejection, one’s behaviors are likely to be suspicious and guarded. This will interfere with the development of mutual trust. In such a situation, the other is indeed likely to be wary of or even reject the suspicious individual, thus confirming his or her initial negative expectations. However, if one enters into a relationship anticipating that the other will be worthy of trust and based on that expresses support and acceptance of the other, it is likely that he or she will receive such support in return.

**Trust and Self-Disclosure**

Self-disclosure is the deliberate revealing of information about oneself that is significant and that normally would not be known by others (Adler & Towne, 1987). Only through mutual self-disclosure can individuals truly get to know one another, a mandatory requirement for effective collaborative practice. In doing this the two people build a similar and consistent view of their shared world. While there is potential risk in self-disclosure, as one repeats the process and begins to trust the other, the sense of potential risk diminishes. In addition, the act of self-disclosure makes it easier for the other also to self-disclose, further enhancing and building the level of mutual trust. This self-knowledge followed by self-disclosure is fundamental for the development of trust over time (Ratan, Chung, Shen, Williams, & Poole, 2010).

Self-disclosure in the absence of trust is risky. If one does not trust the person to whom self-disclosure is being made, one anticipates rejection and ridicule. Self-disclosure can result in either harmful consequences or beneficial ones. Trust exists when one expects that the other will respond in a way that produces beneficial consequences. Trust grows as each participant learns that (a) no self-disclosure will be criticized, and (b) all concerned will guard the self-disclosures made in that context, and will not share those self-disclosures with others. Expressions of warmth, accurate understanding, and cooperative intentions all serve to increase trust in a relationship, even when the involved parties have unresolved conflicts.

Trust can be lost or destroyed in several ways. If one’s self-disclosures are met with rejection, ridicule, criticism, or nonacceptance, any trust that has been built up will be damaged. In addition, to develop mutual trust, both participants must self-disclose. If the degree to which the two are willing to self-disclose is significantly unbalanced, the person who is more often self-disclosing may begin to feel overexposed and vulnerable.

Self-disclosure requires that one know about oneself. There are a number of ways to develop this knowledge. Much as professionals learn to watch colleagues and clients in order to learn about them, they also can learn to watch themselves more objectively, taking note of their own behaviors. Using other professionals as benchmarks or comparison points in these observations, especially those who are similar in key ways, can also help to enhance self-awareness.

Information that is shared through self-disclosure has two dimensions: breadth and depth (Altman & Taylor, 1973). Breadth refers to the variety of subjects that are discussed. For example, two work colleagues beginning a collaborative relationship are likely to start their relationship by sharing information on such topics as where each went to school, previous jobs, and so forth. As their relationship grows these topics are likely to growth in breadth, expanding into their lives away from work (hobbies, families, etc.).

Depth of self-disclosure refers to the degree to which the shared information is personal and revealing. As trust develops in a cooperative teaching relationship, each participant becomes more and more secure and comfortable in sharing potentially sensitive information. One way to consider depth of self-disclosure is in four levels: social clichés, factual self-disclosures, opinion-based self-disclosures, and personal feelings (Adler & Towne, 1987).
The first of these, social clichés, are those verbal exchanges people use routinely with each other. Interactions along the lines of “How are you?” “I’m fine; how are you?” and “Oh, I can’t complain” illustrate this surface level of interaction. Nothing personal is revealed. Nothing is risked.

At a somewhat deeper level are self-disclosures based on facts. A statement such as “Math has always been difficult for me. My grades in my college math courses were my lowest,” conveys a deeper level of self-disclosure.

The sharing of opinions operates at a still deeper and more intimate level than do fact-based self-disclosures. In sharing opinions, one more clearly reveals oneself, while simultaneously exposing oneself to greater risk of a critical or hurtful response from the other. A statement such as “I’ve never participated in a collaborative project before” is a factual one. However, saying, “I’m not sure that this push for collaboration here is a good idea” is a much more revealing level of self-disclosure.

The deepest types of self-disclosure are those describing one’s personal feelings. One person might say to another, “When you say you’ll finish a task and you don’t, I feel angry and taken advantage of.” This level of self-disclosure is intimate, as it opens one up to criticism at a very vulnerable level. However, when accomplished in a mutual atmosphere of trust, it also provides each participant with an additional sense of togetherness.

Each of these four levels of self-disclosure is appropriate in certain circumstances and inappropriate in others. What is important in a relationship such as cooperative teaching is that all participants are able to self-disclose and communicate at all four levels.

The process of self-disclosure is most effective when done at a deliberate and moderate pace, not advancing to deep levels inappropriately early in the relationship. Too rapid deep self-disclosure can scare another away. Strong relationships usually are built gradually.

However, self-disclosure that occurs too slowly hinders the development of mutual trust. Essentially the pace of advancement along this continuum of depth of self-disclosure depends on the level of mutual comfort with each other that is being established.

In self-disclosure one describes one’s feelings and reactions. In doing so one typically finds that these thoughts and feelings become clearer and easier to understand. In addition, as one self-discloses, the reactions of others to those disclosures help one become more aware of the nature of one’s beliefs and actions. This effect can be enhanced by soliciting feedback concerning one’s self-disclosures, simply following a self-disclosure from time to time with the question, “What do you think?”

The Emotional Bank Account

In his 1989 book The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People, Stephen Covey described the Emotional Bank Account. This metaphor is used to describe the amount of trust that has been built up in a relationship. One can build up a balance in this relationship account through kindness and trustworthiness, and can deplete or even overdraw the account through discourtesy or betraying trust. If the account is very low, then the relationship is threatened. This is because in such a situation at least one person must walk gingerly, being careful and measured with every word and deed. In the long term this will destroy a relationship.

To avoid such problems and instead build and maintain positive balances in their Emotional Bank Accounts, professionals working together in cooperative teaching must make frequent and major deposits. Covey outlines six ways that this can be done.

Understand the Partner

Colleagues working together should understand that what might be an emotional deposit in the account for one might actually be a withdrawal for the other. For example, one might find being a few minutes late for a meeting to be no big deal. However, his partner finds such behavior a powerful symbol of disrespect. Each time it happens, she grows a bit angrier at him, depleting the account. What must happen is for him to value her wish for promptness as importantly as he does their overall relationship. He must see that while promptness is not valuable to him, it is extremely so to her, and so he must respect the values that she holds. In so doing, he demonstrates understanding of her, and makes an important deposit in the account.

Attend to the Little Things
In relationships, often the so-called little things have big consequences. Small gestures can be critical. One working relationship observed by the authors blossomed after one partner began bringing donuts to the other on Monday mornings! The emotional message behind that small gesture facilitated the development of trust that carried the partners quickly to a very effective rapport.

*Keep Commitments*

Keeping a promise is a major deposit in the account, while breaking one is a major withdrawal. Covey (1989) asserted that there is no more massive withdrawal than failing to follow through on a commitment. People make plans and build upon the promises of others. When those promises are not kept, subsequent promises will be discounted. In collaboration, each must trust that the other will honor commitments to do particular tasks. Each time that is violated, the relationship is damaged. Failure to keep commitments is perhaps the most frequent cause of collaborative “divorces.”

*Clarify Expectations*

Many relationship difficulties emerge due to conflicting or ambiguous expectations around roles and goals. Often expectations are implicit and unspoken in relationships, based on the experiences of the individuals. In a new collaborative relationship, absent a history of experience in these new roles the expectations may not be clearly understood by all, especially early on. Workers in professional relationships with colleagues can make substantial contributions in the emotional bank account by making their expectations clear and explicit in the beginning. While it may seem easier to ignore differences in expectations, hoping that things will work out, in the end the relationship will be undermined by such an approach.

*Show Personal Integrity*

Integrity includes honesty, but goes further. Covey (1989) suggested that the best way to manifest integrity is to be loyal to those who are not present. When one defends those who are absent, one gains the trust of those who are present. In talking with each other, if one person criticizes another colleague to her partner, then the partner must wonder if he is similarly criticized at other times when he is not around.

*Apologize When Making a Withdrawal*

People make large withdrawals from the account when they are discourteous or break a trust. When this happens, the only way repairs can be made is to sincerely apologize. The simplest words (“I was wrong,” “I was disrespectful to you, and I’m deeply sorry”) are best. It takes strength and inner security for a partner in cooperative teaching to apologize when a wrong has been done. Some find it impossible, and their apologies come out insincere. This only further depletes the account.

As work colleagues move into collaborative relationships, perhaps the most challenging issue is the maintenance of their interpersonal relationship. Using the idea of the Emotional Bank Account as a way to think about and monitor that relationship can allow each to see the subtleties of their relationship in a more direct and practical way.

*Conflict*

Moving into collaborative work relationships requires the ability to resolve differences, to identify, develop, and implement “win–win” solutions. Conflict occurs when one perceives that another is interfering with his or her goal attainment, or when there is disagreement resulting from incompatible demands between or among two or more parties (Friend & Cook, 1992; Maurer, 1991).

Some degree of conflict is inevitable whenever two or more human beings interact. Conflict can result in growth, opportunity, and success. In fact, a moderate level of conflict is considered constructive, as a complete absence of conflict may reflect stagnation and/or lack of energy (Walther-Thomas et al., 2000). Thus, the goal is not necessarily to eliminate all conflict, but instead to understand it, minimize its risks, and maximize its benefits (Bolton, 1979).

*Conflict-Resolution Strategies*

There are varieties of ways in which people seek to minimize or resolve conflict. Some of these strategies are less effective than others.

*Less Effective Approaches to Conflict Resolution*

**Denial.** Every individual who has ever been in conflict has at some point sought to resolve the problem by telling himself that there is no problem. On occasions this strategy may work, as there may actually be no
conflict, or it may disappear on its own. However, usually denial simply results in conflicts growing larger, more complex, and ultimately more difficult to resolve.

**Avoidance.** In avoidance, people simply avoid the situations where the conflict is likely to emerge, either physically or emotionally withdrawing. In some cases, avoidance may be temporarily appropriate. From a collaborative perspective, avoidance is ultimately unproductive, as the involved individuals also are withdrawing from each other.

**Capitulation.** Since conflict is unpleasant for most people, some will simply give in to minimize the personal discomfort. Individuals who routinely practice capitulation as a conflict-resolution strategy do so in part by withholding information or opinions, making them unproductive team members.

**Domination.** Domination involves one person simply imposing his or her will upon another through verbal or even physical intimidation. People who often use domination as a means to settle disputes tend to interrupt and socially subordinate their colleagues. They often have intense if not glaring levels of eye contact, and their physical posture and demeanor is invasive and arrogant. The typical outcome of domination is the development of two-directional resentment. The dominated person comes to dislike and distrust the dominating partner, while the dominator comes to see the other as weak and not to be respected.

**Compromise and negotiation.** In negotiating and compromising, people reach agreements by each yielding to some degree on their initial wishes. Often the solution generated through compromise is at least workable, if not the best or first choice of anyone concerned. Compromise and negotiation can be successful if each believes that the sacrifices and gains of each are equal.

**Deference to expertise.** One approach to resolving conflicts is to defer to the individual who is more knowledgeable in that matter. However, this may distort the sense that the two individuals involved are peers. In addition, the question of who is the “expert” and more knowledgeable about any given situation may not be so easy to answer.

**Collaborative Problem Solving**

Bolton (1979) outlined an especially effective collaborative problem-solving process, a system based on John Dewey’s (1916) rules of logic in problem solving. The six steps of this simple yet effective process are as follows.

**Define the Problem in Terms of Needs, Not Solutions**

Much of the tension in conflicts comes about when two individuals propose different and incompatible solutions to a problem. This is resolved when each describes the problem in terms of their primary needs or the desired outcomes, not in terms of the solutions each developed to meet that need. One must be careful to distinguish between what one wants out of the situation (the need), and the strategy one developed to meet that goal (the means to that end). Often it is only the proposed solutions that are in conflict, not the individuals themselves.

**Brainstorm Possible Solutions**

In brainstorming, problem solvers seek to quickly generate as many ideas and solutions as possible without considering their merit and potential. The idea is to create quickly a large and diverse pool of possibilities. These will be more carefully considered and evaluated at a later time. It is important not to slow the rush of ideas by being critical in any way. All proposals and ideas are initially equally valued, initially recorded for later review and discussion regardless of their early apparent feasibility or lack thereof. This approach assures the widest possible beginning pool of ideas.

- Do not initially evaluate a suggestion.
- Do not initially offer great explanation for a suggestion.
- Remove limits, with no constraints whatsoever on initial suggestions.
- Prompt with a recorder periodically saying, “Okay, what else?”
- Expand and piggyback on the ideas of others.
- Record all contributions on a blackboard or large easel, using a few key words to capture the idea.
- Listen for natural break points or lulls.
Select the Solution that Seems Best to Address the Previously Identified Needs

Perhaps the best way to approach this is for each person to select privately the solutions that appear to meet his or her needs. Then these individually compiled lists are compared to find the choices selected in common. If the preliminary groundwork on defining the problem in terms of needs was done well, usually there will be one (or more) solutions identified by all participants as being good solutions.

Plan Who Will Do What, Where, and By When

At this point, the actual transformation of a theoretical solution into a concrete and practical plan must occur with explicit expectations for each involved party concerning who will do what. A written record of this is helpful in preventing future issues.

Implement the Plan

It is at this stage that any lack of clarity in the developed plan, or any overlooked issues, will become known. Even the most carefully developed plans will have gaps and oversights in them, simply because it is impossible to anticipate all potential scenarios. As unexpected issues emerge, the involved parties simply should return to the problem-solving system. This should be easier at this point, as the involved parties understand that their goals are harmonious.

Evaluate the Plan

The final stage in the collaborative problem-solving process is evaluation. Simply put, is the plan yielding the successful results that were anticipated?

Troubleshooting in Collaborative Problem Solving

Any process that attempts to guide interactions between people will have occasional difficulties. The following suggestions can help resolve the most common problems people experience as they implement collaborative problem-solving (Bolton, 1979).

Handle Emotions First

Strong emotions have a tremendous impact on the interactions of people. The primacy of strong emotions is such that, if they are present and ignored, any problem-solving efforts will be significantly impaired. Sometimes these emotions are based on unstated but substantial hidden agendas. It can be useful to wonder if there may be some other unstated problem, and to ask in the most nonthreatening way possible if there are any concerns. Once out in the open, these previously hidden issues can be addressed more effectively.

Define the problem

For collaborative problem solving to be effective, each participant must be willing and able to share his or her specific primary needs, not the solutions each participant independently generated in response to his or her own perceived needs. This vital step is easy to overlook. However, if the problem is not first defined in terms of needs, little progress can be made.

Do not interrupt brainstorming

When someone begins evaluating ideas as they initially are offered in a brainstorming session, many will understandably respond by no longer making suggestions. To gather the largest and most diverse pool of ideas, all participants must be receptive to all contributions, no matter how initially silly or far-fetched the ideas may seem.

Work out the details

It is easy to skip over the details aspects of the implementation of the solution. The actual specifics of how the plan will be carried out must be laid out for the plan to work.

Follow through and follow up

Many people will commit to certain responsibilities, and then find that follow-through is more difficult than anticipated. To minimize this, the specific duties and responsibilities of each should be clearly identified, agreed upon, and recorded. It is also useful to agree to check up on each other’s progress. If unanticipated hurdles emerge, it is important to identify these early on, before they become insurmountable.

Recycle the process

Often the best way to approach an apparently failed collaborative problem-solving process is to recycle through and repeat the six steps. This works best when the involved parties approach each step...
fresh and anew, rather than simply generating the identical (and ultimately unsatisfactory) responses they did the first time.

**Summary**

Perhaps more than ever, the contemporary workplace is characterized by teamwork and interdependence. While many professionals possess strong task-specific skills, they may lack the interpersonal skills and/or experiences necessary for this social component of professional success. Successful human interactions, especially those to be sustained over time, require certain qualities to be maximally effective. Chief among these is trust, which develops over time as a result of consistently safe and deeper levels of self-disclosure. Trust also emerges as a result of each individual attending to the health of the Emotional Bank Account, in which deposits are made by kind and thoughtful acts, and withdrawals through discourtesies and betrayals.

When the conflicts that are inevitable in any human interaction do surface, there are a number of ways people seek to resolve them. While a variety of less effective conflict resolutions are often employed by individuals, a particular effective approach to conflict resolution is Collaborative Problem-Solving. In this approach, participants seek to (a) define problems in terms of needs, not solutions, (b) brainstorm possible resolutions, and (c) implement the resolution that appears to respond best to those needs.

**References**


Introduction

As described by Johnson and Stoskopf (2010); Johnson (2009); Johnson and Johnson (2006) and Johnson, Ledlow, and Cwiek (2005), natural disasters continue to effect human populations and present significant challenges to communities and nation states. During the current decade from 2000-2010 we have seen some of the worst natural disasters in human history. This includes an earthquake induced tsunami in the Indian Ocean causing death and destruction in eight different countries; major earthquakes in India, El Salvador, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, China, Chile, and Haiti; large scale flooding in Pakistan, United States, and India; drought in Mali, Niger, Australia and United States; hurricanes in the United States, Mexico, and Caribbean; and in 2011 an earthquake off the Pacific coast off the Tōhoku region of Japan causing a tsunami and a nuclear crisis involving the Fukushima nuclear power plants. According to reports from affected countries and the United Nations, the worst of these in loss of human life was the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004 that resulted in 230,000 deaths and missing persons and the Haiti earthquake in 2010 that resulted in 222,570 deaths and over 300,000 serious injuries; while the disaster in Japan resulted in 15,783 deaths and 4,086 individuals missing. According to the United Nations, the long-term health implications of disaster and the following nuclear crises are yet to be revealed. Furthermore, all countries that experience major natural disasters also are challenged by infrastructure collapse; environmental degradation; population displacement; economic pressures; and an exacerbation of pre-existing social and political impairments. These can include an increase in crime, governmental corruption or ineptness, power struggles between competing interests, and significant threats to public health and safety. As described by Johnson and Johnson (2006) Hurricane Katrina demonstrated this very clearly and continues to be an example of how not to prepare for and respond to a natural disaster.

Since natural disasters affect human populations directly, it is imperative that we study them through the lenses of the social sciences. This includes sociology, geography, economics, political science, psychology, anthropology, and history among others. The New York based Social Science Research Council and many universities around the world have active social research programs focusing on disasters and their systemic effects. Furthermore, many interdisciplinary fields such as public health, education, public policy, environmental studies, and ecology have active research agendas in this area. The applied social and interdisciplinary sciences also serve to inform public policy and decision making at the local, national, and global levels. Most prominent in this arena are the various United Nations agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO); United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF); U.N. High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). Also, there are many non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) such as the Red Cross (ICRC), Oxfam, CARE, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), Partners in Health, and hundreds of others worldwide (Johnson and Stoskopf, 2010).
Case of Haiti

As so poignantly stated by Greg Beckett of the Social Science Research Council, “natural disasters follow the fault-lines of inequality” (Beckett, 2010). This is especially true for Haiti, a country that has long been identified as the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, ranking 145th of 169 countries on the Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2010). As described by Calhoun (2010), long before the 7.0 magnitude earthquake on January 12, 2010 that devastated the metropolitan capital city of Port-au-Prince and surrounding areas, the city was a disaster waiting to happen. It had a population of more than two million in a city with an infrastructure designed to sustain a population of 100,000 at best. The government failed to provide meaningful or quality services for schools, health care, electricity, water and sanitation, zoning and construction regulations, or protection of the environment. For example, prior to the earthquake only about 28 percent of Haitians had access to health care, 50 percent to potable water, and 10 percent with dependable electrical services. Many services were instead (and still are) provided by NGOs. In fact, there are more NGO’s per capita operating in Haiti than in any other country in the world, providing 70 percent of health care and 80 percent of public services to a population that lives on less than US$ 2 a day. Despite the many benefits of the NGO efforts, much focus has been on small-scale projects with no comprehensive plan and no overarching integration (Beckett, 2010).

According to Johnson and Stoskopf (2010) any country will be most affected by a natural disaster or human made disaster if it has not already addressed various social determinants of health such as poverty, unemployment, poor work environments, housing, transportation, nutrition, and social support, to name a few (Marmot, 2005). These can be predisposing characteristics that make a population more vulnerable. This certainly was the case with Haiti. If one looks at the building blocks for health systems as outlined by the World Health Organization (2010): service delivery, health workforce, health information, medical technology, health financing, leadership, and governance, they were nearly non-existent outside of the NGO community. Thus, the people of Haiti were living in precarious conditions with minimal resources and a fragile infrastructure before the earthquake.

Development Challenges in Haiti

The Inter-agency Standing Committee (IASC), led by the United Nations and collaborating humanitarian partners such as the International Commission of the Red Cross (ICRC), conducted a six month assessment of disaster response and recovery in Haiti. These findings, along with the OCHA Report (2010) indicate there had been much accomplished but a multi-year development effort will be needed. Despite huge logistical challenges and a disaster of enormous scale, international donors and agencies quickly mobilized to deliver medical care, food, water, shelter and security (Haver, 2011). Former U.S. President Bill Clinton, who was named U.N. special envoy to Haiti, indicated that getting there means helping create a functioning, stable society, something Haitians haven’t had for generations. He is co-chairing the international commission overseeing $5.3 billion in promised reconstruction aid.

Although initial successes where achieved in relief stages of the disaster response and recovery, since the IASC’s six month assessment there has been an ongoing cholera epidemic, 800,000 people still sleep in tents or without shelter, the streets of Port-au-Prince and many surrounding areas are filled with debris and rubble, and a new president, who’s election was marked by allegations of fraud, controversy and violent protests, who has failed to successfully appoint a prime minister. Despite praise the initial humanitarian response received, the ongoing response effort has been fiercely criticized for not doing enough and for not meeting both the Haitian population and the international community’s expectations (Haver, 2011). An October 2010 report from Refugees International (2010) stated that people’s lives were not improving but rather their circumstances were deteriorating. International aid organizations working in Haiti are not solely to blame for the slow recovery. Impediments from and the instability of the Haitian government coupled with reluctance form international organizations and foreign governments to honor promised financial obligations in there entirety has greatly contributed to the slow pace of the recovery.

Along with the slow pace, the other major shortcoming of the recovery effort has been insufficient engagement between the international humanitarian organizations and the Haitian civil society and
government. This lack of coordination has led to a dysfunction between some of the efforts that have been undertaken by aid workers and the needs of the Haitian people. Had there been a successful partnership between the humanitarian organizations, the Haitian government, local authorities, and Haitian civil society along with sufficient and effective communication with the affected population early in the response, it would have facilitated an understanding by the humanitarian organizations and aid workers about the operational context in which they are working and led to a more sustainable effort (University of Haiti & Tulane University, Disaster Resilience Leadership Academy, 2011). This mistake by the humanitarian organizations is not unique to the Haiti, but is rather a reoccurring theme that has historically plagued most humanitarian efforts.

The emphasis in the health sector was initially on providing emergency care and prevention of epidemic outbreaks. However, the transition from relief to recovery has facilitated a shift in focus toward the containment and elimination of the cholera epidemic and ensuring access to quality health services, with primary care as the entry point to the rest of the system. The IASC (2010) found a major challenge to be the serious damage sustained by health facilities, with 30 of the 49 hospitals in the region needing to be rebuilt. There continues to be efforts to strengthen outbreak control of the cholera epidemic and other infectious disease including disease surveillance, effective treatment and rehabilitation of injured patients, and ensuring the availability of essential drugs and medical supplies. According to the Haitian Ministry of Health, inadequate numbers of trained staff and a lack of facilities remains a serious challenge. Looking towards the future, the IASC asserts that an overall challenge for health services will be to work towards reducing financial barriers to ensure the development of a sustainable health system.

**Case of Japan**

In March of 2011 a magnitude 9.0 earthquake struck off the coast of Japan triggering a tsunami. This earthquake, the largest known to hit Japan in recorded history, killed at least 15,700 people and displaced more than 130,000. Most of the casualties and destruction is attributed to a series of large tsunami waves hitting Japan’s east coast that peaked at 37.88 meters (United States Geological Survey, 2011a). The Japanese archipelago is no stranger to disasters and has historically been plagued by earthquakes and tsunamis including the deadliest in Japanese history, commonly referred to as ‘The Great Tokyo Earthquake’ or ‘The Great Tokyo Fire’, which hit the Kanto plain around Tokyo in 1923 resulting in a massive fire and the death of over 100,000 people (United States Geological Survey, 2011b).

The tsunami waves that resulted from the 2011 earthquake caused widespread damage and affected several nuclear power facilities along the Japanese coast. The effects on the power plants varied with the most serious being TEPCO’s Fukushima-Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. These tsunami waves, estimated to be larger than 14 meters high, overwhelmed the defenses of TEPCO’s Fukushima Dai-ichi facility, which were only designed to withstand tsunami waves of a maximum of 5.7 meters high (International Atomic Energy Agency, 2011). The tsunami waves caused damage that lead to a blackout at the plant by rendering many of the backup generators useless resulting in a situation in which four of the nuclear reactors had no workable instrumentation and control systems to regulate reactor cooling. Three reactor units at quickly heated up due to usual reactor decay heating leading to a series of explosions causing radiological contamination to spread into the environment (International Atomic Energy Agency, 2011a). The nuclear accident at the Fukushima-Daiichi power plant is Japan’s twenty-first century ‘Great Tokyo Fire’.

In an address on September, 12, 2011 the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Director General provided an update on the situation declaring that the situation at the site remained very serious for many months but that the IAEA’s assessment now is that the reactors are essentially stable and the expectation is that the ‘cold shutdown’ of all the reactors will be achieved as planned (International Atomic Energy Agency, 2011c).

The accident at the Fukushima power plant led to the radioactive contamination of large areas throughout the Fukushima prefecture comprising of farmlands (agricultural areas), inhabited areas, and forests. In consultation with the IAEA, the Japanese government has launched a remediation effort (actions that may be applied to reduce the ongoing or future doses to members of the public) in and around Fukushima prefecture and the surrounding municipalities as a major part of the recovery effort.
As part of the remediation effort the Japanese government aims to reduce the estimated annual exposure dose to less than 20 mSv in the entire region and, in areas where an estimated annual exposure dose is already less than 20 mSv, the national government will work with municipalities and local residents to conduct effective remediation work in an effort to reduce the estimated annual exposure dose to less than 1 mSv (International Atomic Energy Agency, 2011b). In a report by the IAEA (2011b), the agency recognizes that remediation actions have social and economic implications and decisions have to take into account all aspects of a specific situation. The IAEA (2011b) suggests “the optimization of protection and safety is a process for ensuring that exposures and the number of exposed individuals are as low as reasonably achievable, with economic, societal and environmental factors taken into account to ensure that the level of protection will be the best possible under the prevailing circumstances. It requires both qualitative and quantitative judgments to be made” (p. 10).

**Case of New Orleans**

Hurricane Katrina was the costliest and one of the deadliest hurricanes in US history. After ravaging parts of southern Florida, Katrina gained strength in the Gulf of Mexico to a Saffir-Simpson Category 5 hurricane. The storm eventually dropped down to a strong Category 3 (sustained winds of 127) before making landfall at the gulf coasts of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The eye of the storm passed just 40 miles southeast of New Orleans with hurricane force winds extending outward up to 125 miles (Graumann et al., 2005). Katrina caused widespread destruction along the central Gulf Coast states and contributed to the eventual flooding of New Orleans, LA. The catastrophic flooding of New Orleans displaced 250,000 people, a higher number than during the Dust Bowl in the 1930s. The death toll from the storm exceeded 1800 and around $125 billion in damages (Graumann et al., 2005).

Although the hurricane itself was devastating to the region, the catastrophe in New Orleans was not directly from the storm but rather the breaching of the levee system used to restrain the waters of nearby rivers and estuaries, the largest and most immediate being Lake Pontchartrain. The storm surge cased the level of Lake Pontchartrain to rise which strained the levee system protecting New Orleans. As a result significant failures occurred in the levee system on the 17th Street Canal, Industrial Canal, and London Avenue Canal levees. As a result water poured into the New Orleans, which is mostly below sea level, flooding 80 percent of the city at depths up to 20 feet (Graumann et al., 2005).

Before the storm (and still today), New Orleans, like most major American cities, was characterized by extreme levels of poverty and racial segregation. Poor residents of the city were heavily concentrated into racially segregated areas. The poverty rate in 2000 was 28 percent, significantly higher than the national rate of 12 percent. Furthermore, the black poverty rate was 35 percent, three times higher than the 11 percent for their white counterparts (Hartman & Squires, 2006). Blacks and whites in New Orleans were quite literally living in two different worlds. Thus it is not surprising that the poor (mostly racial minorities) were disproportionately affected by the disaster. Many of the poorer neighborhoods were located in some of the most valuable places in the city in relation to the levee system. While many of the more affluent areas experienced flooding, the water levels were much lower in comparison, experiencing less damage. Many of the city’s more affluent white population was able to afford to evacuate the city before the storm. This was not an option for many of the city’s poorer black residents. Furthermore, most of the more affluent residents had insurance on the properties, creating a means to rebuild. Much of the city’s poor had no such insurance and many of the homes destroyed by the disaster remain vacant.

The protective levees system surrounding the city had long been neglected and inadequate leaving the city venerable to such a disaster (Hartman & Squires, 2006). However, this dilapidated infrastructure is not unique. In a report assessing infrastructure in the US after giving it a grade D, the American Society of Civil Engineers (2005) concluded that our deteriorating infrastructure “are constant reminders of a looming crisis that jeopardizes our nation’s prosperity and way of life”. In a follow-up report in 2009, they noted that since their 2005 assessment there had been little change and that a five-year investment of $2.2 trillion was needed from all levels of government and the private sector (American Society of Civil Engineers, 2009). The deteriorated levees system gave way under the stress of the elevated water levels. This breech of the levees, not Katrina, was the catastrophic disaster in New Orleans.
Social Systems Approach to Preparedness and Response

Natural disasters such as the ones previously mentioned, require systematic preparedness to protect populations and mitigate harm. In both preparing for and responding to disasters requires that multiple domains be attended to including physical, fiscal, medical, social, cultural, political, and environmental.

In Haiti, for example, the physical infrastructure was poorly built and lacked appropriate building regulations. Construction codes were substandard, not enforced, or were nonexistent. Fiscally, the country had a low GDP and was in debt to other countries and international monetary organizations. The medical system was comprised of a patchwork of NGO’s, poorly run government hospitals, and a few private facilities. Health professionals were under-paid and many not properly trained. The social domain of Haiti was exemplified by crime, corruption, and migration out of the country. Culturally, Haiti was very rich but due to poor economic conditions many artists and musicians often move away. The political domain was one of instability and ineptness with a long history of mistrust, corruption, and coup d'états. The environmental condition of the country prior to the earthquake was poor with much deforestation and widespread pollution. Since the earthquake, despite seemingly insurmountable challenges, there has been considerable effort with some success in each of these domains.

There are several critical success factors for all communities to consider when anticipating and addressing the challenges of natural disasters. As described by Johnson (2009), these include: training and education; mitigation of confusion, fear, and panic; time management; building a response capacity; economic empowerment; and coordination at all levels.

Training and Education - Training and education in advance is essential since there is no time for it during a disaster. This is a keystone to preparedness. Training allows for development of critical skills in health management, life support, communications, coordination, decision making, and supply chain management that are critical to the well-being of a community. Ideally, training is done periodically to assure currency. Additionally, education has a major role. This can be done through schools, the media, and many NGO’s and community organizations to help the public understand disaster preparedness and to better know what steps they should take before and after.

Mitigation of Confusion, Fear and Panic - Mitigation of confusion and panic is important in any crisis situation. The natural tendency of humans in a state of confusion is to panic. If this occurs, more harm can result. Discussions about disaster preparedness within the communities, schools, churches, and businesses of a range of possibilities and response scenarios help to mitigate confusion. Fast and clear communications at all levels is essential. No one should be left without information and guidance. Often the greatest fear comes from uncertainty.

Time Management - Time management is critical in all matters pertaining to disaster. From early warning to evacuation and relief response time and its’ management are crucial to reduce loss and suffering. The international effort in Haiti is an example of an effective response time but the sustained long-term recovery has failed in this regard providing for criticism and frustration. Much of this is due to poor planning and coordination. Some of it can also be attributed to failures in leadership across the full spectrum of governance.

Building Response Capacity - Building response capacity prior to an event cannot be underestimated in its’ value. This may be in the form of trained personnel, an adequate evacuation transport system, solid infrastructure, supplies and materials for post event needs, equipment and machinery for cleanup, communications technology, and anything else that would be an anticipated need in time of crisis. Sometimes this will involve stockpiling and other times it will necessitate reliance on neighboring communities or countries unaffected by the disaster.

Economic Empowerment - Economic empowerment is the backbone of preparedness and relief in times of disaster. The wherewithal to fund the training and establish needed stockpiles ultimately comes down to economics. Likewise, in relief and recovery, both short-term and long-term, there is a great need for economic empowerment of communities and affected individuals. This requires both skill and responsibility. Of the billions of dollars spent on relief efforts since 2000, very little of it has been tracked and perhaps not even managed effectively. The University of California, Irvine has established
an institute within the School of Social Sciences to assist Haiti and other poor countries develop financial services that lead to economic empowerment (IMTFI, 2010).

**Coordination at All Levels**-Coordination at all levels before, during, and after a disaster is imperative to any hope of the best possible outcomes. There are so many agencies, corporations, volunteer groups, and individuals involved that coordination is sometimes a daunting task. Nevertheless, it is important to all the other critical success factors identified above. Each level and across domains and jurisdictions the coordination of effort is necessary. This may require advanced simulations, prior negotiations, and mock events to reach a level of preparedness that is needed. One approach that holds promise is the concept of “teams of leaders” where individuals who lead various NGO’s and government agencies have been trained in advance to work collaboratively. A Center for Collaborative Health Leadership is being developed jointly by Central Michigan University and University of Western Ontario to provide teams of leaders training.

During the acute phase of any disaster response there are common tasks that need to be undertaken in response to the crisis. Johnson and Johnson (2006) in their work during and subsequent study of the hurricane Katrina relief effort identify the following as essential: 1) warnings and evacuations (not as likely with earthquakes); 2) search and rescue; 3) inter-organizational coordination; 4) resources management; 5) triage and casualty distribution; 6) patient care and infrastructure; 7) patient and refugee tracking; 8) management of volunteers and donations; 9) working with media; 10) leadership coordination; and 11) organized improvisation.

**Conclusion**

While the prevalence and severity of natural disasters is likely to increase due to trends in development, population growth, and climate change (Uscher-Pines, 2009), there are opportunities to learn from past experiences. Some common approaches and practices have been identified that seem universal in their applicability to preparedness and response. Through ongoing study and application, social scientists can better monitor efforts and help develop more effective policies to address social determinants and the myriad challenges faced by affected populations and communities at risk of future disasters. As indicated earlier, natural disasters do not occur in a social vacuum, more often than not, they can also be classified as social disasters. In fact, they are systemically connected to everything humans do in the social world, including how and where we build our cities. Social scientists using the perspectives of systems thinking can better inform policy and planning to help mitigate the human, financial, and physical costs of natural and human created disasters.
References


Sparking Girls’ Interest in Technology: The NSF Tri-IT Project

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Abstract

The Tri-Regional Information Technology (Tri-IT) research project was a $1.5 million National Science Foundation (NSF) grant that sought to address gender inequality by providing after-school technology experiences to high school girls (n = 360). A treatment group of 180 girls in six high schools in North Florida was compared to a control group of 180 girls. Schools targeted were high minority, low socioeconomic status (SES) schools. Students in the treatment group received 280 hours of IT instruction, including three 40-hour summer academies and 40 hours of after-school instruction each fall and spring for two years. Staff administered three pre- and post-assessments to each treatment and control group student: the Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire, Computer Attitude Questionnaire, and TechLiteracy Assessment. Findings indicate gains in knowledge and confidence, and paradoxically, a decrease in interest and motivation, possibly due to a time of year effect. Thirteen curriculum modules, summer academies, and podcasts are available for public dissemination at www.t3girls.com. The educational modules were designed to spark girls’ interest by employing constructivist learning principles, feminist pedagogies, and a multicultural curriculum. The purpose of the study was to advance the currently limited understanding of how to increase girls’ interest, skills, and confidence in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) and information technology (IT) in particular. The project was especially significant as few women and even fewer women of color, pursue careers in the lucrative field of IT.

Introduction

Computers are an integral part of today’s media saturated society (Birch, 2011), but researchers have documented that there are gender differences in the use of computer technology (Chronaki & Vekiri, 2008). Although differences are diminishing, boys still tend to use computers more and have more self-confidence and higher reported computer skills as compared to girls, even in the areas of gaming, Internet usage and music downloading (Sink, Sink, Stob, & Taniguchi, 2008).

Girls are also less likely to consider technology-related studies in college or technology related careers (Singh, Allen, Scheckler, & Darlington, 2007; Morris & Daniel, 2008). High school girls experience a gap between the technologies they use and how that knowledge could translate into a career (Chronaki & Vekiri, 2008). African American girls, in particular, and their relationships to technology are narrowly understood and rarely explored (Buck, Cook, Quigley, Lucas, & Eastwood, 2009). Few girls and even fewer girls of color enroll in information technology courses in high school or major in technology fields in college, a phenomenon which is attributed to their lack of interest in technology, lack of technology skills, and lack of confidence in their abilities (Buck et al., 2009). In response to this concern, researchers and educators are calling for more programs to enhance girls’ interactions with technology (Craig, Lang, & Fisher, 2008).

This study will advance the currently limited understanding of how to increase girls’ interest, skills, and confidence in information technology (IT). The project is especially significant as few women and fewer women of color pursue careers in the lucrative field of information technology. Women earn less than 0.34% of doctoral degrees in computer science and less than 0.58% in engineering degrees (“Anita
The long-term goal of this project is for participating girls to pursue college majors and careers in IT.

**Literature Review**

Although half of the US population of college students and the US workforce is female, women hold less than 25% of science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) jobs in the nation (Beede et al., 2011). According to Frink (2011), “women currently comprise 18% of computer science undergraduate majors, down from 37% in 1985.” There is a growing concern about the lack of women in the computer science field, which is the basis for numerous research studies to determine the reasons for such a disconnect (Sink, et al., 2008). In one of the most notable studies, Cooper (2006) focused on younger children and the use of and interest in computers, particularly the differences between boys and girls. Kay (2007) reported that the difference in attitude towards computers is significantly higher as girls get older, with no difference in technology attitudes between boys and girls attending 4th grade, but considerable negative attitudes towards computers shown by girls attending 7th and 8th grade.

Ensmenger (2010) attributed the gender gap to a social representation of the computer scientist population, a stereotype of the introverted, socially awkward male. As girls do not associate themselves with this stereotype, they are not interested in pursuing computer careers. Additionally, researchers cite the lack of confidence in their abilities as a reason why girls do not pursue majors in technology (Buck et al., 2009). In 1996, women comprised 41% of the technology workforce, but by 2004, that ratio had dropped to 32% (ITAA, 2005). A 2006 survey of the Society of Women Engineers indicated that 75% of American girls have no interest in pursuing a career in science, mathematics, or technology. The presence of mentors and role models can help (Tyler-Wood, Ellison, Lim, & Periaithiruvadi, 2011). Beyond college, Farmer, Wardrop, Anderson, and Risinger (1995) found a positive relationship between career persistence among women in science, math, and technology and the number of high school science courses taken.

The lack of equal representation for women of color in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) is a special problem (Klawe, Whitney, & Simard, 2008). While inequities in STEM fields exist for all girls, they are compounded for girls of color and confidence-building activities are essential (Birenbaum & Nasser, 2006; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). Research shows that African American girls are especially affected by the math and science support they are provided and greatly benefit from STEM focused career development (West-Olatunji et al., 2010). Hence, interventions for pre-college girls are essential. According to Rollock (2007), the limited research on African American girls suggests some unique racialized-genderized patterns of behavior. The current literature on girls in science and technology does not adequately address issues of race, gender, and income status of girls or their treatment in technology based classrooms (Buck et al., 2009).

**Conceptual Framework**

According to self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1997), people’s beliefs in their ability to succeed in certain areas influence what they choose to pursue and how much effort they are willing to put forth to be successful. Individuals with high self-efficacy in a given area are more likely to be motivated to persist and succeed. Perceptions of environment can influence students’ self-efficacy and, consequently, their success. Incorporating feminist pedagogies (such as instructional methods that appeal to the needs and preferred learning styles of women) may be one way to increase the success of women, especially those in non-traditional majors. In contrast to traditional teaching methods, feminist pedagogies such as collaborative learning may help create a classroom climate that is more conducive to learning for women (Rosser, 1990).

The pedagogical approach of the curriculum development was a combination of constructivist principles, feminist pedagogies, and self-efficacy theory. There was also a great emphasis on developing an inclusive, multicultural curriculum, incorporating a number of strategies from the existing body of research including aspects of Banks’ (2004) model of multicultural curriculum integration in the development and implementation of the program. Some curriculum content was adapted from Enhancing Science and Technology Education and Exploration Mentoring (CWIT, 2007) and TechBridge (Chabot, 2008), both previously funded NSF projects, however most content was developed by consultants and project team members with expertise in curriculum design.
Research-based strategies were incorporated to engage girls in STEM, including: collaborative learning, emphasis on practical applications, teaching science in a more holistic and social context, hands-on experiences, career exploration including field trips, and role models and mentors. These strategies have been successful in improving girls’ self-confidence and interest in STEM courses and careers (Tyler-Wood et al., 2011); and these strategies have a positive impact on girls’ continuation in quantitative disciplines and sciences (Campbell, Jolly, Hoey, & Perlman, 2002; Koch, 2002; Lee, 1997; Weglinsky, 2000).

When assessing interest and motivation, research shows that the time of year an assessment is administered to students can significantly affect the results (Lavrakas, 2008; Tomal, 2010). Although the beginning and end of an academic school year are the times when pre- and post-assessments are most often administered, both are suboptimal times to administer assessments, as participants can be busy with preparations or may be focused on the upcoming break (Tomal, 2010). According to Lavrakas (2008), when designing an assessment, it is important to consider not only the purpose of the assessment, but also the events that will occur during the proposed testing time, particularly when the participants are high school students who are facing holiday breaks and summer vacation.

**Project Overview**

The Tri-Regional Information Technology (Tri-IT) research project was a $1.5 million grant funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF) Innovative Technology Experience for Students and Teachers (ITEST) program (Grant No. DRL-0833628) to provide after-school technology experiences to high school girls. Three institutions of higher education in North Florida were partners in the project, including one historically black college and university (HBCU). The project received the Florida Association of Community Colleges Equity Commission’s Exemplary Practice Award for Reach-Out and Access in 2009. The National Science Foundation funded the Tri-IT project from October 2008 through September 2011, with a no-cost extension requested through September 2012.

A treatment group of 180 girls in six high schools in North Florida was compared to a control group of 180 girls who also applied to be in the program. Students in the treatment group received 280 hours of instruction and activities, including three 40-hour summer camps and 40 hours of after-school IT instruction and activities each fall and spring for two years. The after-school IT programs met once or twice a week during the school year and on some Saturdays. The project began in summer 2009 and ended in summer 2011.

The thirteen modules created for the project included: Animation, Digital Media, Web Design I, Green Living, Robotics, Science of Scent, CSI Forensics, Web Design II, Electronics, Design and Manufacturing, Rocketry, Health and Wellness and Computer Systems Engineering. The three summer camps were focused on Global Information Systems/Global Positioning Systems (GIS/GPS), Podcasting and Mobile Devices. All curriculum modules, educational materials and summer camps are available for public use and dissemination at [www.t3girls.com](http://www.t3girls.com).

**Methods and Procedures**

The research portion of the project followed a quasi-experimental design. Each of the three partnering institutions identified two pairs of high schools (four total high schools at each of the three college sites, for a total of twelve high schools) which were demographically similar, based on socioeconomic status (SES) and ethnicity. Schools with a student population that is low SES with a high minority representation had preference for the purpose of the study.

Tri-IT staff administered each treatment and control group three assessments at the beginning of the first academic year and end of the project: the Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ) (Pintrich, Smith, Garcia, & McKeachie, 1991), the Computer Attitude Questionnaire (CAQ) (Knezek, & Christensen, 1995), and the TechLiteracy Assessment (learning.com, n.d.; Black, Ferdig, & DiPietro, 2008). Each of the thirteen curriculum modules and the three summer camps included a pre- and post-test with a knowledge scale and confidence scale.

**Study Sample Size and Selection**

A cohort of 9th grade girls (n = 360) was the targeted audience. The sample was to consist of 120 high school students associated with each of the three institutions of higher education. One hundred eighty of
these students (60 from each college) were to be a part of the treatment group and 180 (60 from each college) were to be in the control group. Both groups were followed from 9th through 11th grade.

The after-school technology program was marketed to all 9th grade girls at all twelve selected high schools. Girls completed an application process, which included obtaining parental permission. After the recruitment period was completed, two of the four schools at each college site were randomly selected as the treatment group (one school from each demographically similar pair) and the other two schools served as the control group.

All participants and their parents were asked to sign an informed consent form. Students’ responses were held confidential and only aggregated data were presented. Institutional Review Board approval for the study was obtained from prior to the collection of any data.

**Research Instruments**

The Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (Pintrich et al., 1991) was selected because it was specifically recommended by a NSF staff member at the NSF ITEST Summit for all grant recipients. The Computer Attitude Questionnaire (Knezek, & Christensen, 1995) was also recommended at the NSF ITEST Summit. The TechLiteracy Assessment (learning.com, n.d.; Black, Ferdig, & DiPietro, 2008) was selected because it was approved by the International Society for Technology in Education (ISTE), which is considered a reputable source for technology in education. As the curriculum for the weekly activities and summer academies was developed by project staff and consultants, the pre- and post-test assessments were developed by them as well.

The MSLQ is an 81-item scale with two subscales, including Motivation and Learning Strategies. It is a self-report instrument designed to assess motivation orientations and use of different learning strategies for a course. Only Subscale I: Motivation, with 31 items, was included in the study. The motivation scale assesses students’ goals and value beliefs for a course, beliefs about skills to succeed in a course, and their anxiety about tests in a course.

The CAQ Version 5.22 is an 85-item self-report instrument designed to measure student’s perceptions, attitudes and dispositions rather than achievement. The CAQ has seven subscales, including: (1) Computer Importance, (2) Study Habits, (3) Empathy, (4) Motivation/ Persistence, (5) Creative Tendencies, (6) Email, and (7) School. While students in this study took the entire questionnaire, only Subscale I: Computer Importance, with 20 items, is included in this initial data analysis.

The TechLiteracy Assessment is a 47-item scale, which is administered online. It is designed to measure students’ proficiency with the technology tools, knowledge, and skills considered relevant to predicting their success in modern classrooms. There are seven modules on the assessment, including: (1) Systems and Fundamentals, (2) Social and Ethical, (3) Word Processing, (4) Spreadsheets, (5) Multimedia and Presentations, (6) Telecommunications and Internet, and (7) Database.

The pre- and post-test for each of Summer Camps included 5 multiple-choice items on the knowledge scale and 10 items on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1-strongly disagree to 5-strongly agree, on the confidence scale. The possible range of scores for the knowledge scale was 0 to 5 points. The range of scores on the confidence scale was 10 to 50 points. As the project team realized the need for a greater spread, in order to show greater variation in responses, the number of items increased to 10 items on the knowledge scale and 10 items on the confidence scale for the curriculum modules.

**Data Collection and Analysis**

Project staff at each of the three college sites administered paper versions of the MSLQ and CAQ, and the TechLiteracy Assessment online, to both the treatment and control group students. The data analysis included running descriptive and inferential statistics for the summer camp and curriculum module assessments, including means and standard deviations. T-tests were conducted for the MSLQ, CAQ and TechLiteracy Assessment, comparing treatment group scores to control group scores. Only cases with both a pre- and post-test score were included in the data analysis for that particular assessment and all cases with any missing items for a specific assessment were eliminated from the data analysis for that assessment. Except for the summer camps, scores were not broken out by college site and only aggregated data are reported.
Limitations and Delimitations

A limitation of the study is that random selection of participants did not occur. As students applied to be in the program, all students in the study were presumably motivated to participate and interested in technology. The delimitations of this study were that participants were females who attended one of the twelve high schools in North Florida, which were selected for the study. Schools targeted were those with high minority enrollment and low socioeconomic status. Hence, the generalizability of the results is limited.

Findings

The original goal to recruit 360 students was achieved. At the end of the project in June 2011, 364 students had been recruited, however only 131 students were currently active. Therefore, while the study sample consisted of 364 students, the number of students taking both the pre- and post-test varied for each of the assessments.

Findings indicate gains in knowledge and confidence, as measured by pre- and post-tests for the modules and summer camps, in most cases. Students in the treatment group had greater gains in technology skills, as measured by the TechLiteracy Assessment, than the control group, and the difference was statistically significant. Paradoxically, students in the treatment group showed decreases in motivation, as measured by the MSLQ, and decreases in computer interest, as measured by the CAQ, while the control group showed gains in motivation and computer interest, although the differences between the two groups were not statistically significant for either the MSLQ or CAQ.

Curriculum Modules

Student attendance was factored into the data analysis for the curriculum modules in order to determine if attendance made a difference in the students’ scores. If a student attended all sessions, they were coded full-time (FT) for this data analysis. If a student missed any sessions, they were coded as part-time (PT). Results for each module are presented below:

Module 1 – Animation. Scores on the Animation curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for full-time (FT) students ($M = 1.70, SD = 2.05, n = 23$) as compared to part-time (PT) students ($M = 1.22, SD = 1.65, n = 23$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for FT students ($M = 20.48, SD = 11.42, n = 23$) as compared to PT students ($M = 16.52, SD = 6.68, n = 23$). Although there was a higher reported gain in both knowledge and confidence from full-time students, there was no statistical difference ($p > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(32) = .33, p = .58$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(35.47) = 1.43, p = .08$ (two-tailed). Results indicate that there was a gain in both knowledge and confidence for both groups of students (full-time and part-time attendance).

Module 2 – Digital Media. Scores on the Digital Media curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for PT students ($M = 1.20, SD = 1.86, n = 15$) as compared to FT students ($M = 1.05, SD = 2.44, n = 19$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for FT students ($M = 8.32, SD = 11.97, n = 19$) as compared to PT students ($M = 7.07, SD = 9.06, n = 15$). Although there was a higher reported gain in knowledge from part-time students and higher confidence from full-time students, there is no statistical difference ($p > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(32) = -.19, p = .58$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(32) = .33, p = .37$ (two-tailed). Results indicate that there was a gain in both knowledge and confidence for both groups of students (full-time and part-time attendance).

Module 3 – Web Design I. Scores on the Web Design I curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for PT students ($M = 2.95, SD = 2.52, n = 22$) as compared to FT students ($M = 2.67, SD = 1.58, n = 9$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for FT students ($M = 9.78, SD = 5.50, n = 9$) as compared to PT students ($M = 9.00, SD = 9.45, n = 22$). Although there was a higher reported gain in knowledge from part-time students and higher confidence from full-time students, there is no statistical difference ($p > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(29) = -.32, p = .62$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(29) = .23, p = .41$ (two-tailed). Results indicate that there was a gain in both knowledge and confidence for both groups of students (full-time and part-time attendance).

Module 4 – Green Living. Scores on the Green Living curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for PT students ($M = .86, SD = 1.88, n = 22$) as compared to FT students ($M = .33, SD = 1.80, n = 9$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for FT students ($M = 4.67, SD = 4.46, n = 9$) as
compared to PT students ($M = 3.26, SD = 6.97, n = 23$). Although there was a higher reported gain in knowledge from part-time students and higher confidence from full-time students, there was no statistical difference ($p = > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(30) = .74, p = .77$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(30) = .56, p = .29$ (two-tailed). Results indicate that there was a gain in both knowledge and confidence for both groups of students (full-time and part-time attendance).

**Module 5 – Robotics.** Scores on the Green Living curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for FT students ($M = 1.23, SD = 1.68, n = 17$) as compared to PT students ($M = .62, SD = 1.93, n = 24$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for PT students ($M = 13.17, SD = 6.67, n = 24$) as compared to FT students ($M = 12.06 SD = 6.30, n = 17$). Although there was a higher reported gain in knowledge from full-time students and higher confidence from part-time students, there was no statistical difference ($p = > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(30) = 1.05, p = .15$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(39) = -.53 p = .70$ (two-tailed). Results indicate that there was a gain in both knowledge and confidence for both groups of students (full-time and part-time attendance).

**Module 6 – Science of Scent.** Scores on the Science of Scent curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for full-time (FT) students ($M = 2.35, SD = 1.88, n = 23$) as compared to part-time (PT) students ($M = .10, SD = 2.52, n = 13$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for FT students ($M = 16.91, SD = 10.58, n = 23$) as compared to PT students ($M = 15.38, SD = 7.30, n = 13$). Although there was a higher reported gain in both knowledge and confidence from full-time students, there was no statistical difference ($p = > .05$) between the two groups in their confidence gain – $t(34) = .46, p = .32$ (two-tailed); however, there was a significant difference in their knowledge gain – $t(34) = 1.94, p = .03$ (two-tailed), indicating that students in a full-time status reported a considerable higher knowledge gain than part-time students. Overall results indicate that there was a gain in both knowledge and confidence for both groups of students (full-time and part-time attendance).

**Module 7 – CSI Forensics.** Scores on the CSI Forensics curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for FT students ($M = 1.75, SD = 1.76, n = 12$) as compared to PT students ($M = 1.2105, SD = 1.98827, n = 19$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for FT students ($M = 13.60, SD = 8.25 n = 12$) as compared to PT students ($M = 13.47, SD = 10.28, n = 19$). Although there was a higher reported gain in both knowledge and confidence from full-time students, there was no statistical difference ($p = > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(29) = .76, p = .22$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(29) = .03, p = .49$ (two-tailed). Results indicate that there was a gain in both knowledge and confidence for both groups of students (full-time and part-time attendance).

**Module 8 – Web Design II.** Scores on the Web Design II curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for PT students ($M = 3.00, n = 1$) as compared to FT students ($M = 1.36, SD = 2.32, n = 25$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for FT students ($M = 13.00, SD = 10.08, n = 25$) as compared to PT students ($M = 11.00, n = 1$). Although there was a higher reported gain in knowledge from part-time students and higher confidence from full-time students, there was no statistical difference ($p = > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(24) = -.70, p = .75$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(24) = .19, p = .42$ (two-tailed). Results indicate that there was a gain in both knowledge and confidence for both groups of students (full-time and part-time attendance).

**Module 9 – Electronics.** Scores on the Electronics curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for PT students ($M = 2.22, SD = 2.63, n = 9$) as compared to FT students ($M = .72, SD = 2.11, n = 18$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for PT students ($M = 12.11, SD = 10.97, n = 9$) as compared to FT students ($M = 9.90, SD = 9.47, n = 18$). Although there was a higher reported gain in both knowledge and confidence from part-time students, there was no statistical difference ($p = > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(25) = 1.60, p = .9394$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(25) = 1.55 p = .70$ (two-tailed). Results indicate that there was a gain in both knowledge and confidence for both groups of students (full-time and part-time attendance).

**Module 10 – Design and Manufacturing.** Scores on the Design and Manufacturing curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for FT students ($M = 2.00, SD = 1.86, n = 12$) as compared to PT students ($M = .00, SD = .14, n = 11$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for PT students ($M = 5.45, SD = 7.94, n = 11$) as compared to FT students ($M = 5.33, SD = 14.55, n = 12$). There was a
significant difference ($p > .05$) in FT student knowledge gain, as compared to PT students – $t(21) = 2.88$, $p = .00$ (two-tailed), indicating that students in a full-time status reported a considerable higher knowledge gain than part-time students, with a difference in gain from FT students as compared to PT students of approximately 1 standard deviation (Cohen’s $d = 1.21$). However, there was no statistical difference between the two groups in their confidence gain – $t(21) = -.02$, $p = .51$ (two-tailed).

**Module 11 – Rocketry.** Scores on the Rocketry curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for PT students ($M = 2.87, SD = 2.03$ $n = 8$) as compared to PT students ($M = 1.33, SD = .58$, $n = 3$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for FT students ($M = 13.67, SD = 17.56$, $n = 3$) as compared to PT students ($M = 13.37, SD = 6.16$ $n = 8$). Although there was a higher reported gain in knowledge from part-time students and higher confidence from full-time students, there was no statistical difference ($p > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(9) = -1.26$, $p = .23$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(9) = .04$, $p = .48$ (two-tailed). Results indicate that there was a gain in both knowledge and confidence for both groups of students (full-time and part-time attendance).

**Module 12 – Health and Wellness.** Scores on the Health and Wellness curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for PT students ($M = .09, SD = 2.34, n = 11$) as compared to PT students ($M = .50, SD = 2.66, n = 6$) and a higher reported gain in confidence for PT students ($M = 12.33, SD = 18.06, n = 6$) as compared to FT students ($M = -1.45, SD = 19.78, n = 11$). Although there was a higher reported gain in knowledge from full-time students and higher confidence from part-time students, there was no statistical difference ($p > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(15) = -.33, p = .75$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(15) = -1.41, p = .19$ (two-tailed).

**Module 13 – Computer Systems Engineering.** Scores on the Computer Systems Engineering curriculum module indicated a higher reported gain in knowledge for PT students ($M = 1.60, SD = .55, n = 5$) as compared to FT students ($M = -3.00, SD = 2.64, n = 3$); and a higher reported gain in confidence for PT students ($M = 11.00, SD = 10.68, n = 5$) as compared to FT students ($M = 9.00, SD = 8.66, n = 3$). Although there was a higher reported gain both in knowledge and confidence from part-time students, there is no statistical difference ($p > .05$) between the two groups: (a) knowledge – $t(6) = -3.96, p = 1.00$ (two-tailed); and (b) confidence – $t(6) = -.27, p = .60$ (two-tailed).

**Summer Camps.**

**2009 Summer Camps.** Summer camp scores indicated gains in knowledge and confidence at two of the three sites. Scores for the GIS/GPS camp indicated a gain in knowledge ($M = 1.00, SD = .63, n = 6$) and a gain in confidence ($M = 12.83, SD = 5.38, n = 6$). Scores for the Podcasting camp also indicated a gain in knowledge ($M = 1.85, SD = .82, n = 34$) and a gain in confidence ($M = 13.88, SD = 5.54, n = 34$). While scores for the Mobile Devices camp indicated a loss in knowledge as measured by the post-test ($M = -6.61, SD = .52, n = 18$), scores indicated a gain in confidence ($M = 6.61, SD = 7.90, n = 18$).

**2010 Summer Camps.** Summer camp scores indicated gains in knowledge at all three sites, and a gain in confidence at two of the three sites, as there were no scores recorded for one of the sites. Scores for the Podcasting camp indicated a gain in knowledge ($M = 1.43, SD = .79, n = 7$) and a gain in confidence ($M = 12.14, SD = 3.72, n = 7$). Scores for the Mobile Devices camp also indicated a gain in knowledge ($M = 1.22, SD = 1.04, n = 23$) and a gain in confidence ($M = 10.52, SD = 6.88, n = 23$). Scores for the Podcasting camp also indicated a gain in knowledge ($M = .33, SD = .52, n = 6$); however, no scores for the confidence pre and posttests were reported.

**2011 Summer Camps.** Summer camp scores indicated gains in knowledge and confidence at all three sites. Scores for the Mobile Devices camp indicated a gain in knowledge ($M = 1.55, SD = 1.24, n = 9$) and a gain in confidence ($M = 4.33, SD = 6.67, n = 9$). Scores for the GIS/GPS camp also indicated a gain in knowledge ($M = 1.10, SD = 1.62, n = 20$) and a gain in confidence ($M = 16.75, SD = 8.62, n = 20$). Scores for the Podcasting camp also indicated a gain in knowledge ($M = 2.00, SD = 1.58, n = 5$) and a gain in confidence ($M = 11.20, SD = 5.02, n = 5$).

**Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire.**

On the MSLQ, 30 students took both the pre- and post-tests, with all questions answered: 17 students were in the treatment group, and 13 students were in the control group. Gain scores on the MSLQ indicated a loss in motivation for the treatment group ($M = -10.82, SD = 31.78, n = 17$), while the control
group reported a slight gain in motivation ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 19.25$, $n = 13$). Although there was a drop in scores on the MSLQ treatment group, it was not statistically significant ($p > .05$), $t(28) = -1.44$, $p = .92$ (two-tailed) when both groups were evaluated through independent t-tests. The difference in decline between the two groups was approximately 1/2 of one standard deviation (Cohen’s $d = - .54$).

**Computer Attitude Questionnaire**

On the CAQ, 63 students took both the pre- and post-tests, with all questions answered: 39 students were in the treatment group, and 24 students were in the control group. Gains scores on the CAQ indicated decreases in computer interest for the treatment group ($M = -5.26$, $SD = 9.70$, $n = 39$), while the control group reported a slight gain in interest ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 10.24$, $n = 24$). Although there was a drop in scores on the CAQ treatment group, the difference in decline between the two groups was not statistically significant ($p > .05$), $t(361) = -3.03$, $p = 1.00$ (two-tailed). The difference in decline between the two groups was approximately 3/4 of one standard deviation (Cohen’s $d = -.78$).

**TechLiteracy Assessment**

On the TechLiteracy Assessment, 33 students took both the pre- and post-tests. As the raw data were not available from the testing company, it is not known whether students omitted items, so no assessments were eliminated from the dataset. Scaled gain scores indicated greater gains in technology skills for the treatment group ($M = 5.54$, $SD = 14.00$, $n = 13$) than for the control group ($M = -2.00$, $SD = 29.91$, $n = 20$). The difference between the two groups was statistically significant ($p < .01$), $t(28.80) = .975$, $p = .01$ (two-tailed).

**Discussion**

Did the Tri-IT after-school program spark the interest of the participating girls? Research results are mixed. Students gained both knowledge and confidence on most of the curriculum modules, an expected outcome. However, when attendance was factored in, students who did not attend all sessions sometimes had greater gains in knowledge and/or confidence than students who attended all sessions, which was a surprising result. Because part-time students were there to take both the pre- and post-test, it may be that students coded as part-time actually missed very few sessions or that their instructors or fellow students helped them make up what they missed.

It does appear that students gained greater confidence than knowledge, but that may be an indicator of the assessments themselves rather than of what students actually learned and retained. As these assessments were developed by project staff and consultants and had never been tested before, their administration in this study was essentially a pilot test of each instrument.

The treatment group students had greater gains in scores on the TechLiteracy Assessment, and outcome that was expected, as those students had 280 hours of technology instruction that the control group did not have. The Tri-IT staff found it surprising that the difference in scores between the two groups was not greater.

Even though the differences in scores were not statistically significant, the finding that students in the treatment group actually showed decreases in motivation, as measured by the MSLQ, and decreases in computer interest, as measured by the CAQ, while the control group showed gains in motivation and computer interest was paradoxical and is counterintuitive. The students who took the MSLQ and CAQ were students who had persisted from the beginning of the program to the end. Their continued attendance in this voluntary program would seem to be an indicator itself of their interest and motivation.

The paradoxical results could be attributed to students meeting twice a week for two years was too much computer information for the treatment group or that they were wary of taking the many assessments, which were administered during the program. A rival hypothesis is that the timing of these post-tests was not optimal. As noted by Lavrakas (2008) and Tomal (2010), the very end of the school year, when students are ready for their summer vacation, is not the best time to administer such assessments.

Another possible explanation for these results is the Hawthorne effect. Perhaps when students first started the program, they marked higher scores due to social desirability. Once they had been in the program for a while, the treatment group students may have become desensitized and felt they could answer questions bluntly, hence the lower scores. It is also possible that, after being exposed to many
hours of technology curriculum, participants found that it was not as interesting in reality as they thought it would be and, consequently, they were less interested and felt less motivated to study it further.

An alternative answer may also be that because the control group students were highly motivated to succeed, they were essentially competing with the treatment group students. The control group students had applied to be in the program as well, as an indicator of their interest in technology, and had also persisted to the end of the program, without receiving any technology instruction in the program. Project staff continually expressed appreciation to the control group students because their participation was very important to the NSF research project and these students felt that they were an integral part of the study.

**Recommendations for Further Research**

Assessing the interest and motivation of students who participate in after-school technology programs is an important measure in determining the impact and effectiveness of such programs. Therefore, it is crucial to assess with accuracy these variables. Because the time of year when an assessment is given may play an important role in the results, further research on the optimal time to assess students’ interest and motivation is recommended.

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Special Needs Students as Bully Targets

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Abstract  
A review of the literature to answer the questions “Are students with special needs targeted for bullying more often than others? In what ways are students with special needs bullied?” The authors will define bullying, risk factors for victims, discuss whether students with exceptionalities are targeted for bullying more than others, the ways they are bullied, and research findings for specific categories of students with exceptionalities. The research indicates that this population of students is the favorite target of a bully/victim.

Special Needs Students as Bully Targets  
What do the president of the United States, Lady Gaga, and Miss America (2003) Erika Harold have in common? They all are supporters of programs to reign in the timeless issue of bullying. They are just the latest to lend their names to the fight against bullying.

The issue of bullying features prominently in educational administration, academic research, journalism, and public discourse. Efforts to understand and prevent school shootings have stimulated the rapid development of a broader interest in school safety. Bullying is the number one issue in education. Bullying is a major form of school violence that threatens development and learning. Bullying is an issue that is prevalent in all schools at all age levels. Bullying involves antisocial behavior exhibited in high levels of aggression, bullying of others, defiance of adults; and in more mature youths, vandalism, stealing, and self-abuse expressed through involvement with drugs and alcohol.

Today, bullying is widely regarded as a serious problem in the United States. Ron Stephens, executive director of the National School Safety Center, calls bullying “one of the most enduring problems” in schools. (Stephens, n.d.) Up to 75% of American children have been victims of bullying according to the Third Way (2008). On an average school day, three out of ten American youngsters in grades six through ten are involved in bullying – as perpetrators, victims, or both – according to the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (Harvard Medical School Health, 2001).

School safety and violence became a topic of broad national concern in the United States in reaction to television and other media and have maintained high-profile coverage of school shootings and other school tragedies during the 1990s and early 2000s.

The first scientific paper on bullying was published in 1897 when Fredic Burke’s “Teasing and Bullying” (as cited in Dan Olweus, 1978) explored why children bully, what effects bullying had on victims and how bullying could be reduced. Bullying emerged as a field of scientific inquiry for social scientists until the 1970s. In 1978 came the publication in English of Aggression in Schools: Bullies and Whipping Boys, by Dan Olweus, (1978) one of the “founding fathers” of research on bullying and victimization.

The fundamental principle of America’s democracy is embodied in the school, where irrespective of just who has decided to occupy the superior species, religious integration, sex integration, racial integration, and the inclusion of children with disabilities continue to be played out.

Society’s acceptance of bullying confirms that bullying is a way to cement power and securing social position. This is an important reason why bullying has persisted throughout history. (Crothers & Kolbert, 2008). The philosophy that bullying is a rite of passage of childhood is seriously misplaced. Some teasing in childhood is inevitable, and it can be an important preparation for life. However, there is
a point when teasing stops being helpful or playful – when it becomes humiliating or emotionally abusive, and when the victim requires protection from the teaser (Fried & Fried, 1996).

Are Students with exceptionalities targeted for bullying more often than others? In what ways are students with exceptionalities bullied? Going through school is tough for every child. Bullying can create a climate of fear and discomfort in schools and communities. Add the complications involved with having a disability and school gets even tougher. The rate of bullying among individuals with disabilities is alarming (Garcia, Simpson, & Gaus, 2010). Several authors state students with exceptionalities are more likely to be victims of bullying. (Dawkins, 1996; Llewellyn, 2000; Martlew & Hodson, 1991; Nabuzoka & Smith, 1993; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991; Mishna 2003).

The literature uses various terms for students with exceptionalities: Students with exceptionalities, disabilities, learning disabilities, exceptionalities, and students with exceptionalities. Other articles deal with a specific disability such as Asperger’s disorder, Tourette’s Syndrome, mild disabilities, Obsessive Compulsive Disorder, Down syndrome, cleft palate, ASD, and cerebral palsy [Not meant to be a comprehensive list] In this paper the authors used “students with exceptionalities” for all of these categories. According to a study of children with moderate learning difficulties, Stewart (2004) reports these children are more likely to be bullied outside schools.

Most bullying begins in elementary school. Researchers have found that bullying begins among preschool children and peaks in grades six to eight. (CQ Researcher, 2005). The occurrence of bullying appears predominantly in males during primary school and continues through secondary school education (Ma, 2001; Schafer, Korn, Brodbeck, Wolke, & Schulz, 2005). Boys were significantly more likely to be bullied than girls (Lemonick, 2005; Delfabbro et al, 2006).

Students with exceptionalities are bullied at all these grade levels, as well as in and away from school. Students with exceptionalities may be bullied directly or indirectly (Humphrey & Symes, 2010). Lemonick (2005) conducted a study which examined the longitudinal associations between children's bullying, students with exceptionalities placements in elementary school, and serious delinquent behavior during secondary school. Using data from the youngest sample of the Pittsburgh Youth Study, the author examined these associations while controlling for prior poor academic achievement and aggression. Lemonick says students with exceptionalities are subject to bullying wherever they go and not just in the school environment. Delfabbro, et al (2006) support half of the findings of Lemonick and half of the findings of Humphrey and Symes (2010) because they found most bullying occurred at school rather than outside school and involved verbal aggression rather than physical harm. According to Gill and Stenlund (2005) the most difficult type of bullying to detect in the classroom is psychological aggression through teasing and harassment.

Vivolo, Holt, and Massetti (2011) state bullying must be viewed from a social context and peer victimization with particular emphasis on the influence of contextual and school-level indicators. One need of the students with exceptionalities is being accepted in the social context. Students with exceptionalities often have low self esteem which is a risk factor for being victimized. They also often lack the judgment to recognize that a dangerous or hostile situation may be developing. The reasoning for this is because these students often lack critical social skills which make them especially vulnerable to bullying.

Humphrey and Symes (2010) advise paying particular attention to each student’s unique set of needs. Students with exceptionalities often have difficulties in developing healthy social networks for themselves. It was found that students are more likely to socialize with other students that resemble their own aggressive nature. Estell, Farmer, Irvin, Crowther, Akos, and Boudah (2009) support Humphrey and Symes with their findings that those with mild disabilities are considered to be unpopular and unsocial and thus are more likely to become a victim of bullying. Humphrey’s and Symes’s findings are supported by the comments of Cefai and Cooper (2010) when they said the voice of students with social, emotional, and behavior difficulties is one of the least heard.

It is said that 22 of students who are in self-contained special needs classrooms reported more perpetration and victimization than those in inclusive settings. Methods for fighting perpetration was similar for younger and older students in these types of settings; whereas, fighting perpetration was lower
for older students versus younger students in general education. (Rose, Espelage, & Monda-Amaya, 2009; Humphrey & Symes, 2010). Often, when these students are mainstreamed into the regular classroom they may not receive the proper protection from these incidents (Da Costa & Gil, 2010). Coates’ and Vickerman’s (2010) findings demonstrate that children with students with exceptionalities in both mainstream and special schools enjoy physical education class although issues were raised in mainstream schools regarding bullying and the appropriateness of activities in physical education lessons.

Students with exceptionalities can encounter difficulties in navigating their journeys within inclusive classrooms. A study by Torrance (1997) of 25 British students (ages 11-12) found that children with identified students with exceptionalities did appeared to be potentially at risk of being bullied through their social isolation. Twelve years later, Mah (2009), in her book, states students with learning exceptionalities, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, Asperger syndrome, and gifted abilities are still vulnerable to be bullied.

Original data on family stress factors in homes with records of domestic violence among maltreated children with and without disabilities who live in homes characterized by domestic violence are noted. The prevalence and characteristics of school bullying and trauma symptoms among adolescents at a residential school for the deaf are also presented (Sullivan, 2006).

Coates and Vickerman (2010) provide a lead into where bullying occurs. To stop bullying you must assess security and supervision. Bullying often occurs in places where there is less adult supervision such as restrooms, hallways, stairwells, playgrounds, gyms, cafeterias and bus drop-off and pick-up areas, parking lots, and the back of a school bus. The reason for these places being choice areas for bullying is supervision and security is not adequate in these areas (Trump, 2011). Blosnich and Bossarte (2011) support Trump with their findings that having adults in the hallways, playgrounds, and cafeteria had the greatest impact on the reduction of bullying incidents.

Successful outcomes for bullying prevention are attributed by Gill and Stenlund (2005) to a facilitator's perceived seriousness, the collective intervention by peers, the immediacy of the reaction, the legitimacy of the physical force used (restraint of a schoolyard bully by peers), continued peer threat of it and the obvious intentionality of the intervention. The most important outcome for the victim was an expression of justice having being done.

Interestingly, White, and Loeber (2008) found that contrary to prior research, neither students with exceptionalities placements nor poor academic achievement predicted bullying or serious delinquency. They found substantial continuity between early aggression and students with exceptionalities placements, bullying, and serious delinquency.

Bullying thrives because of a lack of attention that is found in the action of adults such as poor relationships with teachers, victimization, a sense of oppression and powerlessness, unconnected learning experiences, and exclusion and stigmatization (Cefai & Cooper, 2010). Successful outcomes in a bullying prevention program are the facilitator's perceived seriousness, the collective intervention by peers, the immediacy of the reaction, the legitimacy of the physical force used (restraint of a schoolyard bully by peers), continued peer threat of it and the obvious intentionality of the intervention. The most important outcome for the victim was an expression of justice having being done. (Gill & Stenlund, 2005). The authors see that students with exceptionalities are more vulnerable to bullying because of adults, their exceptionalities and lack of social skills.

Social skills training is a necessity for all students to overcome bullying behavior. This is extremely important for students with exceptionalities. Clearly, interventions should aim to reduce risk factors and to enhance protective factors - including individual, interpersonal, and environmental elements - to improve the social functioning and peer relationships of students with exceptionalities (Miller, 1996, as cited in Mishna, 2003).

As shown bullying of students has been around in the literature since1897. Effective strategies include positive contact with children who have disabilities, along with indirect experience offered through information in books and discussions guided by adults (Miller, 1996, as cited in Mishna, 2003). There have been focuses on the role of speech-language pathologists (SLPs) on bully-victims in the U.S., as well as on the ratio of children with mental and physical disabilities who are likely to be targets of bullies,
long term effects of bullying to victims, and teaching resources for SLPs for use with their bully-victims (McKinley, 2004).

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Though the early years of life are critical for any child, this period may be especially crucial for young children who are at risk for or presently evidencing developmental delays. Bruder (2001) offered several rationales for the provision of early intervention. First, the earlier that children with such issues are identified and provided services, the greater the likelihood that the child will benefit. Early intervention services can reduce or eliminate developmental delays, moving children out of a risk category (e.g., from “Delayed” to “Typically developing”) (Glascoe, 2005). In addition to these immediate effects, early intervention can have a significant impact on the subsequent developmental status of the child (Barnett & Belfield, 2006).

Second, families receive invaluable support from these early intervention services (Sandall, Hemmeter, Smith, & McLean, 2005). Indeed, the very conceptual foundation of the Individualized Family Services Plan (IFSP), the intervention plan developed and implemented for children up to age six who evidence developmental delays (as opposed to the school-age Individualized Education Program) is that it is the family as much as the young child who is need of support and services.

Finally, Bruder (2010) concluded that early intervention programs offer economic advantages to schools and communities. As participants in these programs gain skills and enhance their developmental status, educational and post-school programs benefit from the decreased costs of special education and disability services support that would otherwise be required for school-aged children and adults with disabilities.

The primacy of the role of the family in first identifying developmental delays and then providing support for interventions is difficult to overstate (Sandall et al., 2005). Families provide this support through collaboration with early intervention professionals by facilitating the early intervention at home, while providing supplemental opportunities for the child to practice emergent skills at home and in the community.

**Screening and Early Identification**

A fundamental theoretical underpinning of early intervention services is that valid and reliable distinctions can be made between children developing typically, and those experiencing delays or other developmental issues. Typically these distinctions begin with routine developmental screening (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2006), a process designed to identify children who show characteristics of concern. These individuals then go on to receive a more extensive diagnostic assessment to confirm or rule out the presence of developmental issues of significance. Effective and routine developmental screenings, especially for children who are at risk for developmental delays due to known factors (e.g., prematurity, exposure to toxins, family histories) facilitate early detection of delays or issues, allowing for the earliest and most efficacious intervention services.

In addition to identifying children evidencing developmental delays, another use of screening is to monitor the ongoing development of children whose screening test scores are low enough to be of concern, though slightly above the arbitrarily determined cutoff scores that would trigger more extensive
evaluation for early intervention or special education services. Contemporary best practice would support providing these young children with subclinical screening instrument scores with ongoing developmental monitoring to ensure that these children do not have these areas of concern subsequently surface as substantial areas of delay (Squires, Twombly, Bricker, & Potter, 2009). Careful monitoring of these children ensures that the emergence of any developmental delays is identified early. In addition, best practice would support the provision of some level of intervention to these children who are at risk for such issues that is below that officially provided to young children with diagnosed and inarguable developmental delay.

Using Natural Environments to Address Limited Skill Repertoires

One of the distinguishing hallmarks of successful early intervention programs has long been the role of the family. No early intervention professional spends anywhere near as much time with a child with developmental delays as does his/her family (e.g., Bruder, 2001). Thus one promising way to address concerns about limited skill repertoires for children who do not qualify for full early intervention services would be by helping families provide learning opportunities within the child’s natural environment that especially target these areas of concern (Dunst, Bruder, Trivette, Raab, & McLean, 2001; Twombly & Fink, 2004).

Many potentially powerful learning opportunities are available in the varied daily experiences, routines, interactions, and places that a child encounters day to day. Especially promising social/linguistic opportunities occur during meal times, bath time, helping with daily chores, going for a walk or on an errand, and so on. These frequent experiences can be shaped to maximize the learning opportunities for the child whose subclinical low scores in developmental assessment places him/her at risk for subsequent developmental delay or issues (Tisot & Thurman, 2002).

By embedding learning opportunities into daily occurrences and interactions, parents and caregivers can include additional support and learning (Jung, 2007; McWilliam, 2000). Perhaps needless to say, those learning opportunities that fit most easily into already existing family routines are more likely to be practiced and carried out. Given that delays in speech and language are the most common manifestations of developmental delay (e.g., Davis & Bennett, 2003), it is appropriate for communication skill development to receive special attention in intervention efforts.

The Family Strengths Model (FSM)

One particularly promising approach for analyzing and structuring ongoing routine family activities to maximize the developmental status for children either presently evidencing or at risk for developmental delays is the Family Strengths Model (FSM) (Carter, Chard, & Pool, 2009). The FSM was developed to better offer guidance to parents and professionals on how to embed developmentally appropriate learning opportunities, especially in the areas of language and literacy, within contextually relevant daily activities in a child’s life. Such an approach can enhance the meaningfulness and pragmatic value of these emergent skills for the child.

In implementing an intervention strategy based on the FSM, an early interventionist meets with the family to complete three steps. First, the parents and professional identify typical activities that the family experiences daily or frequently. In doing this they chronologically go through a typical family day, and select those activities that either (a) presently have issues or challenges associated with a child’s developmental issues, especially in language, or (b) hold special promise to facilitate language emergence. In doing this the group specifically reviews four dimensions of each activity:

- What does this activity look like?
- Who participates?
- What goes well?
- What is challenging and might be changed?

The family then determines how interested they would be in making changes in each activity identified in the review. This step is critical, in that in some situations families may determine that some changes in established routines and activities may cause excessive stresses or issues for the child and/or family.
Next the group seeks to identify *family strengths*; that is, unique characteristics of the family and/or child that are relevant to the intervention process. For example, it may be that there is (a) an older sibling in the family that especially enjoys spending time with the younger child with developmental issues, or (b) an activity in which the child is particularly verbal, or perhaps (c) an older relative lives with the family who might be able to implement certain activities with the child. Keeping in mind the previously identified family routines, the parents and professionals then collaboratively discover ways in which the unique characteristics or strengths of the family might be used to better enhance the language enhancement functions of the activity.

The third and final step of the process is to identify *potential language and literacy opportunities* within the context of the previous determinations. The focus is on embedding these activities within daily routines. These activities are analyzed and potentially restructured to provide maximal opportunities for:

- contextually grounded social interactions with the child
- modeling of appropriate language and literacy behaviors for the child
- provision of recognition of the child’s emergent linguistic achievements within routine activities.

The FSM is firmly based in child development theory, and as such holds promise as a framework for meeting the communication needs of young children and families. However, to date its programmatic efficacy has not been extensively evaluated.

This initial investigation examined the effectiveness of using the FSM approach with young children who had been identified in the *Monitor* scoring category in the Communication domain on the *Ages & Stages Questionnaire*, 3rd edition (ASQ-3) (Squires et al., 2009). This preliminary study specifically sought to (a) help parents and practitioners identify individualized language learning opportunities for these children that might be most easily implemented within the natural environment, and (b) improve children’s communication skills as measured by the ASQ-3.

**Method**

**Participants**

To identify potential participants, the authors partnered with the Idaho State Department of Health and Welfare (the designated state Child Find agency) to identify those families in the Boise metropolitan area who had a child who had been referred in 2008 for potential early intervention services because of child and/or family factors associated with an “at risk” status for the child. This resulted in 99 potential family participants.

As part of the subsequent Child Find assessment process, these 99 families then completed the ASQ-3 to provide a screening-level assessment of the developmental status of the child. As a screening device, the ASQ-3 classifies scores in each of five domains (communication, gross motor, fine motor, problem-solving, and personal-social) into one of three self-explanatory ranges: (a) *Referral Needed*, (b) *Monitor*, and (c) *Typically Developing*.

Of these 99 referred children, 56 scored in the *Typically Developing* range in each of the ASQ-3 five domains. Of the remaining 43 children, 23 had ASQ-3 scores in the *Referral* range in one or more of the five ASQ-3 domains (communication, gross motor, fine motor, problem solving, personal-social), and were either being comprehensively evaluated or were already receiving early intervention services. These 23 children and their families were not invited to participate further in this study.

The remaining 20 children scored in the *Monitor* range in one or more domains of the ASQ-3. This *Monitor* status means that a score is low enough to be of concern, though falling somewhat short of the level required for additional in-depth evaluation and potential early intervention services.

Of those 20, 9 were scored at the *Monitor* status in the communication domain alone. These nine families were invited to participate in this study. Four of the nine agreed to and did participate.

Demographic data from each of the four participating families were collected, including (a) gender, (b) ethnicity, (c) income level of family, (d) level of mother’s education, and (e) other services the child was receiving (e.g., physical or occupational therapy). The four participating children were all male, ranging in age from 12 to 20 months at the start of the study. Detailed demographic information for the four participants, including the specific age-appropriate versions of the ASQ-3 administered before and after the intervention to each of the four boys, can be found in Table 1.
Setting
All assessment, interviews, and intervention took place in the children’s homes and related
environments. The first two authors met with the family in their home during the first week to conduct the
Family Strengths Model meeting, with parents subsequently implementing interventions independently in
their natural home and neighborhood environments over a six week period.
Measurement
Participant communication skill levels. The pretest of the children’s levels of communication skills
was conducted by the parents using the Communication domain subtest of the ASQ-3 prior to the initial
Family Strengths Model meeting between the authors and the parents. The posttest using the age-
appropriate version of this same instrument was conducted by the parents at the conclusion of six weeks
of implementation of the FSM strategies. While the complete ASQ-3 (all five domains) was administered
by these four sets of parents, this study targeted only the Communication domain.
The ASQ-3 is designed to be completed by parents and primary caregivers of children between 1 and
65 months of age. Each questionnaire contains 30 developmental items organized into five domains:
communication, gross motor, fine motor, problem solving, and personal-social. The parents try each
activity on the questionnaire with their child, checking the box that best describes what the child can do.
The questionnaire includes clear questions, illustrations, and tips to help parents complete the
questionnaires quickly and accurately. Professionals then record those scores, converting the parent
responses to numbers. Those scores are then transferred to a grid that outlines the child’s current
developmental status (Typically Developing, Monitor, Referral) in each domain.
The ASQ-3 has 21 different versions based on the child’s age, from the earliest to be administered at 2
months to the final version administered at 60 months. In administering the ASQ-3, parents select the
specific ASQ-3 questionnaire appropriate to the child’s present age. In order to obtain accurate outcomes,
the correct age interval questionnaire must be used. Each participant’s exact age in years, months, and
days was calculated by subtracting their date of birth from the current date (i.e., date the questionnaire
was to be mailed). After calculating the child’s exact age, the ASQ-3’s age administration chart was used
to determine which age interval questionnaire the child should receive. Because there was a 6 week
period between the administrations of the pretest and the posttest, each participant received a different
age-appropriate interval questionnaire in the second administration.
These intervals are not evenly chronologically spaced. That is, there are two month gaps between
versions for children aged two through twenty-four months, three month gaps for the versions for children
twenty-four through thirty-six months, and six month gaps for the versions for children aged thirty-six
months through sixty months.
The ASQ-3 has been thoroughly evaluated by examining internal consistency, test-retest, and
interobserver reliability and concurrent validity (Squires et al., 2009). Internal consistency analyses have
shown strong relationships across items and within areas on the questionnaires, with correlations by
developmental area and overall ASQ score ranging from .60 to .85 (Pearson product moment correlation,
significance at \( p < .01 \)).
Test-retest reliability of the ASQ-3 was based on comparisons of two questionnaires completed by
parents at a 2-week time interval. This yielded a 92% agreement figure. Interobserver reliability was
examined by comparing questionnaires completed by parents and questionnaires completed by trained test
examiners of the same children, with a 93% agreement figure. Concurrent validity was measured by
comparing the classification of children based on their performance on a standardized test (BDI-2) with
their classification based on their performance on the ASQ-3. The data show a moderate to high
agreement (85.8%).
Parental perceptions. Perhaps needless to say, no intervention designed to be carried out by parents
can be effective unless parents perceive it to be practical and easily implemented. Thus this study sought
to examine this dimension of the program as well. Specifically, the perceptions of the participating
parents concerning the Family Strengths Model were evaluated with four questions:
1. How difficult are the FSM and corresponding learning activities for you to understand?
2. How difficult are the FSM and corresponding activities for you to use?
3. How useful were the FSM and corresponding learning activities for focusing attention on your child’s needed skills in communication?

4. How effective were the FSM and corresponding learning activities with your child?

Parents responded to each of these four questions on a 4-point Likert-type scale, recording responses from a score of 1 (very difficult/not at all useful/not at all effective) to a score of 4 (very easy/very useful/very effective).

**Design and Procedures**

**The Family Strengths Model**

Once the four participating children (Evan, Zach, John, and Bryan) and their families had been selected, the two senior authors scheduled an individual meeting with each family to review the Family Strengths Model approach. During each 60 to 90 minute meeting the researchers and parents sought to collaboratively identify (a) family routines, (b) family strengths, and (c) language and literacy opportunities within target routines that capitalize on the family’s unique strengths. Following each interview, researchers sent parents a written summary of their discussions, including specific intervention strategy suggestions evolving from the initial planning meeting that the parents could begin implementing within their typical family daily routines. After six weeks, the parents were asked to complete a post-assessment ASQ-3 on each child to document his progress in the Communication domain.

In the initial planning meeting, in conjunction with the researchers each family first identified routines unique to their household that potentially lent themselves to language development activities. Typical routines identified and targeted by the families included (a) mealtime/snack, (b) making dinner, (c) bed and bath time, and (d) daily walks. In each of these routines, one or more families indicated that their child’s communication skills made that routine challenging. An overview of typical interventions/strategies developed with the families for these routines is outlined in Figure 1.

Below is an exemplary case study based on one of the four participants, Evan, and his parents, Jenna and Scott.

**Step one: Identify family routines.** The process began by asking Evan’s parents to go through a typical day for Evan and the family in order to help identify possible opportunities to better engage Evan with language and emergent literacy activities. Jenna and Scott chronologically outlined a typical day for their family, and then shared other common routines that may not occur every day (e.g., grocery shopping, visits to Evan’s grandparents’ house). Figure 2 provides a copy of the form used to identify family routines, including the responses from Jenna and Scott.

Next the parents were asked to rate how well each routine meets their expectations (i.e., how smoothly the activity usually goes, and/or to what degree communication with the child is not an issue) (Figure 2). This rating used a 6-point Likert-type scale, where a score of 1 indicates not well (a communicatively challenging routine) and a score of 6 indicates well (not a communicatively challenging routine).

Jenna and Scott identified two specific routines with their son Evan as especially not meeting their expectations: (a) snack time, and (b) bath/bed time. Finally Evan’s parents were queried about their willingness to consider making changes in each of these routines so that suggestions could be developed that they would be likely to implement. Jenna and Scott both indicated a willingness to consider changes in both of these identified routines.

**Step two: Identify family strengths.** This step involved gathering additional information about those routines that Jenna and Scott had earlier indicated that (a) did not meet their expectations for Evan’s language, and (b) they were willing to consider altering. The following four questions were asked about each routine they had identified earlier in order to help pinpoint especially promising opportunities to embed language and literacy activities and structures.

- Who participates?
- What does this activity look like?
- What goes well?
- What is challenging?
The process of collaboratively reflecting on and analyzing those family routines characterized by challenges assists families in identifying both their own strengths as well as recognizing those components that are working well within these challenging routines. Figure 3 provides an example of the form used in this process, including Jenna and Scott’s responses for the snack routine. They indicated that although this routine is challenging, Evan does communicate that he is hungry using a specific strategy (pulling his parents to the fridge or pantry), and that they are generally able to understand his needs.

**Step three: Identify language and literacy opportunities.** Once unique family routines and strengths have been identified, in this final step the interventionist(s) and parents jointly seek to identify language and literacy opportunities that utilize family strengths and fit within typical daily routines. Since Evan was 20 months old and had delays in communication, the researchers and parents brainstormed ideas targeting the identification and creation of possible language facilitation opportunities for Evan within his daily routines. Figure 4 provides an example of the collaboratively developed framework and guideline for the “Snack” routine for Jenna and Scott to (a) provide supplemental language opportunities, (b) provide model communications for Evan, (c) interact with Evan to further support language efforts, and (d) recognize Evan’s emergent linguistic achievements. These strategies were collaboratively developed in the meeting of the researchers and parents. The researchers then developed summary guidelines and specific recommendations based on their discussions with the parents and subsequent reflections, and sent those to the parents for program implementation.

**Results**

**Children’s Communication Skills**

The four children’s pretest and posttest scores on the Communication domain of the ASQ-3 are graphically illustrated in Figure 5. All four participants began this process in the Monitor range in their respective ASQ-3 interval. During post-assessment, three of the four children had scores improve substantially enough over the six weeks of FSM implementation to move from the Monitor range into the Typically Developing range. These very positive results for three of these four children provide initial intriguing support for the use of the FSM to improve overall communications skills in young children who are at risk for developmental delay in this area.

**Parental Perceptions**

The results from the four questions the parents were asked about the practicality of the implementation of the FSM are provided in Table 2. These data were generated by calculating the mean score per question across all four respondents. For each question, parents were very positive (with average scores of 3.0 to 3.5 out of a possible 4.0) in their responses about the difficulty, usefulness and effectiveness of the FSM meeting and corresponding learning activities. Thus not only were the FSM procedures effective, they were also practical and easily implemented within typical family routines.

**Discussion**

This study assessed the impact of the Family Strengths Model (FSM), a family-centered intervention strategy, in helping parents provide effective individualized language development activities with four young children determined to be at risk for developmental delays in communication skills. Specifically, through the FSM interventionists and parents collaboratively identified potential learning opportunities for language within naturally and regularly occurring family routines, with the parents then implementing those practices over a six week period. Results of this initial investigation suggest the promise of the FSM to facilitate language development. Three of the four participants moved from the Monitor range on the ASQ-3 to the Typically Developing range. The fourth child maintained his Monitor status following intervention.

There are several potential limitations of this initial investigation that should be noted. First, the researchers worked with the families during the initial FSM interviews to develop embedded language learning opportunities to be implemented within the families’ daily activities. However, there was no subsequent monitoring by the researchers of the implementation of those developed activities, and no data (outside of anecdotal parental reports) to support the fidelity of the implementation of the embedded learning opportunities. Data confirming the implementation of the identified program components would strengthen the legitimacy of the proposed linkage of the implementation of the FSM with the children’s
communication growth. Future research along these lines should incorporate a measure of implementation fidelity. This might be achieved through observations by the researchers, parental reports, or some combination of these procedures.

Second, there are potential questions about the instrumentation used in this project. The children’s levels of communication skills prior to and following implementation of the FSM were measured using a developmental screening instrument, the ASQ-3. The ASQ-3 does have substantial empirical support for reliability and validity. In addition, there are significant benefits in using a developmental screening measure in projects of this sort (e.g., the speed and ease with which parents can complete this type of assessment). Nevertheless, more extensive and comprehensive standardized, norm-referenced measures might allow for more sensitive evaluations of participant growth in the communication domain. Subsequent investigations should seek to incorporate more precise measures of children’s communication skills to more accurately document linguistic growth over time.

Third, the four children included in this initial investigative study represent a very small sample. It may have been that the three of the four participants who did evidence sufficient developmental progress in communication skills would have done so regardless of the implementation of the FSM intervention. In addition, the four may not be representative of all children who are at risk for communication or other developmental delays. The four participants in the present study were all male, primarily white and from one metropolitan area in the Pacific Northwest. Future studies on the potential efficacy of the FSM should include a larger sample size, with participants representing greater cultural and linguistic diversity. In addition, the current study specifically looked only at children ages 12 to 22 months with delays in communication. Future research should explore the use of the FSM with older children and perhaps examine its use within other domains of development.

Fourth, there may be other issues associated with the sample. Nine families were potentially eligible to participate in this study (i.e., the family had a child whose only developmental screening score of concern was in the Monitor range of the Communication domain of the ASQ-3). Although all nine families were invited to participate, only four of the nine chose to do so. It is possible that the four participating families were somehow systematically different from the five who chose not to participate. The four participating families may have been more willing or more able to incorporate the FSM program components into their family lives than were the other five families who did not participate, or may have had greater concerns about their child’s developmental status in communication. Thus the linguistic outcomes might not have been as successful with the children from these nonparticipating five families had they participated.

Finally, the parents (especially the mothers) who participated in the study may well be unrepresentative of mothers in general of young children who are at risk for communication delays. Of the four mothers who participated in this study, three of the four were college graduates, with the four having had some college education. This is especially potentially significant in this study given the extensive role the parents play in the FSM in (a) identifying and then (b) implementing communication intervention strategies within routine family activities. It may be that mothers with less educational background may experience greater difficulties in either or both of these functions, with less successful child outcomes.

Even with these caveats in mind, one might conclude preliminary support for the use of the FSM with children with communication issues who fall short of full eligibility for early intervention services, but whose scores on screening tests or other identification measures or indicators suggest an at risk status for the subsequent emergence of developmental delay(s) in communication. Children who fall short of complete eligibility for ECSE services typically do not receive a comprehensive intervention package, and/or extensive services provided by early intervention professionals. Current “all or none” practice too often leaves these communicatively “at risk” children and their families either without support or receiving a generic list of interventions to try at home. This is likely to continue to be the case when so many states are experiencing dramatic financial challenges. However, family strengths-based interventions that target unique family routines and use willing parents to implement intervention strategies developed in conjunction with professional consultation may provide a viable and pragmatic
alternative to professional-based intervention services in helping these children at risk for developmental delay catch up with their age peers.

Post program data collected from the parents revealed that they had found the FSM and its corresponding activities (a) easy to understand and use, (b) useful in focusing attention on needed communication skills, and perhaps most importantly, (c) effective with their children. Given this positive response and the relatively short amount of professional time required (the initial 60 to 90 minute FSM interviews, the subsequent analysis and recommendations generation, plus a bit of time scoring the pretest and posttest ASQ-3), the FSM seems to have potential as a practical approach for preventing and remediating delays in young children who display limited skill repertoires in communication. Future research might explore the feasibility of integrating the FSM within the administrative parameters of existing early childhood service delivery models.

References
McWilliam, R. A. (2000). It’s only natural…to have early intervention in the environments where it’s needed. In Susan Sandall & Michaelene M. Ostrosky (Eds.), *YEC monograph series: Natural environments and inclusion* (pp. 17-26). Longmont, CO: Sopris West.
Table 1

Participant Demographics


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Bryan</th>
<th>John</th>
<th>Evan</th>
<th>Zach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASQ interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretest</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posttest</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>Multi-racial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>O.T.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Other (WIC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s education</td>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>College graduate</td>
<td>College graduate</td>
<td>College graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Income</td>
<td>Missing info</td>
<td>Above poverty line</td>
<td>Below poverty line</td>
<td>Above poverty line</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

Parental Perceptions of the Usefulness and Effectiveness of the FSM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Average Parental Response (on a 1.0 to 4.0 scale)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Is the FSM difficult to learn? (1 is Very Difficult, 4 is Very Easy)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Is the FSM difficult to use? (1 is Very Difficult, 4 is Very Easy)</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Does the FSM focus attention on communication skills? (1 is Not At All, 4 is Very Much)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How effective was the FSM with your child? (1 is Not At All Effective, 4, is Very Effective)</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. Typical FSM Language and Literacy Opportunities for Routines

1. Use choices.
   - Avoid yes/no questions. Instead of asking, “Are you ready to eat?” try saying, “Would you like milk or apple juice with dinner?” “Would you like to wear the red pajamas or the blue pajamas?

2. Wait.
   - It takes some children a little longer to understand your message and then to respond with gestures or words. After you give him a choice, provide wait time for him to respond. Try
silently counting to 5 after you ask a question, or make a statement to give your child
time to respond.
• Give your child time to make requests. Try not to over-interpret your child’s
communication attempts or over-anticipate his needs.

3. **Describe what you are doing.**

• For example, “I am stirring this hot soup.” Or, I am putting your leg in your pajamas.”
  • Use the same words and actions each time.
  • Repeat the word every time you do the action.
  • Repeat the action over and over again with the word.

• Use both languages! (for a bilingual child)

4. **Give him little jobs and simple directions.**

• For example, when cooking dinner tell him to “Get a pot/pan.”
  • Let him help you pour an ingredient in the pan or help stir.

5. **Make sure your directions use simple phrases and words.**

6. **Be sure to let him know you notice he followed your direction.**

• For example, after requesting an object in the kitchen from him, say “Thank you for the
  pan!”

7. **While cooking, put him in his high chair so he can see what you are
doing and have him help with simple tasks.**

8. **Introduce new toys and activities.**

• For example, a new action can be added to a familiar song or nursery rhyme.

9. **Place objects that he enjoys in sight, but out of reach to encourage him to ask for
them.**

• For example, place a toy he enjoys up on a shelf/table. Respond if he points, vocalizes or
  gestures for the toy.

10. **Change a familiar step in a daily routine.**

• For example, put a diaper on his arm or a shirt on his leg. This will give him an
  opportunity and impetus to use his developing language skills.

11. **When he makes a sound such as “da,” repeat the sound back (“da da da . . .”).**

12. **Pretend to have a conversation with him.**

• For example, if he is playing with the rocking horse and babbling, say, “Yes, the horse is
  bouncing. Do you want to dance?” Then wait for him to babble some more, then respond
  again with something such as, “The horse is dancing too!” This helps children learn
  conversation turn-taking (I say something, you say something, I say something, and so
  on).
### Routines Assessment Form

**Name:** Evan  
**Age:** 20 months  
**Date:** March 24, 2009  
**Respondent(s):** Jenna & Scott (parents)

#### Typical Daily Routines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Routine/Activity</th>
<th>How well does it meet expectations?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:30-10:00 am</td>
<td>Wake-up &amp; get dressed</td>
<td>Not well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00am</td>
<td>Breakfast/Sesame Street</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00am</td>
<td>Pick up neighbor child</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30am</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00, 1:30, &amp; 6:00</td>
<td>Play</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00 &amp; 5:30pm</td>
<td>Snack</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30pm</td>
<td>Nap</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00pm</td>
<td>Bath time</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00pm</td>
<td>Bed time</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Other Common Routines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Routine/Activity</th>
<th>How well does it meet expectations?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 time/week</td>
<td>Grocery Shopping</td>
<td>Not well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 time/week</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3. Strengths Assessment Form for Evan: Snack

**Strengths Assessment Form**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Evan</th>
<th>Age:</th>
<th>20 months</th>
<th>Date:</th>
<th>March 24, 2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respondent(s):</td>
<td>Jenna &amp; Scott (parents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ROUTINE: Snack**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who participates?</th>
<th>What does the activity look like?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mom or Dad &amp; Evan</td>
<td>Evan asks for the fridge or pantry to be opened by pulling parent to it. Mom or Dad offers him choices, but he doesn’t choose.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What goes well?</th>
<th>What is challenging about this routine?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evan communicates that he is hungry by pulling Mom and Dad to fridge or pantry.</td>
<td>Evan won’t make a choice of snack. Instead he screams and pushes Mom or Dad away.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4. Identifying Language and Literacy Opportunities Form for Evan: Snack

Identifying Language and Literacy Opportunities Form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Routine</th>
<th>Provide Opportunities</th>
<th>Model Communication</th>
<th>Interact with Child</th>
<th>Recognize Achievements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Snack</td>
<td>Allow Evan to choose between two items (i.e., choose between Cheerios &amp; apple slices). You mentioned that you have challenges when Evan comes into the kitchen for a snack and looks at all of the choices. Limiting the choices may be very helpful. Encourage him to use language and select between items.</td>
<td>If Evan points to select an item, give him the item and model language by saying, “you want Cheerios.” Describe what you are eating by saying, “I want yogurt.”</td>
<td>Ask Evan what he would like when you present him with choices. Talk with him about what he is choosing and what you are choosing. Acknowledge Evan’s efforts to communicate with words.</td>
<td>Praise Evan when he makes a choice between items or when he communicates to request “more” or that he is “all done.” For example, after Evan says “more” to request more, say “Good. You want more Cheerios” and be sure to give him more.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 5. ASQ-3 Scores on Communication Domain: Pre- and Post-assessments
The Brief Return of Nurses to Television Drama: What Went Wrong?

Dianna Lipp Rivers
Kenneth Troy Rivers
Lamar University

After a decade in which there were virtually no nurse characters on television in dramatic series, a sudden change occurred in the 2009-2010 season. All at once, three networks put nursing series on the air. That surprising experiment, short-lived as it was, offers a fine opportunity to see how society can react to different strategies by different types of networks, and how those strategies reflected the media’s interests as opposed to those of the public.

In the past, television had a tradition of respectable nurse characters, such as nurse Hathaway for approximately five years, up to 2000, on the much-honored TV series *ER*. She was depicted as efficient, competent, and admired. Then there followed 10 years of almost no nurses on TV. Nursing was on TV, but not performed by nurses; e.g., in *House* and *Grey’s Anatomy*, medical doctors were depicted as performing not just MD duties but all the nurse duties – starting IV’s, inserting nasogastric tubes, providing post mortem care and helping grieving families, etc. (Trossman, 2009). An important reason for the departure of nurse characters from the small screen was that nursing anti-defamation organizations such as the Center for Nursing Advocacy (2005) consistently chased every new nurse character off the air for not being perfect (Huston, 2010; Rivers, D. L., Rivers, K. T.,&Nichols, 2011).

Then, simultaneously, three networks suddenly got the idea that nurse drama was the next big thing. Television’s great experiment of debuting three dramatic nursing series in one year, 2009, included the shows *Mercy*, *HawthoRNe*, and *Nurse Jackie*. Why put shows about nursing on television? Of course, health crises have innate drama involving life and death matters. And, as a bonus, good shows about nurses can recruit students into nursing, which is an important public service at a time when the American Association of Colleges of Nurses projects an imminent shortage of nurses, exacerbated by low enrollment in nursing programs and the aging workforce which has begun to retire from nursing (AONE, 2006; Kalisch & Kalisch, 1982; Rasmussen, 2001a, 2001b; Rivers, D. L. et al., 2011; Wood, 2008). There is expected to be a shortage of nurses by 2016 of more than one million new and replacement nurses, according to the projection from the U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics (ScriptPhD, 2009). Did these three new shows present a positive, ethical image of nurses that would help recruit? Or did other considerations override such benevolence?

The purpose of our study was to obtain statistics of society’s reactions to the image of nurses and nursing shows in television programs and to determine what went wrong with the network’s efforts. Of central significance is the conflict between the networks’ interests and society’s interests. Our application is the examination of ethical implications of sensationalism in nursing dramas and the impression made upon the public for better or for worse. As the authors, we also wanted to learn which types of series about nursing are most likely to succeed on TV. Are they the shows that portray nursing to future generations the way the profession would prefer?

The nursing profession’s image has long been impeccable. Nursing is well known as the most ethical, trusted, and best respected of any in the United States, according to the Gallup public opinion polls (Trossman). The *ANA’s Code of Ethics for Nurses with Interpretive Statements* (2010), as well as various state regulations, prohibit nurses from engaging in behaviors such as stealing, lying, taking drugs, falsifying documentation, performing procedures only doctors are authorized to do, carrying out actions outside of the state’s Nurse Practice Act, giving preferential or discriminatory treatment to a patient, and being verbally abusive to each other, to patients, to families, and so forth.
However, in *Mercy*, *HawthoRNe* and *Nurse Jackie*, the lead characters make a habit of breaking such rules of ethics in every episode, usually in the dramatic cause of aiding a helpless patient or punishing a nasty patient. The more sensationalistic the rule-breaking, the more shocking the drama, but the less realistic the depiction of nursing practice becomes. It is interesting to see the degree of sensationalism in each series, and how that affected the reaction from critics, nurses, nursing associations, and the public.

A review of the literature finds varying opinions about the three television series from the TV critics, nursing organizations spokespersons, nurses, and medical doctors. The television critics were mostly negative toward *Mercy*, highly negatively toward *HawthoRNe*, and overwhelmingly positive toward *Nurse Jackie*. The nursing organizations’ reaction was basically negative toward all, finding *Mercy* disappointing, *HawthoRNe* disgusting, (especially when it became too soapy), and *Nurse Jackie* detestable. For example, the American Nurses Association (ANA) posted a call to action asking RN’s to send in letters of complaint to the producers of the shows (Trossman, p. 1). Laurie Badzek, JD., RN, director of ANA’s Center for Ethics and Human Rights urged people to stop watching the shows (Trossman). Nurses in the profession had a mixed reaction to all three; they usually found them entertaining, but perhaps damaging to the image of nursing (Sorrell, 2009). Medical doctors were angrily negative toward all three and found the shows too pro-nursing while depicting physicians often as incompetent and arrogant (Carmichael, 2009).

**Methodology**

This is a descriptive study with comparative analysis of the three network shows for evaluation and outcome. The procedure utilized is the retrieving of existing data from journals, newspapers, and new media, and conducting a comparative analysis among the three shows. The ratings of the series come from sources such as the television networks and Nielsen Media Research, as reported in the major media. Opinion citations are quoted from expert critics, bloggers, nursing organizations spokespersons, and article commenters from the general public when deemed to reflect typical perceptions.

**Results and Discussion**

**Similarities and Differences Among the Three Shows**

There were many similarities among the three series. On all of them, the protagonists were risk-takers; pro-patient; prone to bend or break the law; and all were charismatic women. They battled against ignorant, arrogant doctors, finance-minded hospital administrations, and uncooperative insurance companies. All the shows had almost the same supporting characters, which included the stereotypical gay male nurse, the sexy female nurse, the strict boss, and a naïve “newby” nurse named Kelly or Chloe or Zoey. The lead character in each of the series has an ongoing adulterous affair. All the lead characters are on drugs at one time or another. And there are many clichéd story lines used that have been done countless times on previous medical shows.

A big difference is the age of the characters and actresses in lead roles. *Mercy* had character Veronica Callahan, RN, who was a young nurse returning from the war in Iraq, and she was played by 25-year-old Taylor Schilling. *HawthoRNe*’s nurse was Christina Hawthorne, Chief Nursing Officer (CNO), who was played by 38-year-old Jada Pinkett Smith. (Her age evidently explains her holding this higher position.) *Nurse Jackie* has ER nurse Jackie Peyton, played by Edie Falco, age 46 at the time of the series’ debut. Jackie’s young children are probably an indication that the character was supposed to be 8-10 years younger than the actress.

**Type of Network and its Significance**

*Mercy*, *HawthoRNe*, and *Nurse Jackie* were each on a different type of network, which is important in order to understand the approaches that the networks utilized in formulating and promoting the series. *Mercy* was a show on NBC, a commercial broadcast network relying entirely on its ratings to entice sponsors to pay for the privilege of advertising during the programs. *Hawthorne* was on TNT, a standard cable network that can maintain its commercial programs at a generally lower cost than broadcast TV can. And *Nurse Jackie* debuted on Showtime, a premium cable network that has no commercials, and instead makes its income from subscriber fees. In part because of these differences, each type of network employed a different strategy in the development of its nursing series. This was especially evident in the degree of sensationalism, as opposed to professional realism, that the various series chose to utilize.
The Three Shows with Reactions, Ratings and Rankings

_Mercy_ was a one-hour drama broadcast just once a week, on Wednesdays, initially at 8 pm Eastern / 7 pm Central Time before being moved to 9 pm Eastern time / 8 pm Central for the last few episodes. Wednesday is generally considered a strong night for television viewing, although the first hour of prime time can be difficult when it comes to attracting viewers. _HawthoRNe_ was a one-hour program that was on Tuesday evenings at 9 pm Eastern / 8 pm Central, but which was additionally replayed throughout the week at various times. In 2009, Tuesday was becoming one of the more popular evenings for television viewing. _Nurse Jackie_ was, and as of this writing still is, a half-hour comedy-drama that is first seen on Sunday evenings at 9 pm Eastern / 8 pm Central and is repeated throughout the week at various times. Sunday is an extremely popular night for television viewing, which means much opportunity for ratings success, but also strong competition. Because of their multiple showings per week, _HawthoRNe_ and _Nurse Jackie_ were less affected by time slot than _Mercy_ with its lone opportunity to reach the audience.

**Mercy.**  _Mercy_ chose a very balanced approach in regard to medicine and sensationalism. NBC even produced two different promotional commercials for the series before it came on the air; although similar, one ad stressed nursing practice and the lead character’s professional issues, whereas the other ad emphasized the series’ soap opera aspects such as showing the main character kissing both her husband and her lover, and showing other characters having romantic conflicts. Clearly, NBC executives thought they had a perfect hit, relying on nursing practice to attract members of the nursing profession, and enough sensationalism to attract the general public. They were wrong. This balanced approach pleased no one, as nurses objected to the sensationalism, while the critics and public found the nursing issues lacking in general interest as dramatic fare. _TV Guide’s_ lead reviewer, Matt Roush, declared that “nurses deserve better than this pot boiler in which obnoxious characters OD on medical melodrama and romantic clichés”(2009b, p.40).

The pilot episode of _Mercy_ focused on the central point of the series: lead character Veronica Callahan, fresh back from serving in the Iraq War and suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), is unable to adjust to the ways of stateside nursing. In the first major scene, she witnesses a street accident, and leaps into action to save the life of the motorist. She performs a medical procedure typical in war but not authorized for nurses in the U.S. For saving the patient in this fashion, she comes under attack from the patient’s fiancée, the hospital doctors, and an administrator. Veronica openly admits to being functional solely because of her “delicious Paxil.” Later, when asked by a surly patient what good nurses are, Veronica replies, “Well, we do try to keep the doctors from killing you.” This provocative attitude that doctors are the ignorant, arrogant enemy provoked the ire of real physicians throughout the country. Throughout the series, Veronica’s story line is eventually complicated by her efforts to reconnect with her husband while carrying on an adulterous affair with a doctor she had had a romantic relationship with in Iraq. _Mercy’s_ juggling act between legitimate nursing issues and sensationalistic soap was probably doomed from the start, as critics reviewing the series found it too formulaic, predictable, and clichéd, declaring that the series “needs some doctoring up” and is bound to be “taken off life support”(Nguyen, 2009, para. 11). We know the public’s reaction by examining the ratings for the series. Although starting off with a respectable 8.2 million viewers (_Mercy Reviews_, 2009) per episode, by the end of its 22-episode season viewership had plummeted to an unacceptable 4.01 million viewers (_Mercy:_ TV show cancelled, 2010). The average number of viewers for the year was 6.33 million, ranking it a poor 76th out of all broadcast series (Gorman, 2010). (See Table.) Thus, _Mercy_ was mercifully terminated after just one season, having run from September 23, 2009 to May 12, 2010.

**HawthoRNe.**  TNT’s _HawthoRNe_ arrived with high hopes for realism. Lead actress Pinkett Smith’s mother, Adriane Banfield-Jones, RN, was a nurse and a former Kaiser-Permanente executive, and the series also had a nurse, Susie Schelling, as its Medical Consultant, (Bonifazi, 2010). Although TNT sought a somewhat balanced approach for the series, the emphasis was generally more on sensationalism than on realism. For example, the second episode, “Healing Time,” consists almost entirely of CNO Hawthorne doing things that no CNO ever would do. At the start of the episode, a big, burly patient grabs a male nurse in a headlock, and Christina handles the problem by throwing a punch at the patient, and, by accident, comically flattening the male nurse. Later, when a delusional patient mistakes Christina for his
wife, she orders a brain scan for him and proceeds to diagnose a cerebral tumor without so much as consulting a doctor. When a choice of two types of surgery must be made, Christina uses the patient’s belief that she is his wife to persuade him to choose the surgery that she prefers. Christina then personally shaves the patient for surgery! And when the surgery goes badly, resulting in his flatlining and being declared dead by more than one doctor, Christina grabs the paddles and continues to shock the patient for several more minutes, right through the commercial break, until her seemingly magical powers to raise the dead finally succeed and he comes back to life. Such nonsense earned the series some of the most savagely negative reviews ever seen from the critics. For example, Jennifer Godwin of E!Online (2009) called the series “sloppy, gloppy, chintzy, and incredibly boring” (para. 1) but the public seemed satisfied. HawthoRNe pulled in a solid 3.8 million viewers, considerably less than what broadcast series draw, but good enough to rank a respectable number 17 in the Cable TV ratings (thefutoncritic.com/ratings/2010). The first season had an average of 3.4 million viewers. The final episode had 2.9 million viewers and the final season average had 2.5 million viewers (see Table). HawthoRNe was on the air from June 16, 2009 to August 16, 2011.

After its first 11-episode season (cable has seasons half the length of broadcast TV’s), HawthoRNe’s creator John Masius passed the series along to a new “showrunner,” Glen Mazzara. This was significant because Mazzara was a former hospital administrator who said he wanted to change the series to make it “more grounded” in reality (Halterman, 2010, para. 3). The result was that the second season had more intelligent storylines in which Christina dealt with the things that nursing administrators actually do. For example, she handled Joint Commission inspections, hospital remodeling, acquisition of equipment, budget shortfalls, and staffing issues. The public’s reaction to such authenticity was swift and clear: the ratings dropped off a cliff, down to 2.5 million viewers. Obviously, the public found real nursing administration too dull. In a panic, TNT totally reversed its strategy for Season 3, in which Christina declares her new philosophy: “If doing the right thing means breaking the law, then I’ll do it every single chance I get.” The series then went 100% soap opera: Christina gets assaulted on her wedding day, proceeds to run the entire hospital while brain damaged, and has an adulterous affair with a detective Renata, who tracks down and murders her attacker and then gets shot dead himself on Christina’s lawn. All this was pure General Hospital, but it was to no avail because the viewership had been irremediably chased away by the disastrous second season. HawthoRNe got cancelled after just three half-length seasons.

Nurse Jackie. Nurse Jackie was a whole different story. Being on Showtime, a premium cable network that is supported by paid subscriptions rather than commercials, Nurse Jackie had certain built-in advantages: it did not need to reach as large an audience to be profitable, and it could use black humor, raunchy language, and scandalous themes not permitted on broadcast TV. As Showtime spokesperson Stuart Zakim put it, “We try to take subjects and treat them in a way that can’t be done on regular television” (Bauder, 2009, p.5B). Showtime went all out for sensationalism. Although the series’ creators (Liz Brixius, Linda Wallem and Evan Dunsky) claimed their goal was to show how nurses, not doctors, are the important deliverers of medical care (Kinon, 2009), nothing in the show’s content matches the talk. Instead, the first half-hour episode (June 18, 2009) alone had Jackie constantly taking drugs, having adulterous sex with a pharmacist in exchange for pharmaceutical samples, verbally disrespecting doctors and administrators with obscene language, falsifying a dead patient’s non-existent organ donation card, flushing the severed ear of a criminal down the toilet because she didn’t like him personally, and lying about all her actions to cover up. Prior to the series’ premiere, Showtime held not one, not two, but three advance screenings for nurses, including Barbara Crane, the president of the National Federation of Nurses. This predictably resulted in nurses angrily denouncing the series to the media as immoral, disgusting, appalling, and slanderous. Showtime’s strategy worked – people couldn’t wait to see just how outrageous and offensive the series was (Bauder). Critics were, for the most part, delirious in their praise. Fed up with formulaic TV series, the reviewers found Jackie’s crazy, unbridled behavior a wonderfully entertaining breath of fresh air, stimulating, original, and delightfully shocking. TV Guide’s Roush called the show “irresistible,” as well as “tart, smart, and affecting” (2009a, p. 26). New York Magazine’s Emily Nussbaum raved that it was
“excitingly ambitious – funny, sexy, strange” (2009, para. 7). ScriptPhD awarded Nurse Jackie a grade of “A”, calling the character and the series “never less than totally compelling” (para. 2). And blogger Daniel Fienberg (2009, p. 2) went so far as to declare the show “funny, heart-breaking, spiritual, touching, and more than anything, humane.”

Nurses in the general public tended to be ambivalent about Nurse Jackie, largely finding it entertaining, but worrying about the image of the profession and its possibly negative effect on recruiting in a time of nursing staff shortages. RN Teresa Brown (2009), writing in the New York Times, stated: “I loved the new Showtime series Jackie and then I didn’t” (para. 1). She explains: The first several episodes show Jackie managing the swirling emotions and complicated medical issues of an urban emergency department with compassion and a high degree of expertise…. As the series continued, though, it started to look more and more like General Hospital and less and less like a real hospital….I doubt any nurse would so repeatedly, and so consciously, put her license at risk (para. 1).

In a comment to Brown’s article, Nurse Yvonne Knauff declares:

Nurse Jackie has set the image of the nursing profession back 50 years. It isn’t a decent TV show! I have been a BSN and Masters Prepared Nurse Practitioner for too many years to condone the portrayal of any nurse as a drug addicted adulterous ‘professional.’ Would you want Nurse Jackie taking care of you or a member of your family? I wouldn’t.” (Brown, comment #18)

In another comment, Nurse Robinetta Wheeler said:

I am a nurse. Although I understand the need for some drama, I regret the writers portrayal of the nurse breaking all of the American Nurses Association Professional Code of Conduct….In addition, we continue to have a shortage of nurses. Please show the profession as one of dignity so that young people will consider it for the right reasons. (Brown, Comment #27)

Kevin Hook, Geriatric Nurse Practitioner, who find Jackie “compelling” and “three dimensional” while not agreeing with her methods, points out that other TV programs “tend to be better at depicting the caring part of nursing and not so good at showing nurses’ clinical care and knowledge,” whereas Jackie “went about her business like any real nurse would do – preforming an impeccable head-to-toe assessment” (Tossman, p. 12). Perhaps most unexpectedly, a former editor-in-chief of the American Journal of Nursing, Diana J. Mason, opined: To like this series you don’t have to agree with everything that nurse does….I suggest that nurses rally around this series and stop wishing for perfection in any lead nurse character. Diaannah Carroll’s docile nurse character in Julia wouldn’t attract viewers in today’s entertainment world. There is not another program that shows nurses as smart, fierce advocates who actually provide nursing care. Sure, I’ll cringe when Jackie pops another pain killer or steals from a jerk of a patient and gives the money to the pregnant woman who can’t afford a taxi home. But Nurse Jackie isn’t perfect and neither am I. I’m signing up for Nurse Jackie now. (Mason, 2009, p.2)

Yet, this opinion was probably influenced by Mason’s having been consulted for advice by a Nurse Jackie scriptwriter prior to the launching of the series. Professional nursing organization reaction to Nurse Jackie was much more negative. ANA ethicist Badzek said, “I definitely think those images hurt us professionally and in terms of recruiting” (Trossman). The New York State Nurses Association (NYSNA) demanded that the producers insert a disclaimer at the beginning of Nurse Jackie stating that the show does not comply with the ANA’s Code of Ethics for Nurses. Showtime refused to do so (Tossman). And even the ANA’s membership turned out to be almost evenly divided on the problem, with “only 53% of respondents” to the ANA’s own poll agreeing that Nurse Jackie harms the profession (Sorrell). Showtime proceeded undeterred.

Subsequent episodes of Nurse Jackie showed that the pilot was no fluke – Jackie Peyton was on a rampage of shocking behavior without end. In the second episode, “Sweet ‘n’ All,” Jackie is seen one morning packing her family’s lunches, and for herself crushing up the powerful drug Percocet and putting it into sweetener packets to ingest throughout the day at work. In Episode 7, “Steak Knife,” Jackie reluctantly mentors her newbie nurse, then toys with the affections of the pharmacist who still doesn’t know Jackie is married after a year of supplying her with drugs and sex, and after that she walks into a pedophile patient’s room and proceeds to violently rip out his catheter to teach him a lesson. Her only
defense: “Who are they going to believe, him or me?” Thus Jackie hides behind the shield of her profession’s sterling reputation in order to mete out vigilante justice as she pleases and conduct her working life in blatant disregard to all the standards of nursing.

Why does Jackie act the way she does? Edie Falco, the actress who plays Jackie, said in a TV Guide interview (Holbrook, 2009) that she has no idea: “Jackie is really complicated,’ says Falco. ‘When I first read the script, I thought, wow, I don’t understand this woman at all. And then I thought, what could be more fun than trying to figure her out?’” (Photo caption, no page.)

Thanks to the short half-hour format, and the large number of characters on the show, Jackie actually has relatively little screen time. She does her bizarre actions, the other characters follow their sub-plots, and the episode is over without any time for reflection about why Jackie has built a whole life of lying, cheating and running incredible risks when she did not have any apparent necessity to do so. The story makes no sense, but it is like one train wreck after another that you cannot take your eyes off of. It is sensationalism taken to the maximum degree, and it works.

Jackie’s viewership from the premiere to the present has risen from 1.35 million persons (The Futon Critic, 2010) per week to an average of 2.8 million(Nededog, 2011) weekly in seasons three and four, a very robust total for a premium cable show (see Table). Nurse Jackie, which, as of this writing, has just been renewed for a fifth season (Bibel, 2012), has broadcasted 46 episodes, making it the only one of the three nursing series to surpass even 30 episodes.

**Conclusion and Implications**

It is perhaps worth noting that four other new medical dramas came out at about the same time as the nursing shows. Combat Hospital, Three Rivers, The Listener, and Miami Medical were doctor-centered or paramedic-centered shows without much nursing content, and all four were formulaic medical dramas typical of broadcast television. All met with quick cancellations. So, six out of the seven new medical shows of 2009-2010 were big failures. The only one to survive and thrive is the most sensationalistic one, fully taking advantage of the liberties afforded premium cable. The implication for educational purposes (Sorrell) is that the more extreme nurse shows might be useable for stimulating discussion in the classroom concerning ethical behavior for nurses. The implications for the nursing profession are more ambiguous and open to debate.

The general public’s attitude – important because the public makes for the ratings that keep shows on the air – is perhaps neatly summarized by a published online comment about Nurse Jackie from an individual named Spence Halperin:

“...I think television has a hard time depicting the helping professions realistically because it is just not dramatic enough to watch a good, ethical nurse, doctor, clergy or social worker. TV needs to make them ‘more complicated’ and Nurse Jackie is the result. Can we just enjoy it? (Brown, 2009, comment #10)

We can enjoy it, but what of the impact on nursing? At present, there is no positive nursing television series indirectly recruiting future nurses. That could potentially decrease applications into nursing from those watching television. It is suggested by the authors that future research be done to determine what if any television series might recruit future nursing applicants.

The moral of the story is that the experiment with medical dramas on TV was a failure in large part because the bar for sensationalism has been raised beyond what broadcast TV and even standard cable can compete with. Realistic nursing practice? Boring. Ethical nursing care? Sounds too dull. Total sensationalism? Successful, but only for a relatively small audience willing and able to pay premium prices for it. In the big smack-down among all these TV series, there is no real winner, and one big loser: nursing’s image in our society.
References


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The Rise of the Extreme Right-The Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)

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In 2010, Europeans woke up to the news that an extreme right party in Hungary had won close to 17 percent of the vote, making it the third largest party in Hungary. This paper will take a look at the European extreme right and analyze its supporters and core issues driving the movement. It will then look at one of the most powerful extreme right parties in Europe, Jobbik in Hungary, and study its supporters, platform and then demonstrate that Jobbik is quite unique when it comes to extreme right parties, because it deviates from the established model of extreme right parties.

The Rise of the Extreme Right in Europe

One of the most fascinating phenomena in recent European history has been the rise of the extreme right in Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. While many had predicted its collapse with the demise of communism, the extreme right discovered a new issue it could rally around, ethnic minorities, immigrants and refugees. Suddenly, extreme right parties, which had enjoyed only marginal support after WWII, found an issue they could use to appeal to a larger segment of the European population. From France to Italy and Austria to Hungary, many European countries experienced a rise of extreme right parties.

As many conventional studies have shown, extreme right supporters tend to be working and/or lower middle class, who not only worry about minorities taking away job opportunities, but also resent minorities relying upon so may welfare state benefits. In other word, minorities are competing for jobs and welfare state benefits with the native lower middle and working classes, which leads to a lot of resentment from the native classes.

In addition extreme right supporters tend to be overwhelmingly male and are either young or retirees. Not surprisingly, their level of education tends be fairly low (van der Brug and Fennema, 2003). The extreme right attracts the least support from the educated middle and upper middles classes.

Many studies have shown that the extreme right benefits from two domestic situations. High levels of unemployment, when jobs are scarce, results in the native classes having to compete with low wage minority laborers resulting in resentment by the natives. In addition the number of minorities is directly related to extreme right support. The more minorities a country has, the larger support for the extreme right will be. Interestingly, this variable is the most important variable of the all the ones considered in this paper. Even with low unemployment, the number of minorities in a country will impact extreme right support.

According to Jackman and Wolpert (1996) electoral law also makes a difference. Proportional representation is directly associated with more extreme right support. Not being among the largest parties in a country, proportional representation assures seats in parliament for the extreme right, as recently shown in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Slovakia. Having a British type electoral law on the other hand hurts third parties, with which the extreme right is usually associated with, and results in just a few or no seats in parliaments. The best example is the National Front in France. When President Mitterrand changed the electoral law in France in 1986 to proportional representation to placate his communist allies, the extreme right National Front suddenly found itself with close to ten percent of the vote and 35 seats in the National Assembly. By 1988, France had switched back to its traditional single member district electoral law and the National Front was decimated receiving only 1 seat in parliament, despite receiving the same amount of votes as in 1986.
Another recent finding by Arzheimer and Carter (2006) finds that established right wing parties taking over extreme right issues legitimizes the extreme right. Previously it had been assumed that it was the ignoring of legitimate issues such as immigration or ethnic minority issues by the established parties that resulted in extreme right support, but newer studies have found that the exact opposite seems to be true. Voters who previously were afraid to openly support the extreme right and its controversial positions on issues now find these issues legitimized by traditional conservative parties. Suddenly the stigma of voting for the extreme right disappears and average voters begin to support the extreme right. This seems to be happening especially in France and Italy where traditional and governing conservative parties have moved to the right on the issue of Muslim migration and the extreme right has flourished. Similar findings have been discovered on the issues of toughness on crime, and the question of national sovereignty versus more European integration. The latter has especially impacted Hungarian politics in recent months. Whenever established conservative parties move to the right on issues it legitimizes these positions and the extreme right will benefit. Older theories proclaiming an extreme right vote as a pure and temporary protest vote have been discredited by newer findings.

The question of whether the size of the welfare state factors in a vote for the extreme right presents interesting answers. Swank and Betz (2003) found that a large powerful welfare state actually undermines the extreme right, because workers are less insecure over competition from minorities over jobs. However welfare state cutbacks during economic crisis are directly associated with the rise of the extreme right. Now natives have to compete with minorities for scarce welfare state benefits and are thus more prone to vote for the extreme right.

With the recent economic decline in many European countries, it has become necessary to cut back welfare state benefits. France in 2010 increased the eligibility age for social security, Germany cut parts of its health care system, and Greece eliminated mandatory salary increases for government employees. Therefore, we can predict that in all of these, support for the extreme right will go up. France proves this point already well. After massive welfare state cutbacks were undertaken by the Sarkozy administration in the fall of 2010, the regional elections held in March 2011 proved the theory correct. In these elections, President’s Sarkozy party, the UMP (Union for a Popular Movement) got clobbered receiving only around 20 percent of the vote, while the extreme right National Front headed by Marine LePen, more than doubled its vote compared to 2008, receiving about 12 percent of the vote. By the time the 2012 French presidential elections came around, the National Front had increased its vote total to 18 percent of the vote and had become the third largest party in France.

The next section will now focus on the Hungarian extreme right as represented by Jobbik, the “Movement for a Better Hungary”. While Jobbik meets some of the criteria discussed above, it does deviate greatly from many of the established assumptions about the extreme right. This makes Jobbik not only unique among the European extreme right, but even more dangerous for the future of Hungary.

The Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)

Jobbik, or The Movement for a Better Hungary, was formed in 2003 by David Kovacs and Gabor Vona on the campus of Eotvos Lorand (ELTE) University in Budapest. It started out in 2002 as a student association, the “Right-Wing Youth Community”, composed of Christian conservative students, both catholic and protestant, who were concerned about the current state of the nation. At this time Hungary had undergone four years of ineffective conservative rule and a new socialist government had just been voted into power. The Hungarian economy was in shambles, debt was spiraling out of control and Hungary was making major concessions to surrounding countries, such as Slovakia and Romania, with large Hungarian ethnic minorities, to gain access to the European Union in 2004.

Sensing the failure of the entire Hungarian political elite, the student association transformed itself into the “Movement for a Better Hungary” renamed later Jobbik. One of Jobbik’s founders, Gabor Vona, became chairman of the party at the age of twenty-eight. He was born in rural Hungary to an anti-communist farming family, obtained a degree in history and a job as a history teacher. Currently, Vona is a member of the Hungarian parliament and the party’s candidate for prime minister.

The party’s second in command, Dr. Krisztina Morvai, is a human rights advocate, who became involved with Jobbik after the 2006 riots. Dr. Morvai holds a joint J.D. and Ph.D. and used to work for
both the European Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations and also was a Fulbright scholar teaching at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. While with the United Nations, she specialized in women’s rights, especially the rights of Palestinian women living in Israel. When she deplored the state of Palestinian women in Israel, she was removed from her position in 2006. According to Dr. Morvai it was the Israeli government that had asked for her to be removed because she had criticized the miserable living conditions of Palestinian women in Israel. Since then she has been openly critical of Israel and the Hungarian Jewish population. Even though she was not a member of the party, Vona, decided she could best serve the party as the leader of The Movement for a Better Hungary’s European Parliamentary list in the 2009 election and as a future presidential candidate.

To increase its familiarity with the Hungarian public, Jobbik chose to begin a nation-wide campaign to remind Hungarians about the true meaning behind Christmas. The party put up crosses throughout the country with the open support of the catholic and protestant church. For the upcoming 2006 elections, Gabor Vona, the party chairman, decided to enter into a grand coalition with other extreme right parties to increase Jobbik’s chances of winning seats in parliament. This coalition with the Hungarian Truth and Life Party and The Third Way resulted in a disappointing 2.2% of the vote and failure to attain any seats in parliament (Wolchik and Curry, 222). This dismal showing convinced the party’s leadership that it had to go it alone to be successful. They were aided in their effort by a major scandal involving the ruling Hungarian Socialist Party.

Shortly after winning reelection in 2006, Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsany of the Hungarian Socialist Party held a private celebration. During the gathering, the Prime Minister gave a short speech bragging how the Socialists had lied and falsified economic data about the current state of the economy to win reelection. He also boasted that he had done nothing worth mentioning over the past four years. Not surprisingly, he was secretly recorded and the tapes were leaked to the public. Furious Hungarians began to protest. The protest turned out to be the most violent since 1956, when Hungarians protested the Soviet occupation of Hungary. Jobbik encouraged its supporters to join the rallies against Gyurcsany. Soon 10,000 protesters gathered on the streets of Budapest. While a majority of the people remained peaceful, a few hundred extremists began fighting with Hungarian police, who overreacted and began to attack the mostly peaceful demonstrators and hundreds were injured. Not surprisingly this proved to be the destruction of the mighty Hungarian Socialist Party, the successor to the former Hungarian Communist Party. Now Jobbik had found its raison d’etre and another issue to build successful future campaigns on.

From 2007 up to the 2009 European parliamentary elections Gabor Vona and his second in command Krisztina Morvai toured the country to promote Jobbik. Even though their campaign slogan, “Hungary belongs to the Hungarians,” was ruled unconstitutional Jobbik won three seats in the European Parliament (MEP) in 2009. As soon as it entered the European parliament, Jobbik joined the Alliance of European National Movements including other extreme right parties such as the Swedish Nationaldemokraterna, the Italian Fiamma Tricolore and France’s National Front.

With the electoral success of 2009 behind it, the Movement for a Better Hungary went into the 2010 parliamentary election expected to win parliamentary seats. The results exceeded the party's wildest dreams. Jobbik won 16.67 percent of the vote and 47 seats in parliament, becoming the third largest party in Hungary (Wolchik and Curry, 222). Conservative party leader, Viktor Orban, led his Fidesz party to victory with almost 53 percent of the vote, while the former ruling Hungarian Socialist Party dropped to 59 seats and only 19 percent of the total vote (Wolchik and Curry, 222). According to recent polls, Jobbik has overtaken the Socialist Party as the second largest party receiving close to 20 percent support nationally (www.portfolio.hu/en/tool/print/2/23880). With a large base of youth and rural farming communities in northern Hungary supporting the nationalist-populist movement, Jobbik has started to win local elections, receiving up to forty percent of the vote in several mayoral contests (www.jobbik.com).

**Party Platform**

Jobbik is not a traditional fascist or neofascist party, but believes in a radical nationalism, which rejects the normal political spectrum of left or right. Radical nationalists believe in a form of ethno-nationalism with an anti-elitist populist slant, and they are critical of current political institutions (www.jobbik.com).
Jobbik advocates the restoration of the pre-World War I borders, rejecting the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, which almost destroyed Hungary by taking close to two-thirds of its territory and handing it to Slovakia, Romania, Croatia and Serbia. “Jobbik considers its most important task to be the reunification of a Hungarian nation unjustly torn apart during the course of the twentieth century,” (www.jobbik.com). With millions of Hungarian now living in foreign countries, Jobbik’s main priority has become the protection of Hungarian living abroad. Especially in Romania and Slovakia, where Hungarian minorities have been traditionally mistreated, Jobbik calls for more self-determination for Hungarian communities and implores the Romanian and Slovak governments to protect the rights of ethnic Hungarians. “It is our fundamental moral duty to represent the interest and defend the rights of Hungarian communities” (www.jobbik.com). The “Hungarian Nation” is not a geographical area, but a nation of fifteen million souls who live around the world in Hungarian communities” (www.jobbik.com).

The party’s platform states that it will guarantee every Hungarian, regardless of where they live, the right to Hungarian citizenship, which will guarantee that their voices will be heard in matters concerning the national interest. “We will review the treaties agreed with our neighboring countries, and reposition them onto more sound foundations,” Jobbik proclaims when calling for self-determination for Hungarians living abroad (www.jobbik.com). “And with every single political instrument at our disposal we shall promote and support the efforts of Hungarians beyond the border to achieve self-determination” (www.jobbik.com). For Jobbik, the most important foreign policy goal is therefore the improvement of the lives of Hungarians living outside of Hungary. The party is striving for better and more humane treatment of Hungarians in Europe, the North Atlantic region, and the Carpathian-basin region.

In the area of economics, Jobbik believes that Hungary should have a state capitalist economic structure similar to the one found in Russia under President Putin, where the government controls a part of the economy, while private property and businesses are legal. Jobbik believes that the government has the right and even obligation to intervene in the economy. This can be accomplished through direct ownership of enterprises or other forms of economic planning. Statism is not socialism or communism, because private property is legal and the majority of the economy is privately owned.

The party rejects globalized capitalism, referring to it as western style “cowboy capitalism” (www.jobbik.com). Jobbik believes that global capitalism has failed Hungary and the world and resulted in a corrupt Hungarian political elite, which is only interested in enriching itself at the expense of the nation. Finally, Jobbik is protectionist in nature opposing foreign investment in Hungary in an effort to protect Hungarian businesses.

Jobbik further advocates autarchy, where Hungary will become less reliant on other countries, both economically and politically. For this reason, Jobbik does not support the European Union in its current state. Jobbik advocates for a new reformed European Union where the 27 nations making up the EU have more power. In other words, Jobbik favors an EU which is more of a confederation instead of a federation. It further believes that Hungary’s membership in the EU has actually resulted in discrimination against Hungarians living abroad. For example in 2009, the Czech Republic signed onto the Lisbon Treaty only after the EU allowed the Benes Decrees, which labeled both ethnic Hungarians and German living in the Czech republic war criminals and took away their basic civil rights and liberties, to stand.

The issue that has given Jobbik the most support among the Hungarians public is a shared dislike for the 500,000 to one million Roma (Gypsies) and the 100,000 Jews living in Hungary today (www.csmonitor.com/2008/0213/p07s02-woeu.html). After the Roma had been successfully (forcefully) integrated into the Austrian-Hungarian empire by Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Josef II, the breakup of the Empire after WWI and the defeat of Hungary in WWII led to a restoration of a separate Roma culture. Having the highest birth rate in Hungary, the Roma are expected to make up 15 percent of the public by 2050. They have become the poorest segment of Hungarian society. Ironically, their socio-economic situation has actually declined since the fall of communism. Only 61 percent of Roma children graduate from primary schools, and less than 5 percent manage to graduate from High School (www.csmonitor.com/2008/0213/p07s02-woeu.html). Less than one percent of all Roma have a post-graduate degree. In addition, a full 42 percent of Roma children are sent to classes with children who have
learning disabilities, while school segregation is on the rise with Hungarian parents refusing to send their children to school with Roma children. A Roma unemployment rate of up to 70 percent coupled with the current economic problems Hungary is facing has turned into a toxic mix of Roma resentment and open hatred (www.csmonitor.com/2008/0213/p07s02-woeu.html).

The issues of Gypsy crime is the number one campaign issue for Jobbik today. The party advocates ending the “gypsy crime” problem through tough law enforcement, harsher penalties and the restoration of the death penalty. To combat crime and protect the Hungarian population, Jobbik created the Hungarian Guard in 2007. The group, known as Magyar Garda, was 3000 men strong and trained in hand-to-hand combat and its uniform consisted of black boots with black pants and a white top accented with a black vest and black cap. On the back of the vest was a lion and the front featured the coat of arms of King Emric and the Arpad stripes, the house of Arpad being the founding dynasty of Hungary. Similar to Mussolini’s black shirts, the Magyar Garda’s main purpose was to maintain order and it often served as a secondary police force in small rural towns, where police was either non-existent or corrupt and crime had become a major problem. The guard became very controversial because it was openly anti-Semitic and anti-Gypsy and often used brutal tactics against Gypsy criminals.

In 2009, the Magyar Garda was dismantled by the Metropolitan Court of Appeal in Budapest because of violations to the Hungarian constitution dealing with the rights of minorities. However now the Magyar Garda has reconstituted itself as the Magyar Garda Foundation, which is supposedly only engaged in civic and cultural activities such as nation-building. At the same time, Jobbik advocates more spending on the education of the Gypsy population in Hungarian culture, history, and languages. According to Jobbik, Gypsies, if they are educated and have jobs, will not commit crimes and are less likely to depend on the Hungarian welfare state (www.jobbik.com).

Jobbik has also been accused of being anti-Semitic. Dr. Morvai, the party’s second in command has often been referred to as the “Nazi Barbie”, for some of her quotes in regards to Hungarian Jews and the state of Israel. Dr. Morvai is quoted as saying: “I would be greatly pleased if those who call themselves proud Hungarian Jews played in their leisure with their tiny circumcised penises, instead of besmirching me. Your kind of people are used to seeing all of our kind of people stand to attention and adjust to you every time you fart; would you kindly acknowledge this is now over. We have raised our head up high and we shall no longer tolerate your kind of terror; we shall take back our country” (guardian.co.uk).

In 2009, after the Israeli invasion of the Gaza strip which killed close to 1400 Palestinians, she wrote a letter to the Israeli Ambassador in Hungary saying: “The only way to talk to people like you is by assuming the style of Hamas. I wish all of you lice-infested, dirty murderers will receive Hamas kisses” (www.businessweek.com). Further, high level leaders of Jobbik openly refer to Budapest as Judapest and the Magyar Garda has been accused of desecrating Jewish churches and cemeteries and openly greeting orthodox Jews with the Hitler Salute.

According to research conducted by political scientist Andras Toth and Sociologist Istvan Graiczjar, Hungary is a breeding ground for extreme right movements. (http://esbalogh.typepad.com/hungarianspectrum/2011/07/hungarys-extreme-right-jobbik.html).

According to research conducted by political scientist Andras Toth and Sociologist Istvan Graiczjar, Hungary is a breeding ground for extreme right movements. (http://esbalogh.typepad.com/hungarianspectrum/2011/07/hungarys-extreme-right-jobbik.html).

According to the Hungarian liberal think tank Political Capital, support for extreme right parties has doubled since 2003 when only 10 percent of all Hungarians had a propensity to support far right ideas. It is at 21 percent today (www.businessweek.com). In Poland as at the same time the support for extreme right ideas fell from 10 percent to 6.5 percent (www.businessweek.com).
Similar to the extreme right in other countries, Jobbik supporters are the most pessimistic in society. They are the most racist, anti-Semitic and anti-Gypsy in the country.

A part of Jobbik’s as is expected; they are young, unemployed and working class. Interestingly, it is former socialist voters that are proving to be one of the core groups supporting Jobbik. Thirty-three percent of all Jobbik voters had voted for the Hungarian Socialist Party in 2006, while 51 percent voted for the conservative FIDESZ party. Only 19 percent of all Jobbik voters in 2010 had actually voted extreme right in 2006.

Especially the Hungarian youth is turning to Jobbik in high numbers. In 2010 almost 40 percent of voters under the age of twenty-four voted extreme right, while only 10 percent of voters fifty-five and older voted extreme right.

Here we find a major discrepancy with other extreme right parties throughout Europe, where the elderly make up a core group of their supporters. In another major difference, Jobbik draws disproportionately from students unlike any other extreme right movement in other European countries. Even faculty at Hungarian universities professes extreme right views. It is believed that Jobbik controls student government and the humanities faculty at most Hungarian universities. Jobbik supporters are therefore not just young, undereducated and unemployed. Many are well educated, doctors, and economists and high level bureaucrats.

Recently, Jobbik has gone online to campaign. It is the only major Hungarian political party that has its full platform online, even in English, and has successfully used the Internet in the 2009 and 2010 elections. Again the party is targeting the young and educated, who are more likely to rely on the internet and other social media as a part of their lives.

**Conclusion**

By 2012 Jobbik had become a mainstay in Hungarian politics. The party currently runs second in support for the upcoming parliamentary elections. It has broad support in both rural areas and the capital of Budapest itself. While support for the extreme right has fallen in countries such as Poland and the Czech Republic and recently even Slovakia, it has increased in Hungary.

Jobbik’s supporters are unlike supporters of similar extreme right movements in the rest of Europe. Since its inception at the campus of the largest university of Hungary, Eotvos Lorand (ELTE) University in Budapest, Jobbik has drawn support from students and university faculty and the educated in Hungary. This is not case for other extreme right parties in Europe and will provide Jobbik with more staying power in the long run. Having support from segments of the intelligentsia provides legitimacy for Jobbik among the Hungarian public.

The theory that conservative parties adopting extreme right issues legitimize the extreme right is proven correct in Hungary. The mainstream conservative FIDESZ (Alliance of Young Democrats) party, founded in 1988, has recently adopted a harsh anti-Roma line and has even collaborated with Jobbik at the local level in about 100 municipalities. This has made discrimination against the Roma more acceptable to many Hungarians.

In addition one of the first acts of the newly elected FIDESZ government was to give dual citizenship to every Hungarian living outside of Hungary. This not only infuriated other Eastern European countries such as Slovakia and Romania, but also legitimized Jobbik’s stance on the issue.

Finally, FIDESZ has recently begun to target the EU with its criticism of EU policies. The EU has been very critical of Hungary’s new constitution, adopted in 2011, which allows for parliamentary oversight of the media and the Hungarian Central Bank, as well as laws to be passed within a day and without much parliamentary debate. Changes to the constitution have been demanded by the EU before Hungary will receive more aid from the EU and the IMF. This has resulted in both Jobbik and the mainstream conservative parties attacking the EU. On March 26, 2012, Prime Minister Victor Orban proclaimed in front of 100,000 people in Budapest that “Hungarians will not live as foreigners dictate.” He had previously stated that: “Nobody can interfere with Hungarian legislative work, and there is no one
in the world who can tell the elected deputies of the Hungarian people which acts to pass and which not to.”

Suddenly being anti-EU is not just a policy stance found by the extreme right, but it has become a legitimate issue advocated by the mainstream conservatives as well.

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Legal and Political Issues faced by Turkey in Becoming A Member of European Union

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Introduction: Turkey – EU Relations

Turkey has been a part of European common history and heritage for a long time. The Ottoman empire, Turkey's governmental predecessor, developed provinces and dominated the Balkans for nearly five centuries after the 14th century. The European states and the Ottoman Empire were separated by religion, culture and politics and they were constantly at war. Turkey was an important player in the region and was accepted into the Concert of Europe in 1856. The Concert of Europe was a series of Congresses (1814-1914) involving mutual cooperation among the traditional great powers of Europe, including Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia and the Ottoman Empire. It aimed to restore peace and stability in Europe after Napoleon's invasion with the goals of solving problems through mutual agreement.

In 1995, Turkey and EU finalized the agreement creating a customs union. It was believed that the customs union would accelerate Turkey's EU membership process (Please see Appendix C for the details about EU Membership process) but the hopes did not come true. In 1997, Turkey was declared eligible to become a member of the European Union and the EU Council recognized Turkey as a candidate with other countries in 1999. In 2004, the European Council started accession negotiations with Turkey after European Commission declaration indicating that Turkey fulfills membership criteria. In 2006, negotiations were opened to harmonize EU laws and policies with Turkish side and the chapter Science
and Research (Chapter 25) was closed. The Council blocked opening eight new chapters for negotiations and stated that no other chapters would be closed until a resolution is found for the dispute over Cyprus because Turkey did not apply customs union agreement to Cyprus and did not open its ports and airports to this EU member (European Commission-Enlargement, 2011). The eight chapters frozen by the EU are: Free Movement of Goods, Right of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services, Financial Services, Agriculture and Rural Development, Fisheries, Transport Policy, Customs Union and External Relations. As of July 2011, Turkey succeeded to open 13 chapters and negotiations on these chapters are continuing but only one chapter has been closed in five years, showing how the process is moving slowly. Details of the 35 chapters of the EU Acquis and status of negotiations with Turkey are given in Appendix D.

Timeline after the start of negotiations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 2006</td>
<td>Chapter on Science &amp; Research (Chp.25) opened and closed. (The only chapter closed after the start of accession negotiations.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2007</td>
<td>Chapter on Enterprise &amp; Industrial Policy (chapter 20) opened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2007</td>
<td>Chapter on Statistics (Chp.18) &amp; Financial Control (Chp.32) opened. The opening of the chapter on Economic &amp; Monetary Policy was blocked by France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2007</td>
<td>Chapters on Health &amp; Consumer Protection (Chp.28) and Trans-European Networks (Chp.21) are opened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2008</td>
<td>Chapters on Company Law (Chp.6) and Intellectual Property Law (Chp.7) are opened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2008</td>
<td>Chapters on Free Movement of Capital (Chp.4) and Information Society &amp; Media (Chp.10) are opened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2009</td>
<td>Chapter on Taxation (Chp.16) is opened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2009</td>
<td>Chapter on Environment (Chp.27) is opened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2010</td>
<td>Chapter on Food Safety, Veterinary &amp; Phytosanitary Policy (Chp.12) is opened.</td>
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Political and Cultural Challenges

Many European people do not consider Turkey today civilizationally any closer to Europe and they express that Europe is not a geographical but a cultural union. Democracy, functioning market economy and respect to human rights are the basics of EU accession process but there are other factors which prevent Turkey’s EU Membership. For Turkey EU Membership is a strategic goal and it is an above political parties issue so any new political party change in administration does not affect Turkey’s intention. On the other hand, any political change in member states affects Turkey’s accession process (Please see Appendix B for details about European Union Political System and Institutions). While one EU member supported Turkey’s membership a decade ago, because of a change in governing party, the same country now opposes Turkey. Also, public opinions change continuously, both in Turkey and in Europe. For example, Germany supported Turkey’s membership process while Social democrat leader Gerard Schroder led a coalition government from 1998 to 2005. Similar to that, France did not oppose Turkey’s candidacy during Jacques Chirac’s presidency until 2007. In 2005 and 2007, Governor Parties lost elections and new leaders came to power in these two countries (Nicolas Sarkozy – France and Angela Merkel – Germany) and both politicians became among the strongest opponents to Turkey’s membership. While some opponents of EU Enlargement use opposition to Turkey’s accession as an opportunity to gain support from their people and for internal politics, others express Turkey’s cultural, economic and religious differences as an obstacle to integration. Attitudes and perspectives of both EU and Turkey towards each other do not show a uniform pattern. Several times Turkey put a distance between itself and European Union but it was always Turkey waiting on front door for acceptance. There were times that Turkey was denied membership to European Union. There is definitely a non-linear relationship between EU-Turkey relations and this has been reflected by views of political actors and public opinions (Ayata, 2003). Although European Union membership is a state project for Turkey, public opinion does not support this process continuously. There has been always distrust to western nations.
from Ottoman times. Westernization of Turkey started more than two hundred years ago, today it continues under the name of European integration. Turkey signed an integration treaty with European Common Market in 1963 but after that time, there has not been a steady public support in Turkey because there have been many ups and downs and radical shifts in membership process. Today there is an increasing support among Turkish political figures and elite for the EU Integration and the Turkish people are enthusiastic to gain economic, politic and social standards of European countries.

According to Transatlantic Trends Report (2011), 48% of Turkish people believe that EU membership would be a good thing. Although this percentage is increasing recently, it is far away from the 73% support for EU membership in 2004 and 80% support in 1990s. The sharp decline in support for the EU membership among Turkish people can be explained with distrust of Europe. In 2004, Turkey supported a peace plan prepared by United Nations and backed by European Union and USA for Cyprus, it was ready to solve this dispute in order to ease its EU membership process but during peace plan referendum, Cyprus voted for “No” with a 75% which means it did not accept a peace plan and unification with Turkish community in the island while Turkish Cypriots supported with a 65% vote of “yes” to unification. In the same month of referendum, EU accepted Cyprus into the union without unification with Northern Turkish Side as a divided country and one year later the same EU blocked opening accession negotiations with Turkey because Turkey did not solve its dispute with Cyprus. Similar inconsistent decisions of the European Union create distrust within the Turkish nation.

Transatlantic Trends report also showed that Romanians, Swedes (66% each) and British (65%) believe that turkey would join the EU but the French (45%) and the Germans (40%) were the most likely to consider it a bad thing. On average, 48% of EU and a majority of the Americans believe that Turkey’s integration with EU would contribute to peace and stability in the Europe and Middle East. On the other hand, majorities in France (59%) and the Netherlands (51%) and a large number of people in Slovakia (46%) disagreed.

Turkish Judiciary System and Human Rights Violations

Human rights violations and problems in judiciary system in Turkey is another hot topic between EU and Turkey. European Commission progress reports continuously focus on these issues and urge Turkey to make reforms. Many of the human right violations of Turkey can be traced to its Kurdish problem. Kurdish people are a minority in Turkey and there is an armed rebellion among them for an independent Kurdistan. Turkish army is fighting against these rebels since 1982. Especially, EU accuses Turkey with the routine use of torture against Kurdish insurgents and sympathizers. Although Turkey is a democratic republic, there is lack of political freedom when it comes to Kurdish problem. Also, there are a lot of cases brought by Cyprus against Turkey over the territorial disputes in Northern Cyprus. According to European Court of Human Rights, at the end of 2010, nearly 140,000 allocated applications were pending before the Court. 10.9% of these cases are directed against Turkey (28.9% against Russia, 8.6% against Romania, 7.5% against Ukraine, 7.3% against Italy and 4.6% against Poland etc.) However, Turkey’s human rights record is improving dramatically. For example, capital punishment abolished and governments adopted zero tolerance against torture. New civil and penal codes were enacted in 2001 and 2004 respectively. Relevant human rights organizations and EU itself acknowledge the progress and European Commission started accession negotiations in 2005. As of 2011, Turkey is working on a new constitution which is expected to increase standards for human rights and solve problems of previous constitution which was written by a military administration.

Differences in Economic Development

European Union membership criterion, which is outlined by the Copenhagen agreement, includes some economic requirements. The economic criteria for membership means establishment of a strong market economy in candidate countries which is capable of withstanding competitive pressures and market forces within the Union. Also, there should be no obstacles against freedom of movements of goods, capital, services, and people.
Turkey operated a mixed economy between 1923 and 1950. State and private enterprises have contributed to economic development during these years but the economy was a closed one to foreign investments and competition. Foreign trade was low, tariffs were high and foreign investment was not encouraged. After World War Two, multiparty democracy was established in Turkey and liberal economic politics was started. Turkish economy became more open to foreign influences and with foreign aid, especially from United States, economic growth accelerated. While the private sector’s role in growth increased, state intervention in economic life remained strong. After 1970s, high inflation, unemployment and increasing foreign trade deficit were important problems. During 1980s, economic policies became more liberal and Turkish economy was opened to foreign competition. Privatization of state enterprises accelerated and foreign investment was encouraged. Gradually, the economy became an export drive one but inflation and foreign debts continued to become serious problems until 2000s.

Turkey has a lower GDP per inhabitant (GDP per capita (PPP)- around $12,000) than many EU countries and it is around 46% of EU average but differences in economic development between Europe and Turkey do not seem as an obstacle for membership. Turkey is a developing country and it has the sixth largest economy in Europe and 16th largest in the world. Turkish economy has successfully integrated with world financial markets and its private sector is capable to compete in world markets. In addition, there is a deep trade relation between Turkey and EU. The European Union ranks as the number one destination for Turkey’s imports and exports while Turkey ranks 7th in the EU’s largest import and 5th in the export markets (European Commission – Trade). According to the latest European Commission Turkey report (2010) on Turkey’s economic progress, the global financial crisis hit the country’s economy dramatically and reduced investments and external demand but the Turkish economy demonstrated strong recovery and is now growing at robust rates (European Commission Turkey Progress Report, 2010). Domestic growth is high and financing needs have been growing while access to external finance remained unproblematic. Unemployment rate is around 11% and expected to stay around this rate in the absence of additional labor market reforms. R&D expenditure remains lower. Overall, Turkey diversified its trade towards new markets but trade and economic integration with the EU is high.

Only 32% of the people polled in EU think that Turkey was too poor to be accepted into the union whereas 58% stated that Turkey’s economic problems were not a barrier to integration. While these percentages change from country to country, Bulgarians (19%) and Romanians (13%) were the least likely to see economic indifferences as a problem for EU integration of Turkey. On the other hand, only 22% of Turks expressed that poverty among Turkish people is an obstacle to EU membership (Transatlantic Trends Report 2011). In addition, the 2004 and 2007 EU enlargement showed that economic development differences were not a obstacle for membership because countries poorer than Turkey, such a communist Baltic countries Estonia, Latvia, Slovenia and Balkan countries such Bulgaria and Romania gained acceptance into the EU.

Religion (Islam v. Christianity)

Turkey, previously the Ottoman Empire, has been a member of European family of nations despite its territorial placement and it is legally a European state since it joined all intergovernmental organization, including OECD, in 1948, the Council of Europe in 1949, and NATO in 1952, and as an associate member, the EEC in 1963. These agreements show that European nations consider Turkey as part of their world. However, there are other different objections to Turkish membership in the EU. One such issue is culture and, more specifically, religion (Yesilada, 2002). Turkey is a predominantly Muslim country and opponents of Turkey’s Membership claim that Muslims cannot integrate into Europe because Islam is inassimilable and it is a threat to European identity and culture which is based on human rights, pluralist democracy, liberal economy and Christianity. For evidence, they draw attention to the alleged failure of growing number of Muslim immigrants in Europe to integrate culturally (Yukleyen, 2009). In addition, some influential political analysts such as Samuel Huntington and Francis Fukuyama argue that the accession of Turkey to the EU threatens the European Union because the Islamic identity is in conflict with a Christian-based European identity. According to them, the solution is to assimilate European Muslims and build walls to prevent any further immigration. On the other hand, supporters of Turkey’s
EU membership claim that as a Muslim majority country, Turkey can modulate fears of clash between the Islam world and the west and it can play a bridging role.

Turkey is a secular state and its constitution does not recognize any official religion and its citizens are free to choose any faith. The modern Turkey was established with a purpose of modernization through westernization but there is a historical prejudice against Turkey in Europe. This prejudice comes from the fact that the Ottoman Turkey was an Islamic empire and it invaded Europe and occupied vast European territories (Balkans) for hundred years and represented the sword of Islam. For instance, the noon bell in Christian world has an interesting story. During the Ottoman Siege of Belgrade (Capital city of Serbia), Pope ordered the bells of churches in Europe to be rung every noon as a call to prayer for the Christian defenders of this city. This order was not taken back and churches still ring the noon bell until to this day.

Several European leaders express concern about the future of European Christian civilization and a risk of overrun by Islam with Turkey’s EU membership which will allow 75 million Muslim people join the Union. This is a highly sensitive and controversial issue. After 9/11, it is widely accepted that it would be better to accept Turkey into European Union rather than allowing it to be a part of anti-western grouping of Muslim countries. There are significant concerns about Islamic extremism in many European countries including Germany, France, Britain, and the Netherlands, etc. And Turkey has very strong Islamic roots. Also, many Europeans worry about their own domestic Muslim minorities which are resistant to European customs, cultures and life styles and the number of Muslim immigrants in Europe is increasing.

There is a concern among many European and Turkish intellectuals whether religion plays an inclusion/exclusion criteria into the union or whether the opposition to Turkey’s membership related to its Muslim roots rather than from economic, political or geopolitical problems. Although, Christianity has a powerful influence on the values of European society, culture, arts and worldview, EU started the accession process of Turkey in 2004 which was subject to a set of several conditions. This indicates that EU is not based on a religious divide and it shouldn’t be. Also, Turkey’s membership would assist the EU to integrate its own Muslim community which makes up at least 3% of the continent’s population. In addition, Turkey’s accession to the Union would help the modernization of Islam, both in Turkey and EU itself (Oguzoglu, 2008). Turkey is a rare example of coexistence of Islam and democracy. If EU wants to evolve into a multicultural union with democratic and secular norms defining its identity, acceptance of Turkey would be a critical step.

European identity

As a continent, Europe is usually considered to include the western part of Eurasian region and several islands not far away from the mainland including Iceland, Corsica, Malta, Sardinia, Sicily, Crete, and Ireland, as well as Great Britain. On the other hand, European identity is a system of values and ideas including Christianity, freedom, humanism and material progress (Guibernau, 2011). The idea of European civilization and identity is not constricted to a geographical or historical region. Instead, it is a term based on specific cultural and political heritage going back to Athenian democracy. There is a substantial effort among EU Institutions to construct a shared sense of European identity while greater EU Integration and enlargement continue. Currently, the status of Europe as a cultural unity and set of values remains problematic. EU Enlargement is weakening the efforts to create a common identification among people and public support for the integration is declining. The enlargement process is still ongoing and borders of the union are changing constantly while hesitancy among member state citizens of the EU-15 (Countries which entered the Union before 1995) against new members is growing. Support for the enlargement has significantly declined compared to previous decade and many Europeans are against a further widening. The Balkan countries and Turkey are considered culturally dissimilar (Thiel, 2007).

Especially, Turkey has been always considered the outsider for centuries. The Historical image of Turkey in Europe is not positive. From the Crusades (1095-1291) to the Ottoman siege of Vienna (1683), Europeans have always associated Turks with war, invasion, brutality and Islam. This image is common in many Europeans. Many important European political figures including Schmitt, Kohl, Martens and D’Estaing publicly expressed that Turkey could not be a member of the EU (Ayata, 2003). Today many Christian Democrat politicians in Europe share the same belief that EU is a civilization movement and
Turkey is not part of that project. They oppose Turkey’s membership on the basis that the identity of Europe was based on a common cultural heritage and values stemming from ancient Greek and Roman law, Christianity and Enlightenment and Turkey does not have any of these values.

Costs and benefits of Turkey’s European Union Membership

After September 11, opponents of Turkey’s EU membership claim that Turkey is a Muslim country and it is impossible to integrate Muslims into European culture. Turkey’s membership could end the union and the cost will be the loss of European identity. Their solution is to keep Muslims away from Europe, assimilate European Muslims, prevent Turkish membership and create new walls among these civilizations. In addition, there is a fear that Turkey’s membership will result in a huge immigration to Europe. This is an outdated argument. There is no scientific base for this fear. There are around 16 million (%3) Muslims including 4.5 million Turkish in Europe and most of them immigrated to Europe legally as a worker or through family unification.

European Union membership process is a major force for Turkey to make political and social reforms. Also, the accession of Turkey into the European Union can be a symbolic global cooperation and end the tensions between Islam and the West. It is true that Islam and Muslim countries need modernization and reforms and this process cannot be supported with rejections and walls against them. If Europe and the United states want to prevent any danger from these sources and cooperate with that Muslim world, they should support Turkey and other Muslim countries for development in Education, Economy, Technology and Culture. There are several countries which are Muslim: wealthy, modern and democratic such as Malaysia, Turkey, and Indonesia, etc. Turkey’s EU accession will accelerate modernization of this country and will strengthen relations with Middle Eastern nations and Western democracies.

Turkey’s EU membership is mutually beneficial to both Ankara and Brussels (capital of European Union). Turkey has a big, young population (Average age is 28 years old.) and it is the sixth largest economy in Europe. In the last decade, Turkish economy became one the fastest growing economies in the world and Europe. Trade and investment between Turkey and the European Union is growing, creating new jobs and opportunities. Turkey is a safe transit hub between European Industrial regions and the oil and gas reserves of the Middle East and Central Asia so it is very critical for the European energy security. With the largest army in Europe, Turkey is a major power in NATO, protecting Europe, and has strong ties with the Muslim world. This is an opportunity for the European Union to improve relations and play an active role on the global stage (Bagis, 2011).

Good relations and cooperation with Turkey is very important and beneficial to EU and United States. Turkey has borders with Iraq, Iran, Syria and the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan) and controls the corridor between Europe and Caspian Sea energy reserves. A stable, Western style, Democratic Turkey in the European Union would be a positive influence and role model for Middle East and Muslim countries, a critical ally in the war on terrorist groups, a growing market for exportation and a source of needed labor for aging Europe (Taspinar & Gordon, 2008). On the other hand, an unstable, authoritarian or fundamentalist Turkey can be disaster for its region and Europe and United States.

Turkey’s Problems with Greece and Cyprus

The relationship between Turkey and Greece is considered as one of the known examples of a long lasting conflict between two nations (Ker-Lindsay, 2007). Tensions arise frequently due to their ancient rivalries and differences between two countries. Greece secured its independence from Ottoman Empire in 1832 and Turkey conducted its independence war against the Greek army backed by Great Britain and France after World War One. There have been periods of good relations, especially between 1920-1950, but after that period relations have deteriorated for the last five decades. The difficult and complex issue of Cyprus, territorial disputes in Aegean Sea and treatment of their respective national minorities are major problems with these two nations.

The Aegean Sea is located between the Greek Peninsula and the Anatolian Peninsula. The Ottoman Empire controlled this sea after the fall of East Roman Empire (Byzantine Empire) until 1912. In 1912, Italy occupied the islands on the sea and after World War One transferred them to Greece. Today Greece controls these several islands in Aegean Sea (Over 6000 including Crete, Euboea, Lesbos, Rhodes etc) and it claims a full airspace control and 12 miles continental shelf against Turkey on the basis of the
United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 1982. Turkey accepts only 6 miles continental shelf and limited airspace to secure free passage in the Sea and airspace. Because of this territorial conflict both countries have spent huge amounts of money on armament and came to close to outbreak of war in 1986 and 1996. Greece became EU member in 1981 and after that it used its membership as leverage against Turkey. Greece became a dominant actor in the subsequent development of relations between Turkey and European Union. After 1999, Greece started to support Turkey’s membership with a hope that the problems will be solved more easily under EU roof.

When it comes to Cyprus, the Ottoman Empire conquered the island in 1571 and controlled it for over three centuries. Great Britain occupied the island in 1878 and governed it until it was granted independence in 1960 with London and Zurich agreements among three countries, Britain, Greece and Turkey. With these agreements, a constitutional regime was set up with veto powers of both Greeks and Turkish community in the federal parliament in Cyprus. The President would always be a Greek (First and last president, Archbishop Makarios) and the prime minister would be from Turkish community. The three guarantor countries would be Britain, Greece and Turkey and they reserved the right to intervene in order to ensure implementation of agreement, protect the government created and their communities by the agreement.

The Zurich-London agreements failed to set up a Cypriot identity (Melakopides, 2006) and an ethnic civil war started in 1963. In addition, violence among Greek and Turkish Cypriots deteriorated relations between Greece and Turkey and the two countries were nearly at war. The United Nations sent forces to Cyprus (UNFICYP) in order to set up security. Things remained largely frozen until July 1974 but a Military Coup in Greece and Cypriot Greek junta attempted to overthrow the president of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, and tried to unify the island with motherland Greece. In order to protect the Turkish minority and prevent an annexation of Cyprus to Greece, Turkey invaded and occupied nearly 40 percent of the island. In the first days of occupation, most of the European Countries and United Nations supported Turkey’s effort to overthrow the Cyprus Junta but later Turkey refused to withdraw its forces (around 36,000 soldiers) from Cyprus until it secured the rights of Turkish Cypriots and the deadlock started. The Turkish-Cypriot minority declared independence in 1983 under the name Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which is recognized only by Turkey. The Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities made several efforts to reconcile their differences and find a negotiated solution to the problem but had no success. In 2004, United Nations secretary, Kofi Annan, made another effort to solve the Cyprus dispute and started negotiations between the Turkish and Greek Community Leaders and a unification plan (Annan Plan) was prepared which was supported by European Union, US, Turkey, Greece and Britain. The unification plan gained support from Turkish Cypriots with 65% “YES” rate but Greek Cypriots voted for “no” with a 75% majority in April 2004. This was a great opportunity for solving the Cyprus problem but because of the Southern Cyprus Government did not support the agreement in referendum and an opportunity was lost. One week later in May 1st, 2004, Greek Cyprus entered the European Union without solving its disputes with Northern Turkish side and Turkey and without unification. With this enlargement EU imported a divided country and its problems into the Union.
In 2005, European Union started accession negotiations with Turkey upon the European Commission Progress report confirmation that Turkey fulfilled political and economic criteria to become a member. 27 member states, including Greece and Cyprus, did not object to the start of negotiations. Greece has still territorial problems with Turkey over the Aegean Sea and Cyprus has problems with Turkey because there is a de facto state in Northern Cyprus, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which was created by Turkey in 1983 after the 1974 military operation. Both Greece and Cyprus envisaged that starting negotiations with Turkey would force Turkey solve its problems with them but it did not work at that way. Also, these two countries hoped that if they start accession negotiations with Turkey, EU will involve and force Turkey to move in the direction of their interests. This second wish did not come true either because although EU is an economic power, it is an incapable body when it comes to solving international problems but the EU membership process changed political balance in Turkey. Military backed nationalists and secular parties lost the elections and the new administration favored negotiations rather than leaving problems unsolved with Greece and Cyprus because these small problems prevent Turkey from bigger gains it will accomplish with the EU membership.

In June 2006, Cyprus tried to block opening of chapter on Science and Research which was the first step of formal accession negotiations. This showed that it will not be easy for Turkey to finish the accession process which requires opening and closing 35 chapters (See Appendix D) including Customs Union, Transport, Energy, Free movement of capital and goods etc. As of 2011, over half of the chapters in the negotiation and accession process have been frozen, largely because some countries (Cyprus, Germany, Austria, France etc) have linked Turkey's candidacy to a settlement of the Cyprus problem. Greece`s and Cyprus`s EU memberships created frustration in Turkey because EU was believed to support these countries historically. On the other hand, some EU member countries also state that Greece and Cyprus are using European Union to obstruct Turkey`s membership process to further their own interests. The problems between Turkey, Greece and Cyprus remain unsolved and all countries are unsatisfied with the current situation. Although relations between Greece and Turkey are improving, it is still not satisfactory for both sides. Disputes over the Aegean Sea have not been resolved but at least the two countries declined armament race and started to cancel military exercises after 2010. Economic and cultural relations between Turkey and Greece are improving and there are improvements for both the Greek minority and the Greek Orthodox Church in Turkey and Turkish-Muslim minority in Greece. The improvement in relations is due to some political change in both countries. After 1999, Greece changed its policy against Turkey’s membership. Foreign minister, and later Prime Minister George, Papandreou administration started to support the membership process as well as political and economic integration between countries. Turkey responded with a similar constructive and peaceful approach, especially after the election of Recep Tayyip Erdogan. When it comes to Cyprus, the situation looks worse. In 2004, Cyprus voted against the United Nations backed unification plan with Northern Turkish Cyprus and but EU accepted a divided Cyprus into the union. Also, this decision was in contradiction to the European Union enlargement policies because EU wanted all candidate countries to solve their border problems before entering the union. Negotiations among Turkish and Greek Cypriots continue under United Nations control as of 2011 but Turkey still does not recognize Cyprus as a state. The two countries does not have economic and politic relations since Cyprus does not recognize the Northern Turkish state in the island or accept an unification plan. In brief, Cyprus is a small island in The east Mediterranean sea but in Turkey`s EU membership process, Cyprus is the biggest problem Turkey must overcome. In July 2012, Cyprus will get the presidency of the Union for six months and Turkish officials have already declared to freeze the accession negotiations if Cyprus gets the EU presidency in order to prevent a breakdown of relations between EU and Turkey.

Conclusion and Future Direction

Turkey applied to be one of the members of the European family fifty years ago and there is still no specific date for membership. There have been several up and downs in relations in that period but Turkey was always at the table for negotiation. No single candidate country has waited so long for membership. While Turkey was persistent for full membership, EU was reluctant to proceed. In 2004, EU made its single largest expansion and 10 new members joined the union. These new members were
mostly former soviet communist republics and none of them were better than Turkey in terms of political and economic readiness.

The relationship between Turkey and the EU entered a new phrase on October, 2005, with the opening of Turkey’s accession negotiations but negotiation process went unbelievably slow. Only one chapter of 35 was closed in the accession process until October 2011. This is partly because of Turkey’s problems with Cyprus and Greece but this is the visible reason. The invisible obstacle to membership is that EU is in a deep discussion of the Muslim Turkey’s position and role in the Union and there are lots of fears of the EU losing its identity by accepting a Muslim country among other member states.

European Union represents the peace, prosperity and stability project of old continent while it represents a modernization project for Turkey. Europe used this economic union to create a political union and prevent any war in continent while Turkey used EU membership process as an opportunity to make extensive reforms to catch European countries in progress. Although Turkey still is not a member, the political, economic and cultural cooperation between Europe and Turkey continues to benefit both sides. In international affairs, both EU and Turkey are moving on the same direction as demonstrated in Libya crisis and the Arab spring. In energy security, they need cooperation because both Turkey and EU are dependent to external countries.

Recent economic crisis in Eurozone threatens the idea of one Europe and many members look like in an economic or political separation. There are speculations that some countries will leave the union while it is becoming more difficult to make decisions and reach consensus in the 27 country union. Turkey is in a better politic and economic condition than many member states. It looks like common currency in Europe has failed but the Union continues to move as a political body and as a trade union. The basic motive for Turkey to bid for EU membership was the economic prosperity the union promised. If EU loses its economic attractiveness and if Turkey keeps its upward economic and political progress, Turkey may not be so willing to enter the union. To give a eventual accession date of Turkey to the EU, it would probably will not take place in another one or two decades but even if Turkey becomes a full member at the end, there may be a very different European Union than it is today or even there may not be one existing.

References:
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Yesilada, B.A. (2002). *Turkey's Candidacy for EU Membership*. Middle East Journal, 56(1)


Figure 1: Attitudes about Turkey’s Membership in the EU


E-12: Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain (These countries use “euro” as a common currency).
Appendix A:
A Brief History of European Union

World War Two (1939-1945) ended with two parts of Europe being occupied by the Allied Forces and Soviet Union. In those countries and territories that were occupied by the Soviet Army, that is, the Baltic countries, Poland, the Eastern parts of both Germany and Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, the Soviet Union established communist governments. The Soviet Russian policy of exporting its political system to other European countries and the reaction of the United States and Western European countries to it led shortly after the World War Two to the outbreak of the “Cold War”. In March 1947, President Harry S. Truman declared American support for democratic governments of Europe. In the same year, the United States offered comprehensive economic aid to Europe under the “European Recovery Program” (ERP), also known as the Marshall Plan. Sixteen nations in Europe accepted the recovery aid and agreed to the setting up the Organization for Economic Cooperation (OEEC). On the other hand, the Soviet Union rejected the American initiative for itself and for the countries under its control.

In 1949, Jean Monnet (planning commissioner for the French government) proposed to French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman to pool coal and steel resources of Europe under a common authority. Europe has very limited coal and steel-mining areas (Ruhr and Saar area) and these areas were one of the major causes of Wars in continent history. Leaders of both France and Germany were also convinced that elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany will let the coming together of the nations of Europe. Rather than to proposing a complicated scheme, French foreign minister Schuman offered a clearly defined and concrete project of corporation which would be available to any other European states for joining immediately or any time later (Sajdik & Schwarzinger, 2008).

The Schuman plan was the basis for the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) that was founded in 1952 by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. The ECSC was the first step towards a unified Europe and member states consented to give up their sovereignty in favor of the community. A few years later, the same states established the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 with the treaty of Rome. The EEC (renamed to European Union (EU) in 1993) pursued the ambition of harmonizing the general conditions of economic life among its member states including, for example, areas like indirect taxation, industrial regulation, agriculture, fisheries, and monetary policies. Turkey applied for membership in 1959. Britain attempted to join the EEC in 1963 and 1967 and was finally admitted only in 1973. Denmark and Ireland also were admitted at
the same time. Greece was admitted into the EEC in 1981. This was followed by Portugal (1986), Spain (1986) and after the fall of Berlin Wall and German unification, the Eastern part of Germany (1990). In 1993, the organization was renamed as the European Union (EU). Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the EU in 1995 when the total number of countries reached 15. In 1997, European Union started negotiation process for membership with 10 new countries of Central and Eastern Europe. These new candidates were Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. The Mediterranean islands of Cyprus and Malta were also declared as candidate countries later in that year. By the end of January 2007, all these countries joined the union and number of countries in EU increased to 27(EU-27). The current members are Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Finland, Sweden, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania. Turkey, Macedonia and Croatia are still continuing to negotiations for membership as of September 2011. Today, the European Union is operating as a single market economy and it is the biggest trade power in the world. After the enlargement in 2004 and 2007, the EU’s output of total goods and services (GDP: €12,268,387 million, 2010) is now bigger than that of the US. As of 2011, the total population of European Union (27 Countries) is 502 million and it is the world’s biggest exporter and the second biggest importer (Facts and Figures – Eurostat, 2011).

Appendix B:
European Union Political System and Institutions

European Union is a unique political and economic system. It is not federalism like United States. For example, EU has a common economic policy but it does not have exclusive powers over foreign policy of member states or their defense. After 50 years of gradual economic and political integration, European Union has a complex allocation of executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. The six main institutions are the European Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Presidency, the European Council, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice. The European Commission consists of one president and 26 commissioners (one from each state) which are the equivalents of ministers at the national level. National Governments negotiate with each other and select individual commissioners. The commission proposes new laws to the Parliament and the Council, manages the EU’s budget and allocates funds. It is also responsible (together with the Court of Justice) for enforcing EU laws and represents the EU in international areas such as negotiating agreements between EU and other countries.
The Council of Ministers is the institution where all national ministers from each EU member meet and adopt laws and coordinate policies. The Council coordinates the broad economic policies of EU member countries and signs agreements between the EU and other countries. The Council of Ministers also develops the EU’s foreign and defense policies. The presidency is not an institution but it is an organizational feature of the Union. Every six months a different member state takes its turn and takes the Presidency of the European Union. The President organizes and chairs meetings of the European Council and Council of Ministers. He or she also acts as EU spokesperson and represents EU internationally.

The European Council is the institution where the head of the member states or governments of every EU country come together to meet and decide on broad political priorities and major initiatives. The Council also deals with complex or sensitive issues that cannot be resolved at a lower level of intergovernmental cooperation. The European Parliament represents the people of Europe and is directly elected by EU voters every 5 years. The Parliament is responsible for debating and passing laws with the Council (representing national governments) controlling other EU institutions to make sure they are working democratically. It also debates and adopts the EU’s budget with the European Council. The European Court of Justice is responsible for ensuring that EU laws are properly applied in member states. Citizens, companies and organizations apply to the Court of Justice if they feel their rights have been violated by a country or EU institution. In addition, the court also examines legal disputes between member governments and EU institutions.

The Council of the European Union (known as the Council of Ministers), which represent member states, is the main decision making body. Member Countries have voting power in the Council allocated according to their population. For example, Germany, France, UK and Italy are the biggest members, each having 29 votes, while Austria, Sweden and Bulgaria have 10 votes per state. Total number of votes is 345 and 75% majority is needed to make a decision. With this voting system, no country has the power to control the decision making process. If Turkey becomes a member, it will have a voting power equal to Germany, France, UK and Italy (29 votes). There is a similar system in the European Parliament. Seats are allocated according to population of member states. France, Italy and UK have 78 seats while Estonia and Cyprus have only 6 seats. Germany has the highest number of seats, 99, out of 785 but again in order to take a decision, a qualified majority is needed. If Turkey enters European Union, it will be the second most populous country in Europe after Germany and it will have number of seats equaled to Germany (99) in the European Parliament. This is a huge voting power but again no country will have the ability to take decision without the support of other members.

Appendix C:
European Union Membership Process

The European Union was founded on the principles of Liberty, Democracy, Human Rights and Freedoms and the Rule of Law. Any European country which respects these principles may apply to become a member of the EU. Negotiations for accession with the candidate country start if it meets requirements for membership. The basic membership requirements are defined by the Copenhagen criteria, adopted in 1993 by the European Council, which are:

- Political Criteria: Stability of institutions guaranteeing Democracy, the rule of law, human rights and minority rights;
- Economic Criteria: Existence of a functioning market economy, capacity to cope with the pressure of competition and market forces within the EU;
- The ability to carry the responsibilities of a member state stemming from the law and policies of the EU (Acquis) including to comply with the Union’s political, economic and monetary aims.

If a Candidate country fulfills Copenhagen criteria, the European council will start the screening process in order to determine preparedness of the candidate country prior to negotiations. After that, negotiations start in the 35 chapters of EU Criteria (The EU Acquis) for harmonization of laws and policies.

A Candidate country has to accept the Acquis of the EU in order to become a full member state. Specific agreements may be accomplished during accession negotiations but the candidate country must
bring all its institutions, management capacity, administrative and judicial systems to the EU standards, both on a national and regional level. The 35 chapters of EU Acquis includes Freedom of movement for workers, Right of establishment and freedom to provide services, Free movement of capital, Public procurement, Company law, Intellectual property law, Competition policy, Financial services, Information society and media etc. Details of the 35 chapters of the EU Acquis are given in Appendix A.

### Appendix D: The European Union Acquis and Accession Negotiations

The European Union Acquis consists of approximately 80,000 pages of rules and regulations. Accession talks with a candidate country begin with a screening step to determine at what level the applicant country satisfies the Acquis. The Acquis contains of 35 chapters with subjects from free movements of goods to financial and budgetary provisions. Detailed negotiations at the ministerial level are organized to determine the terms under which applicant will have to meet and implement the rules in a negotiated chapter. Common negotiating positions which must be approved unanimously by and the Council of Ministers are purposed by the European Commission on behalf of EU on each chapter. In order to finish the negotiation process, the candidate state has to bring all its institutions, management capacity, and administrative-judicial systems up to the EU standards in all areas of the 35 Chapters of Acquis.

The table below summarizes what each Acquis chapter entails and the status of negotiations between Turkey and European Commission as of June, 2011:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Chapter Name Detail</th>
<th>Explanatory Meeting</th>
<th>Bilateral Meetings</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Free Movement of Goods</td>
<td>16-20 January 2006</td>
<td>20-24 February 2006</td>
<td>Frozen by EU until Turkey apply customs union agreement to Cyprus and open its ports and airports to this EU member.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Freedom of Movement for Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It is not opened yet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Right of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frozen by EU until Turkey apply customs union agreement to Cyprus and open its ports and airports to this EU member.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The table below summarizes what each Acquis chapter entails and the status of negotiations between Turkey and European Commission as of June, 2011:
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Public procurement</td>
<td>The Acquis on public procurement includes general principles of transparency, equal treatment, free competition and non-discrimination. In addition, specific EU rules apply to the coordination of the award of public contracts for works, services and supplies, for traditional contracting entities and for special sectors. The Acquis also specifies rules on review procedures and the availability of remedies. Specialized implementing bodies are required.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Company Law</td>
<td>The company law Acquis includes rules on the formation, registration, merger and division of companies. In the area of financial reporting, the Acquis specifies rules for the presentation of annual and consolidated accounts, including simplified rules for small- and medium-sized enterprises. The application of International Accounting Standards is mandatory for some public interest entities. In addition, the Acquis specifies rules for the approval, professional integrity and independence of statutory audits.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Intellectual Property Law</td>
<td>The Acquis on intellectual property rights specifies harmonized rules for the legal protection of copyright and related rights. Specific provisions apply to the protection of databases, computer programs, semiconductor topographies, satellite broadcasting and cable retransmission. In the field of industrial property rights, the Acquis sets out harmonized rules for the legal protection of trademarks and designs. Other specific provisions apply for biotechnological inventions, pharmaceuticals and plant protection products. The Acquis also establishes a Community trademark and Community design. Finally, the Acquis contains harmonized rules for the enforcement of both copyright and related rights as well as industrial property rights. Adequate implementing mechanisms are required, in particular effective enforcement capacity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Competition Policy</td>
<td>The competition Acquis covers both anti-trust and state aid control policies. It includes rules and procedures to fight anti-competitive behavior by companies (restrictive agreements between undertakings and abuse of dominant position), to scrutinize mergers between undertakings, and to prevent governments from granting state aid which distorts competition in the internal market. Generally, the competition rules are directly applicable in the whole Union, and Member States must co-operate fully with the Commission in enforcing them.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Financial Services</td>
<td>The Acquis in the field of financial services includes rules for the authorization, operation and supervision of financial institutions in the areas of banking, insurance, supplementary pensions, and investment services and securities markets. Financial institutions can operate across the EU in accordance with the ‘home country control’ principle either by establishing branches or by providing services on a cross-border basis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Information Society and Media</td>
<td>The Acquis includes specific rules on electronic communications, on information society services, in particular electronic commerce and conditional access services, and on audio-visual services. In the field of electronic communications, the Acquis aims to eliminate obstacles to the effective operation of the internal market in telecommunications services and networks, to promote competition and to safeguard consumer interests in the sector, including universal availability of modern services. As regards audio-visual policy, the Acquis requires the legislative alignment with the Television without Frontiers Directive, which creates the conditions for the free movement of television broadcasts within the EU. The Acquis aims to the establishment of a transparent, predictable and effective regulatory framework for public and private broadcasting in line with European standards. The Acquis also requires the capacity to participate in the community programmes Media Plus and Media Training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Agriculture and Rural Development</td>
<td>The agriculture chapter covers a large number of binding rules, many of which are directly applicable. The proper application of these rules and their effective enforcement and control by an efficient public administration are essential for the functioning of the common agricultural policy (CAP). Running the CAP requires the setting up of management and quality systems such as a paying agency and the integrated administration and control system (IACS), and the capacity to implement rural development measures. Member States must be able to apply the EU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Food Safety, Veterinary and Phytosanitary Policy</td>
<td>This chapter covers detailed rules in the area of food safety. The general foodstuffs policy sets hygiene rules for foodstuff production. Furthermore, the Acquis provides detailed rules in the veterinary field, which are essential for safeguarding animal health, animal welfare and safety of food of animal origin in the internal market. In the Phytosanitary field, EU rules cover issues such as quality of seed, plant protection material, harmful organisms and animal nutrition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>The Acquis on fisheries consists of regulations, which do not require transposition into national legislation. However, it requires the introduction of measures to prepare the administration and the operators for participation in the common fisheries policy, which covers market policy, resource and fleet management, inspection and control, structural actions and state aid control. In some cases, existing fisheries agreements and conventions with third countries or international organizations need to be adapted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Transport Policy</td>
<td>EU transport legislation aims at improving the functioning of the internal market by promoting safe, efficient and environmentally sound and user-friendly transport services. The transport Acquis covers the sectors of road transport, railways, inland waterways, combined transport, aviation, and maritime transport. It relates to technical and safety standards, security, social standards, and state aid control and market liberalization in the context of the internal transport market.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>EU energy policy objectives include the improvement of competitiveness, security of energy supplies and the protection of the environment. The energy Acquis consists of rules and policies, notably regarding competition and state aids (including in the coal sector), the internal energy market (opening up of the electricity and gas markets, promotion of renewable energy sources), energy efficiency, nuclear energy and nuclear safety and radiation protection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Taxation</td>
<td>The Acquis on taxation covers extensively the area of indirect taxation, namely value-added tax (VAT) and excise duties. It lays down the scope, definitions and principles of VAT. Excise duties on tobacco products, alcoholic beverages and energy products are also subject to EU legislation. As concerns direct taxation, the Acquis covers some aspects of taxing income from savings of individuals and of corporate taxes. Furthermore, Member States are committed to complying with the principles of the Code of Conduct for Business Taxation, aimed at the elimination of harmful tax measures. Administrative co-operation and mutual assistance between Member States is aimed at ensuring a smooth functioning of the internal market as concerns taxation and provides tools to prevent intra-Community tax evasion and tax avoidance. Member States must ensure that the necessary implementing and enforcement capacities, including links to the relevant EU computerized taxation systems, are in place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Economic and Monetary Policy</td>
<td>The Acquis in the area of economic and monetary policy contains specific rules requiring the independence of central banks in Member States, prohibiting direct financing of the public sector by the central banks and prohibiting privileged access of the public sector to financial institutions. Member States are expected to coordinate their economic policies and are subject to the Stability and Growth Pact on fiscal surveillance. New Member States are also committed to complying with the criteria laid down in the Treaty in order to be able to adopt the euro in due course after accession. Until then, they will participate in the Economic and Monetary Union as a Member State with derogation from the use of the euro and shall treat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>The Acquis in the field of statistics requires the existence of a statistical infrastructure based on principles such as impartiality, reliability, transparency, confidentiality of individual data and dissemination of official statistics. National statistical institutes act as reference and anchor points for the methodology, production and dissemination of statistical information. The Acquis covers methodology, classifications and procedures for data collection in various areas such as macro-economic and price statistics, demographic and social statistics, regional statistics, and statistics on business, transport, external trade, agriculture, environment, and science and technology. No transposition into national legislation is needed as the majority of the Acquis takes the form of regulations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Social Policy and Employment</td>
<td>The Acquis in the social field includes minimum standards in the areas of labor law, equality, health and safety at work and anti-discrimination. The Member States participate in social dialogue at European level and in EU policy processes in the areas of employment policy, social inclusion and social protection. The European Social Fund is the main financial tool through which the EU supports the implementation of its employment strategy and contributes to social inclusion efforts (implementation rules are covered under Chapter 22, which deals with all structural instruments).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Enterprise and Industrial Policy</td>
<td>EU industrial policy seeks to promote industrial strategies enhancing competitiveness by speeding up adjustment to structural change, encouraging an environment favorable to business creation and growth throughout the EU as well as domestic and foreign investments. It also aims to improve the overall business environment in which small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) operate. It involves privatization and restructuring (see also Chapter 8 – Competition policy). EU industrial policy mainly consists of policy principles and industrial policy communications. EU consultation forums and Community programmes, as well as communications, recommendations and exchanges of best practices relating to SMEs aim to improve the formulation and coordination of enterprise policy across the internal market on the basis of a common definition of SMEs. The implementation of enterprise and industrial policy requires adequate administrative capacity at the national, regional and local level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Trans-European Networks</td>
<td>This chapter covers the Trans-European Networks policy in the areas of transport, telecommunications and energy infrastructures, including the Community guidelines on the development of the Trans-European Networks and the support measures for the development of projects of common interest. The establishment and development of Trans-European Networks and the promotion of proper interconnection and interoperability of national networks aim to take full advantage of the internal market and to contribute to economic growth and the creation of employment in the European Union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural Instruments</td>
<td>The Acquis under this chapter consists mostly of framework and implementing regulations, which do not require transposition into national legislation. They define the rules for drawing up, approving and implementing Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund programmes reflecting each country’s territorial organization. These programmes are negotiated and agreed with the Commission, but implementation is the responsibility of the Member States. Member States must respect EU legislation in general, for example in the areas of public procurement, competition and environment, when selecting and implementing projects. Member States must have an institutional framework in place and adequate administrative capacity to ensure programming, implementation, monitoring and evaluation in a sound and cost-effective manner from the point of view of management and financial control.</td>
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</table>
### Judiciary and Fundamental Rights

EU policies in the area of judiciary and fundamental rights aim to maintain and further develop the Union as an area of freedom, security and justice. The establishment of an independent and efficient judiciary is of paramount importance. Impartiality, integrity and a high standard of adjudication by the courts are essential for safeguarding the rule of law. This requires a firm commitment to eliminating external influences over the judiciary and to devoting adequate financial resources and training. Legal guarantees for fair trial procedures must be in place. Equally, Member States must fight corruption effectively, as it represents a threat to the stability of democratic institutions and the rule of law. A solid legal framework and reliable institutions are required to underpin a coherent policy of prevention and deterrence of corruption. Member States must ensure respect for fundamental rights and EU citizens’ rights, as guaranteed by the Acquis and by the Fundamental Rights Charter.

It is not opened yet.

### Justice, Freedom and Security

EU policies aim to maintain and further develop the Union as an area of freedom, security and justice. On issues such as border control, visas, external migration, asylum, police cooperation, the fight against organized crime and against terrorism, cooperation in the field of drugs, customs cooperation and judicial cooperation in criminal and civil matters, Member States need to be properly equipped to adequately implement the growing framework of common rules. Above all, this requires a strong and well-integrated administrative capacity within the law enforcement agencies and other relevant bodies, which must attain the necessary standards. A professional, reliable and efficient police organization is of paramount importance. The most detailed part of the EU’s policies on justice, freedom and security is the Schengen Acquis, which entails the lifting of internal border controls in the EU. However, for the new Member States substantial parts of the Schengen Acquis are implemented following a separate Council Decision to be taken after accession.

It is not opened yet.

### Science and Research

The Acquis in the field of science and research does not require transposition of EU rules into the national legal order. Implementation capacity relates to the existence of the necessary conditions for effective participation in the EU’s Framework Programmes. In order to ensure the full and successful association with the Framework Programmes, Member States need to ensure the necessary implementing capacities in the field of research and technological development including adequate staffing.

Explanatory meeting: 20 October 2005
Bilateral meeting: 14 November 2005
The first chapter to be negotiated, Chapter 25 - Science and Research, was opened and provisionally closed on 12th June 2006.

### Education and Culture

The areas of education, training, youth and culture are primarily the competence of the Member States. A cooperation framework on education and training policies aims to converge national policies and the attainment of shared objectives through an open method of coordination, which led to the "Education and Training 2010" program, which integrates all actions in the fields of education and training at European level. As regards cultural diversity, Member States need to uphold the principles enshrined in Article 151 of the EC Treaty and ensure that their international commitments allow for preserving and promoting cultural diversity. Member States need to have the legal, administrative and financial framework and necessary implementing capacity in place to ensure sound financial management of the education, training and youth Community programmes (currently Leonardo da Vinci, Socrates, and Youth).

Explanatory meeting: 26 October 2005
Bilateral meeting: 16 November 2005

### Environment

EU environment policy aims to promote sustainable development and protect the environment for present and future generations. It is based on preventive action; the polluter pays principle, fighting environmental damage at source, shared responsibility and the integration of environmental protection into other EU policies. The Acquis comprises over 200 major legal acts covering horizontal legislation, water and air quality, waste management, nature protection, industrial pollution control and risk management, chemicals and genetically modified organisms (GMOs), noise and forestry. Compliance with the Acquis requires significant investment. A strong and well-equipped administration at national and local level is imperative for the application and enforcement of the environment Acquis.

Negotiations are opened: 21 December 2009
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Current Status</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumer and Health Protection</td>
<td>Consumer protection legislation includes rules for the protection of economic benefits of consumers in areas like defective products, misleading advertisements, consumer credits, doorstep selling and distance selling. Consumer policy also covers general product safety. The aim of general product safety is that products placed in the market should comply with the products safety requirements defined in their relevant technical legislation and thus they should not threaten consumer health.</td>
<td>The Chapter is opened for negotiations on 19 December 2007. Including Cyprus issue, six closing benchmarks are notified for provisional closure of the negotiations.</td>
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<td>Customs Union</td>
<td>The customs union Acquis consists almost exclusively of legislation which is directly binding on the Member States. It includes the EU Customs Code and its implementing provisions, the combined nomenclature, common customs tariff and provisions on tariff classification, customs duty relief, duty suspensions and certain tariff quotas, and other provisions such as those on customs control of counterfeit and pirated goods, drugs precursors, export of cultural goods as well as on mutual administrative assistance in customs matters and transit.</td>
<td>For customs union chapter, explanatory screening meeting was held on 16-20th January 2006, bilateral screening meeting was held on 13-14th March 2006. Two opening benchmarks are notified for opening of the negotiations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>External Relations</td>
<td>External relations chapter consists of economic and trade relations of Community with third countries and international organizations and arrangements relating to international cooperation and aid. Acquis in this chapter consist of legislation that is not needed to transpose into national law and is directly binding. Therefore, all EU member states must adopt these arrangements of that Community is party and must fulfill the requirements of them.</td>
<td>For external relations chapter, explanatory screening meeting was held on 10th July 2006, bilateral screening meeting was held on 13th September 2006.</td>
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<td>Common Foreign and Security Policy</td>
<td>The common foreign and security policy (CFSP) and the European security and defense policy (ESDP) are based on legal acts, including legally binding international agreements, and on political documents. The Acquis consists of political declarations, actions and agreements. Member States must be able to conduct political dialogue in the framework of CFSP, to align with EU statements, to take part in EU actions and to apply agreed sanctions and restrictive measures. Applicant countries are required to progressively align with EU statements, and to apply sanctions and restrictive measures when and where required.</td>
<td>It is not opened yet.</td>
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<td>Financial Control</td>
<td>The Acquis under this chapter relates to the adoption of internationally agreed and EU compliant principles, standards and methods of public internal financial control (PIFC) that should apply to the internal control systems of the entire public sector, including the spending of EU funds. In particular, the Acquis requires the existence of effective and transparent financial management and control systems (including adequate ex-ante, ongoing and ex-post financial control or inspection); functionally independent internal audit systems; the relevant organizational structures (including central co-ordination); an operationally and financially independent external audit organization to assess, amongst others, the quality of the newly established PIFC systems. This chapter also includes the Acquis on the protection of EU financial interests and the fight against fraud involving EU funds.</td>
<td>Explanatory meeting: 18 May 2006 Bilateral meeting: 30 June 2006 Negotiations are opened: 26 June 2007</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>Financial and budgetary provisions</td>
<td>This chapter covers the rules concerning the financial resources necessary for the funding of the EU budget ('own resources'). These resources are made up mainly from contributions from Member States based on traditional own resources from customs and agricultural duties and sugar levies; a resource based on value-added tax; and a resource based on the level of gross national income. Member States must have appropriate administrative capacity to adequately co-ordinate and ensure the correct calculation, collection, payment and control of own resources. The Acquis in this area is directly binding and does not require transposition into national law.</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>This chapter covers the institutional and procedural rules of the EU. When a country joins the EU, adaptations need to be made to these rules to ensure this country's equal representation in EU institutions (European Parliament, Council, Commission, Court of Justice) and other bodies and the good functioning of decision-making procedures (such as voting rights, official languages and other procedural rules) as well as elections to the European Parliament. EU rules in this chapter do not affect the internal organization of a Member State, but acceding countries need to ensure that they are able to participate fully in EU decision-making by setting up the necessary bodies and mechanisms at home and by electing or appointing well-prepared representatives to the EU institutions. After concluding the accession negotiations, specific rules for the interim period until accession ensure a smooth integration of the country into EU structures: an information and consultation procedure is put in place and, once the Accession Treaty is signed, the acceding country is granted active observer status in the European Parliament and Council as well as in Commission committees.</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Other issues</td>
<td>This chapter includes miscellaneous issues which come up during the negotiations but which are not covered under any other negotiating chapter. No such issues have been identified for the moment. Chapter 35 is dealt with at the end of the negotiating process.</td>
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Film Review

“Ethel”

Ben Miles

Emmy Award-winning documentarian Rory Kennedy – Ms. Kennedy won Television’s top trophy of achievement for Outstanding Non-Fiction Special for her 2007 HBO film, “Ghost of Abu Ghraib” – has now created a most moving celluloid account of her mother, Ethel. Titled simply “Ethel,” the film is an account of Ethel Kennedy’s life and times.

Married to Robert Kennedy in 1950, Ethel Skakel, unlike the Kennedys, comes from a self-made family. Her father George (her mother was named Ann Brannack Skakel), was a working man who did well in 20th century America. Founder of the vastly profitable Great Lakes Carbon Corporation, George achieved the archetypal American dream of personal success and capital abundance. Like the Kennedy’s, however, the Skakels were devout Catholics.

Indeed, Ethel met Jean Kennedy, sister to Robert, at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart. Ethel liked Robert from the start. Robert, however, had an eye for Ethel’s sister, Patricia. Robert and Patricia dated for two years, until Robert journeyed to what was then called Palestine to report on the emergence of Israel as a sovereign nation. When he returned, he reconnected with and eventually married Ethel.

Though Ethel’s family were staunch Republicans, the apolitical Ethel worked, along with Robert and the entire Kennedy clan, for John Kennedy’s first congressional campaign, in 1946. In fact, Ethel had written her college thesis on JFK’s erudite first book, “Why England Slept.” Soon her political inclinations had shifted. Not only had Ethel become an active democrat, she had also become an articulate political advocate. Unlike Robert, Ethel enjoyed the rigors of campaigning.

In 97 minutes we review a meaty slice of American history as seen through the experiences and perspectives of Ethel Kennedy. Not only do we glimpse the family’s jubilation at JFK’s winning election after election – from a congressional seat in the 1940s to the United States Senate in the 1950s and on to the presidency in the 1960s – we also share in the loss and grief that has long been the flipside of the Kennedy legacy. We also witness the intensity of RFK’s successful campaign for one of New York’s U.S. Senate seats in 1964, and we feel the family’s despair in the aftermath of his Quixotic presidential bid in 1968; it’s a subject that to this day the 83 year-old Ethel can barely speak on.

Rory is the eleventh child born to Robert and Ethel. Ethel gave birth to Rory six months subsequent to RFK’s assassination in June, 1968. So, of course, Rory makes use of testimony from seven of her siblings– including, the oldest Kathleen (who was once lieutenant governor of Maryland); Joe (a former U.S. Congressman); and Bobby, Jr. (an environmental activist).Their memories are precious, being both personal and historic (two of Ethel’s sons – David and Michael – have died, in 1984 and 1997, respectively). Stories like the one about President Kennedy having to phone Ethel to warn her to not allow cabinet members to be pushed in to RFK’s home swimming pool during gatherings are delightful and humanizing tidbits that allow us to feel like we’re listening to tales from our own family lineage. After all, though the Kennedy’s were our first family for only 1,000 days, they our forever etched in our minds as the closest thing that America has ever had to a royal family.

“Ethel” is currently in limited theatrical release and is scheduled for broadcast on HBO Television later this year. Check local listings.