**Table of Contents**

**PK-12 Teacher Use of Web 2.0 Tools**  
Sheryl R. Abshire, Cynthia D. Cummings, Diane R. Mason, L. Kay Abernathy, Ken Young, Lamar University  
1

**Teachers of English Language Learners Reflections on Professional Development**  
Nancy J. Adams, Lamar University  
8

**Teaching Economics in the Elementary School**  
Gina M. Almerico, The University of Tampa  
22

**North to Alaska**  
Mary Esther Armistead, Lem Londos Railsback, Railsback and Associates  
29

**Implementing a School-Based Counseling Program: Keys to SUCCESS for a Family-School-Community Partnership**  
Sheri A. Castro-Atwater, California State University, Los Angeles  
41

**Teaching and Learning in the Here and Now: Incorporating Mindfulness Principles into the College Classroom**  
Laurae Coburn, The Sage Colleges  
51

**The Many Faces of Autism**  
Anne Daly, Beverly Doyle, Creighton University  
58

**The Plight of America’s Cities: The Deepening Crisis of Long-Term Unemployment**  
Louis Ferleger, Jacob Magid, Boston University  
68

**The Constitutionality of Obamacare: Post U.S. Supreme Court Review**  
Georgia Holmes, Sue Burum, Minnesota State University, Mankato  
75

**Moments of Joy: Preservice Teachers’ Experiences of Professional Efficacy**  
Lynne E. Houtz, Creighton University  
88

**Embedding Action Research in Elementary Classroom and Physical Education Settings**  
Geraldine C. Jenny, Slippery Rock University of PA  
Seth E. Jenny, University of New Mexico  
105

**Social Epidemiology of Chronic Disease in the United States**  
James A. Johnson, Central Michigan University  
James Allen Johnson, Georgia Southern University  
James E. Dotherow, Alabama State University  
115
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malinche: The Revered and Reviled Doña Marina</td>
<td>Patricia M. Kirtley, William M. Kirtley, Central Texas College</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicalizing the Second Great Awakening: Physicians, Clergymen, and</td>
<td>David Korostyshevsky, University of New Mexico</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperance Rhetoric, 1800-1860</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Comparison of Indigenous Rationing Policies: The United States and</td>
<td>Tamara Levi, Jacksonville State University</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa-EU Partnership on Migration and Mobility: From Unilateralism to</td>
<td>Jack R. Mangala, Grand Valley State University</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex Interdependence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii’s Twentieth-Century Working Women: Labor Feminists In Their</td>
<td>Megan E. Monahan, Fordham University</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Right</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Care of Aged Parents by the Igbo of Nigeria and the Gusii of</td>
<td>Benjamin C. Ngwudike, Tabitha N. Otieno, Jackson State University</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected Readings from ALBU DE LA CIBOLA</td>
<td>Lem Londos Railsback, Railsback and Associates</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William M. Kirtley, Central Texas College</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessing Restorative Justice and Balanced and Restorative Justice in</td>
<td>Judith E. Sturges, Penn State Fayette</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Criminal Justice Textbooks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sovereign Citizens—the Newest “Gang” to Threaten the U.S.</td>
<td>Sharon Tracy, Georgia Southern University</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catherine Burton, The Citadel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PK-12 Teacher Use of Web 2.0 Tools

Sheryl R. Abshire
Cynthia D. Cummings
Diane R. Mason
L. Kay Abernathy
Ken Young
Lamar University
Introduction

Implementation of Web 2.0 tools has been swift and steady in contemporary classrooms, happening chiefly over the past ten years (Greenhow, Robelia, & Hughes, 2009). This influx of mass information and global access has greatly impacted the way that teachers instruct, and students learn (Fahser-Herro & Steinkuehler, 2009). In today’s educational setting, teachers must be prepared to facilitate and guide the use of these tools, and today’s workplace demands expertise in these various technologies in order to compete in a 21st century workplace (MacArthur Foundation, 2008).

Background and Literature Review

Web 2.0

Twenty-first century students are drawn to technology and are continually interested in learning new strategies and skills related to the Web, social media, and hand-held technologies. PK-12 teachers play a vital role in using Web 2.0 tools in designing learning activities that provide opportunities for interaction, coupled with learning and higher academic success (Murphy & Lebans, 2008). Ko and Rossen (2010) found that creating videos, narrated slides, blogs, or wiki pages with graphics, sounds, animations, and links contributed to more collaboration and enriched communication. Millennial children expect that their educational environment be ripe with technology, and tech-savvy kids want to not only participate in technology lessons, but have those lessons customized for their own learning style (Fahser-Herro & Steinkuehler, 2009). In short, cutting-edge teachers understand that implementation of technology is crucial in assuring the success and engagement of today’s students.

Undoubtedly, the 24/7 availability of Web 2.0 can be extremely motivating (Crook & Harrison, 2008). However, even with students’ access to the Web and smartphones being constantly within arm’s reach, the challenge lies with educators to find means to implement these tools, while maintaining the interest and enthusiasm for the participant. That challenge is a reality, as research shows that the adoption rate of Web 2.0 tools by teachers is equal to their Perceived Usefulness (PU) and Perceived Ease of Use (PEOU) (Karrer, 2006). Indeed, essential qualities of Web 2.0 are connected to rich, compelling constructivist learning environments using inquiry, research, collaboration, presentation, and reflection. Educators are now at the point of having to dramatically rethink the approach of current learning institutions and the commensurate expectations of students (Hargadon, 2009).

Elementary Teachers

According to Phirangee (2012), more and more elementary educators are employing the tools offered by Web 2.0 technologies to supplement instruction, and aid specific student needs. Researchers Ravitz, Becker, and Wong share that elementary teachers are more constructivist in their thinking (2000), and constructivist teachers tend to have more effective student use of technology in classrooms (Ravitz et al. 2000). This constructivist approach allows elementary teachers to design technology-based lessons that are malleable and that can be framed to meet the needs of individual learners through their personal constructs. Additionally, elementary teachers are slightly more likely to be a member of a social networking site ("A survey of,” 2009), which will contribute to their familiarity of social networking, and its use in education. As demonstrated in research by Karrer (2006) and briefly shared above, the more a
teacher is familiar with a Web 2.0 tool and the greater the rate of perceived usefulness and ease of use, the higher the rate of actual use.

**Middle School Teachers**

A review of the current literature shows that middle school educators more thoroughly utilize Web 2.0 tools, and have resources at their disposal by which to learn more about implementing them into their classrooms. In fact, Newlit.org was created by the National Middle School Association for middle school teacher professional development regarding Web 2.0 use in curriculum and for sharing specifically about wiki use in language arts (Knobel & Lankshear, 2009). Within the elementary classroom, use of Web 2.0 tools is chiefly at the discretion of the teacher, and policed by the educator, which is called “cyber supervision” by Phirangee (2012). However, for middle school Web 2.0 users, research shows that teachers should model use of digital tools, so that middle school students develop digital citizenship of their own (Miller, Thompson, & Franz, 2009). Additionally, the use of Web 2.0 tools and its effectiveness varies by subject. For pre-teens and early teens, blogs and wikis are best used in mathematics with word-problem solving tasks needing collaboration, communication, and group work, rather than used in daily homework, individual students’ work, or one-answer tests or exams (Zein & Majdalani, n.d.). Using academic social networks for collaboration supports student active learning. When educators add academic Web 2.0 resources such as wikis to their student classroom activities, collaboration and active learning make the transfer from passive to active learning a reality (Taranto, Dalbon, & Gaetano, 2011). Furthermore, online discussions, such as discussion forums for literature circles have been found to be engaging for middle school students (Day & Kroon, 2010).

**High School Teachers**

Although current high school students grew up with technology-infused campuses and households, the utilization of Web 2.0 tools within high schools today is not as prolific as within middle school campuses. In a 2010 study, of 97% of classroom teachers with access to technology, only 64% of secondary school teachers indicated they used technology for teaching and learning (Gray, Thomas, & Lewis, 2010). However, high schools do have age-specific Web 2.0 tools that are utilized, and are noteworthy. High school teachers are accessing video content in emerging manners and are sharing this video content with their students via social media and other Web 2.0 tools such as blogs and wikis (PBS & Grundwald Associates, LLC, 2010). With job-embedded support on the use of Web 2.0 tools, researchers find that secondary teachers appreciate, value, and use the tools for teaching and learning (Murphy & Lebans, 2008). Unfortunately, there is still a great deal of unbalance, evidenced in a study by Crook and Harrison (2008), where 74% of students surveyed had social networking accounts and only 7.3% of teachers used a social networking site in teaching and learning.

**Summary**

PK-12 teachers play a vital role in using Web 2.0 tools in designing learning activities that provide opportunities for interaction, coupled with learning and higher academic success (Murphy & Lebans, 2008). According to Phirangee (2012), more and more elementary educators are employing the tools offered by Web 2.0 technologies to supplement instruction, and aid specific student needs. The National Middle School Association developed Newlit.org to provide professional development focusing on new
digital literacies (Knobel & Lankshear, 2009). Although current high school students
grew up with technology-infused campuses and households, the utilization of Web 2.0
tools within high schools today is not as prolific as within middle school campuses. In
today’s educational settings, teachers must be prepared to facilitate and guide the use
of these tools; and today’s workplace demands expertise in these various technologies
in order to compete in a 21st century workplace (McAruthur Foundation, 2008).

Methodology

Purpose of the Study
The literature review revealed a gap in the research regarding the use of Web 2.0
tools by elementary, middle, and high school teachers in PK-12 classrooms.
Consequently, the focus of this study was directed toward teachers’ use of Web 2.0
tools to support PK-12 instruction. The specific purpose of this study was to examine
the use of Web 2.0 tools by graduates of an Educational Technology Leadership (ETL)
master’s program employed in PK-12 classrooms. The researchers wanted to know
how the uses differ between elementary, middle, and high school teachers.

Research Question
The research question guiding this study was: How do PK-12 teachers use of Web
2.0 tools differ between elementary, middle, and high school teachers?

Delimitations and Limitations
Delimitations for this study were related to communication methods with the
graduates and the population selected to receive the survey. Although all graduates of
the ETL Master’s program were invited twice by email to participate in a web-based
survey accessible in SurveyMonkey™, only data received from program graduates
employed in PK-12 school settings were included addresses to request completion of
survey. Furthermore, the researchers elected to use only university email.

The research study limitations included: (1) voluntary survey participation, (2)
knowledge-base regarding access to online surveys varied, (3) data were gathered after
graduation from the program, and (4) possible participant bias associated with the
survey topics.

Research Design
Survey research designs permit investigators to gather quantitative data from a
sample or an entire population (Creswell, 2012). For this study, 289 ETL graduates
(PK-12 classroom teachers) enrolled in an online master's educational technology
program at a mid-sized university in SE Texas were surveyed regarding their use of
web tools with PK-12 students in order to investigate if there was a difference in the web
tool usage between elementary, middle, and high school teachers. Descriptive analysis
was used to report the teacher responses.

Participants and Data Collection
Of the 289 ETL graduates, the populations for this study, 16 individuals were found
to have invalid email addresses and 2 persons were no longer employed as PK-12
educators. Thus, the possible respondents were 271. The online survey distributed
through SurveyMonkey™ resulted in 110 participant responses (40.5%).

The survey used in this study asked if teachers used web tools in their teaching and
if so, which ones they used. Teachers were then provided 12 tool options from which to
choose, and asked to select which tools they used with their students. They were also
provided an option to select, “I don’t use web-based tools with PK-12 students.”
Data Results and Analysis
The data disaggregation indicated 36 graduates reported teaching in elementary school grades PK-5, 17 in middle school grades 6-8, and 23 in high school grades 9-12. The remaining 33 respondents' data were not included in the results for this study because the self-reported responses indicated the graduates were not employed in traditional classroom settings. Descriptive statistics were used to determine differences between the various grade level teachers reported to be employed as traditional classroom teachers in elementary, middle, or high school settings. Table 1 shows the results of the teachers' responses.

From the table, the data indicate that the middle school teachers were the only group in which 100% of the teachers used some type of tool. When rank ordered by percentage, we see that the tools used by most elementary teachers (>50%) included Google (66.7%) and Animoto (50.0%). Most middle school teachers used Google (100%), Wikis (82.4%), Blogs (82.4%), Discussion Forums (76.5%), and Facebook (58.8%). Most high school teachers used Prezi (68.2%), Google Tools (63.6%), and Blogs (59.1%).

Discussion
Conclusions
The study results support the research by Knobel and Lankshear (2009) from the National Middle School Association in that middle school teachers are more fully engaged in the use of Web 2.0 tools. Knobel and Lankshear (2009) further noted that middle school teachers often have ready access to Web 2.0 tools and frequent, in-depth professional development opportunities particularly in the use of blogs and wikis. The data results from this study may suggest that middle school teachers might have implemented more of what they learned in the ETL Master's program or from professional development opportunities.

Implications
The literature indicated a need for educators to consider expansion of Web 2.0 tool use in PK-12 classrooms. Clearly, the work of Phirangee (2012) and Karrer (2206) suggest elementary teachers have become familiar with Web 2.0 tools, perceive them as useful supplements to instruction, and use them to meet individual student needs. Furthermore, the Middle School Association endorsed professional development for Web 2.0 implementation specifically in math and English language arts (Knoble & Lankshear, 2009). In high school settings, there was some evidence that teachers utilized Web 2.0 tools such as blogs and wikis, but needed job-embedded support on the use of Web 2.0 tools for teaching and learning (Murphy & Lebans, 2008). The literature and the data results indicate there should be more consistent use of Web 2.0 tools across all PK-12 environments (Crook & Harrison, 2008).

Suggestions for Future Research
The researchers found a need for additional research related to Web 2.0 tools used in specific grade spans. The literature review revealed gaps related to types, categories of tools, and uses of Web 2.0 tools implemented in PK-5, 6-8, and 9-12 settings. With the expansion of Google tools and other Web 2.0 resources, the researchers determined there was need for a clearer definition and categorization of the specific types of tools implemented. Furthermore, it appears investigation into various categories such as problem-solving, communication, and productivity might add to the
body of literature regarding the uses of Web 2.0 tools to support instruction. Greenhow, Robelia, & Hughes (2009) called for a stronger research focus on students' everyday use of Web 2.0 technologies and their learning with Web 2.0 both in and outside of classrooms.

Further study is needed to examine the frequency and specific use of Web 2.0 tools in PK-12 classrooms. The survey administered through this study did not include any questions regarding barriers or obstacles to implementation of Web 2.0 tools in specific grade spans. In examining the survey items and subsequent data, perhaps the questions could be modified to investigate barriers that might have prevented some elementary and high school teachers from using the Web 2.0 tools in their classrooms.

References


Table 1
*Differences of Web Tool Usage by Elementary, Middle, and High School Teachers*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tool</th>
<th>Elementary N=36</th>
<th>Middle N=17</th>
<th>High N=23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Google Tools</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wikis</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>82.4%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blogs</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>82.4%</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>76.5%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forums</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>58.8%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wordle</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animoto</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slideshare</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prezi</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>68.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scratch</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stykz</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teachers of English Language Learners
Reflections on Professional Development

Nancy J. Adams
Lamar University
Linguistic diversity continues to grow in public education requiring school administrators and teachers to pursue knowledge and training in evidence-based models, strategies, and support services required to meet the needs of English language learners (ELLs) (Cordiero & Cunningham, 2013). It is critical for school districts and campuses to analyze both quantitative and qualitative data to ensure the needs of ELL students are met. Phase I of the study examined educators' understanding of laws and guidelines governing English language learners in the public school setting. Phase II surveyed educators to identify knowledge of selected evidence-based teaching models and strategies supportive of ELLs. Phase III, provides qualitative analysis of open-ended survey questions used to determine ELL training received in the past year, what ELL teachers perceived they needed to know to be effective ELL teachers, major concerns regarding serving ELL students, and recommendations perceived needed to support appropriate instruction of ELL students.

**Background**

English language learners (ELL) must be provided the opportunity to overcome language barriers to ensure their meaningful participation in educational programs (USDOE, 2005). 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 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. The United States Department of Education (2005) required programs that educate ELL students were based on sound educational theory and adequately supported with effective staff and resources to support a realistic chance of success.

**Definition of English Language Learners**

The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) 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 used to describe students who were not native speakers of English and whose English language skills were such that the student had difficulty performing ordinary class work in English (USDOE, 2005).

**Literature Review**

**Population Growth and Accountability Mandates**

The National Evaluation of Title III Implementation: Report on State and Local Implementation (2012), a study of the overall academic progress of the nation’s 5.5 million English language learners, reported this group was the fastest growing subgroup of students in U.S. public schools. All regions of the United States showed an increase in the ELL student population, in total and as a percentage of the of the total school population (Cordiero & Cunningham, 2013). The National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (2011) reported more than 400 languages were spoken in grades pre-K through 12 in the 2008-2009 school year.
The U.S. Department of Education’s Office for Civil Rights (OCR) oversaw school districts’ broad discretion concerning how to ensure equal educational opportunity for ELLs. OCR did not prescribe a specific intervention strategy or program model, leaving districts with substantial flexibility in developing programs to meet the needs of ELL students (OCR, 2006). English language learners must be provided alternative services until they are proficient enough in English to participate meaningfully in the regular program (USDOE, 2005). The following guidelines were outlined for school districts to ensure programs are serving ELLs effectively. Districts should:

- identify students as potential ELLs;
- assess a student’s need for ELL services;
- develop a program which, in the view of experts in the field, has a reasonable chance for success;
- ensure that necessary staff, curricular materials, and facilities are in place and used properly;
- develop appropriate evaluation standards, including program exit criteria, for measuring the progress of students; and
- assess the success of the program and modify it where needed (Office for Civil Rights, 2006).

Districts were responsible for ensuring students an equal opportunity to have English language and academic needs met in a variety of ways, including adequate training to classroom teachers on second language acquisition and monitoring the educational progress of the student even when parents deny ELL services (Cordiero & Cunningham, 2013; USDOE, 2005). Limited English proficient (LEP) students who were not offered services to assist in overcoming language barriers experienced repeated failure in the classroom, fell behind in grade levels, dropped out of school, were inappropriately placed in special education classes, and did not have access to high track courses or Gifted and Talented programs (USDOE).

According to NCLB (USDOE, 2001), students must meet state and federal standards. Performance of LEP students on standardized tests must be disaggregated, as mandated by NCLB (USDOE, 2001), which directly impacts the federal Adequate Yearly Performance (AYP) and state accountability ratings of districts and schools. Abedi (2004) asserted the NCLB mandates may have unintentionally placed undue pressure on schools with high numbers of LEP students. Performance on mandated federal and state assessments of the English language learner population (and other populations including low socio-economic, special education, African-American, White, Hispanic, Asian-Pacific Islander) as part of the process for determining district and school AYP and state accountability ratings, indicated the need to effectively engage each student population in the teaching and learning process. Limited English proficient (LEP) students were twice as likely to come from poor families compared to children who spoke only English or English very well, representing a considerable overlap between LEP and economically disadvantaged children, both groups that count toward schools’ performance under NCLB (Batalova, 2006; Consentino de Cohen, Deterding, & Clewell, 2005; Reardon-Anderson, Capps, & Fix 2002). For schools that served immigrant and LEP children, these combined circumstances presented challenges and carried significant resource implications (Reardon-Anderson et al, 2002). One-third of Title III districts which served about half the ELLs nationwide reported in 2008-09 that
they missed one or more goals for English learners for two or four consecutive years. This failure subjected the districts to accountability actions such as developing improvement plans and notifying parents of their failure to meet all goals for ELL students (Maxwell, 2012). English language acquisition was necessary to glean the knowledge and skills required in key subjects assessed as part of state or federal accountability systems; thus, it appeared imperative that teachers become trained in all aspects of working with ELLs including guidelines, assessment, delivery models, strategies, and appropriate services to improve the success of ELL students (Cordiero & Cunningham, 2013). Weisman and Hansen (2007) contended that students often acquired conversational skills quickly, but it took longer to develop literacy skills and academic language. Understanding subject matter while acquiring English-language skills required adaptations to instruction.

A study conducted by the U.S. Department of Education Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development Policy and Program Studies Service (2012) asserted that approximately one in every three schools in the nation reported needing assistance to meet the needs of ELLs. This report indicated, as of the 2009-2010 school year, nearly half of Title III district officials (i.e. 46 percent) reported limitations in their capacities to support the needs of ELLs due to insufficient funding for ELL services, limitations in their data systems, shortages of staff with ELL expertise, and a lack of information on proven programs for serving ELLs. In a study evaluating Title III accountability issues (USDOE, 2010), district and state officials reported three challenges that hindered the improvement process of districts: recruiting and training staff qualified to teach ELLs, promoting a sense of accountability at the school level; and funding ELL services. Most interviewees cited challenges associated with recruiting teachers with the knowledge and skills for teaching ELLs, indicating a need for both teachers with the skills to teach English language development and content-area teachers with skills and training to support ELLs in their classrooms. The study contended that states supported the district improvement process under Title III by providing technical assistance to districts missing annual measurable achievement objectives (AMAOs), professional development on English language strategies and practices, and coordinated services with Title I. Two states reported teacher training and pre-service programs did not require ESL coursework and teachers who worked with ELLs were not necessarily required to have earned an ESL endorsement. As a result, districts with ELL populations in these states were tasked with providing this training, often on a year-to-year basis due to teacher turnover.

**Professional Development**

Cordiero and Cunningham (2013) proposed teacher training in specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE) methodology revolved around successful lesson design and course development. Additionally, SDAIE hinged on the teacher's ability to provide a supportive affective environment and comprehensible second language input. Furthermore, explicit training in the types of teaching strategies used in SDAIE methodology indicated that teachers consciously and purposefully employed strategies and techniques effective learning English and the subject material. Cordiero and Cunningham asserted that elementary school principals, in particular, should play a major role in improving literacy initiatives in their schools, ensuring that all teachers have opportunities for high-quality professional development, including strong literacy
training, language arts, and reading. Cordiero and Cunningham advocated a strong partnership with families and schools around language learning was crucial.

Darling-Hammond, Wei, Andres, and Richardson (2009) and Reeves (2010), reported that a meta-analysis of well-designed studies emphasized that sustained and intensive professional development influenced teacher practices positively related to gains in student achievement. The research showed that when time was created strategically and productive working relationships were developed within subject areas, grade levels, or specializations school wide, results included more willingness to share practices and try new ways of teaching, resulting in more success in solving problems of practice (Darling-Hammond et al, 2009). Rich (2010) cited a MetLife Survey of the American Teacher which revealed that while 70 percent of teachers believed a collaborative culture enhanced their instruction, 93 percent worked alone, indicating a need for teachers, administrators, and all in the system need to understand that collaboration increased teacher effectiveness. Collaboration was shown to increase trust, job satisfaction, growth, shared leadership, and promoted risk-taking (Heitlin, 2009; Rich, 2010). Differentiation of professional development for teachers new to the profession or an area of teaching and for the seasoned teacher was noted as an important aspect of planning. Research indicated that professional development was most effective when it addressed concrete, everyday challenges in teaching and learning specific subject matter, assisted teachers in precisely defining which concepts and skills students were to learn, and identified the content most likely to give students trouble (Darling-Hammond et al). The most effective professional development practices were embedded within the school day, were on-going, and were about what teachers were actually teaching (Heitlin).

The Study

Research Design
A non-experimental basic research design using a survey method was used in this study. These components are described below: research questions, instrument, limitations, and participants.

Research Questions
The research questions for this study were:
1. List training you received the past year regarding guidelines, learning characteristics, and teaching strategies for English language learners.
2. What do you need to know about English language learners to be an effective teacher?
3. As a teacher, list any major concerns regarding serving English language learners.
4. What recommendations would you give other teachers of English language learners?

Instrument
The survey instrument was developed based after a review of the literature. Areas reviewed included English language learner characteristics, terms associated with ELL, federal and state laws and guidelines governing education of the ELL population, models and teaching strategies supportive of ELL students, and professional development. Four open-ended questions were posed to respondents regarding training they had received, what teachers needed to know to be an effective ELL
teacher, major concerns regarding serving ELLs, and recommendations for teachers of ELL. The questionnaire, processed through SurveyMonkey, was distributed via electronic mail. Part I contained demographic information. Part II contained four open-ended items requiring respondents to answer by listing items in suggested areas. There was no limit on the number of responses each participant could list. A panel of experts, including university professors and educators from the field, provided face validity for the instrument.

Limitations

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

Participants

Participants were practicing educators who were 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. Most respondents 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 (21%) of respondents were ESL, or bilingual teachers.

Findings

Participant Characteristics

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

Respondents represented several ethnic groups (Table 2). 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%).

Respondents represented several areas of employment (Table 3). Seventy-four percent (74%) 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 (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 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).
Analysis and Interpretation
The research questions were used to provide a framework for analysis of the open ended questions.

**Question 1.** List the training you received the past year regarding eligibility guidelines, learning characteristics, and teaching strategies for English language learners.

Table 5 shows training the participants listed they received the past year regarding eligibility guidelines, learning characteristics, and teaching strategies for English language learners. Two hundred twenty-three participants (69%) responded to this item. Forty-two participants (19%) reported they received training in Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP). Forty-seven participants (21%) reported having been trained in other strategies specific to ELL students. Forty-seven participants (21%) reported they received training in English Language Proficiency Standards (ELPS). Thirty-one participants (14%) reported having been trained in Texas English Language Proficiency Assessment System (TELPAS) or other assessment tools. Twenty-seven participants (12%) reported they received Language Proficiency Assessment Committee (LPAC) or other training in regulations and guidelines. Thirty-eight participants (17%) reported having received no ELL training.

**Question 2.** What do you need to know about English language learners to be an effective teacher?

Table 6 shows the major areas identified by participants to effectively teach English language learners. One hundred eighty participants (56%) responded to this question. Ninety-eight participants (54%) reported needing knowledge of multiple strategies. Selected statements from participants were:

- "You need to be cognizant of the learning domains, language acquisition sequence, cognitive, linguistic, and affective filters and be purposeful in planning and executing your teaching practice."
- "Need knowledge of multiple strategies, both general best practices and strategies specific to subject areas such as math."
- "How they learn...learning styles."
- "Saying it louder does not help ELLs understand. Constant modeling is the key repeated review is needed to understand content."

Fifty-seven participants (32%) reported the need for language and performance assessment data to be effective. Selected statements from participants were:

- "We need language functional levels including oral, written, and comprehension levels."
- "Academic content functional levels from previous academic experience."
- "We need the ability to assess and monitor understanding and progress in English language acquisition and content."
- "Special education needs such as learning disabilities."

Thirty-four participants (19%) reported the need for understanding of student’s culture and developing relationships with students and parents to be effective. Selected statements from participants were:

- "Need to understand the culture the student is coming from and work from that point."
- "Spanish is not the only type of ELL student. There are many other cultures."
"Cultural differences, both visible and invisible."
"Get to know them. Connect with them."
"Everything. I do not know enough to know what I need to know."

**Question 3.** As a teacher, list any major concerns regarding serving English language learners.

Table 7 shows the categories of major concerns listed by participants regarding serving English language learners. One hundred seventy-two participants (52%) responded to this item. Forty-one participants (24%) listed accountability issues as a major concern. Selected statements from participants were:

"Will students be able to pass all twelve required end-of-course tests in just a few years?"
"If our ELL subgroup fails the test, our whole school is considered failing."
"Assessing and monitoring educational growth."
"Grading, rigor, difficulty with pacing."
"Differentiation of instruction to meet students’ needs."

Twenty-four participants (14%) reported the language barrier as a major concern. Selected statements from participants were:

"My language barrier. My lack of ability to clarify in another language."
"Communicating better with students and parents. Lack of support at home due to parents not understanding homework assignments."
"Students need support in building self confidence. They are too embarrassed to ask questions or answer."

Eighteen participants (10%) reported differentiation of instruction issues as a major concern. Selected statements from participants were:

"Time to plan appropriate lessons to meet students’ needs."
"Takes away time from other students."
"Meeting needs with the general population with students who lack academic background in the home language. All are at different levels. It is hard to individualize instruction."
"Students who are gifted but not identified due to a language barrier."
"Students who appear to have learning difficulties beyond the language barrier."

Thirty-five participants (20%) reported training, resources, and support services as a major concern. Selected statements from participants were:

"Training needs to be on-going with follow-up support throughout the year, not just a one-time deal."
"Teachers need real hands-on training, not traditional training in a room with a speaker."
"There is never enough training."
"Programs are underfunded and appropriate resources and support services are not adequate."
"Lack of resources for bi-lingual students. Support in native language is needed."
"Limited number of bi-lingual employees."
"Transition services are needed...students are often exited prematurely when they still need constant support."

**Other concerns.** Examples of other concerns reported by participants included:
"Am I effective enough as a general ed. teacher when it comes to serving these students?"
"Am I prepared enough to meet their needs?"
"My concern is that they will feel overwhelmed, give up, and drop out."
"I worry about not letting them fall through the cracks of the system."
"Making sure they get the services they need to be successful."
"Following appropriate school law regarding ELL’s."

**Question 4.** What recommendations would you give other teachers of English language students?

Table 8 shows the categories of recommendations for ELL teachers listed by participants. One hundred sixty-five participants (51%) responded to this item. Responses were grouped into five categories including advocate, effective strategies, professional development, establish relationships and understanding cultures, as well as use of support personnel. Thirty-nine participants (24%) recommended being an advocate for ELL students. Selected statements from participants were:

- "Be patient, encourage, and advocate for students. Believe in them."
- "Put yourself in their shoes…be empathetic. Celebrate successes."
- "Help students make connections with school clubs, sports, etc. so they connect with school and other people who can serve as linguistic role models."
- "Don't take things for granted."

Sixty-one participants (37%) recommended the use of effective strategies for ELL teachers. Selected statements from participants were:

- "Use best practices…word walls, choral reading, talk to them, listen, relate as much to real life as possible, use technology, use peer tutors, learn ELL models, clear directions, wait time, visuals, feedback, use SIOP, ELPS, label everything, cooperative groups, scaffolding."
- "Regularly assess and monitor progress both formal and informal, analyze the data and use it in planning."
- "Differentiate and use appropriate accommodations."

Twenty-five participants (15%) recommended seeking professional development. Selected statements from participants were:

- "Attend training in best practices, SIOP, ELPS, ELL models."
- "Know the law. You cannot be an advocate if you don’t know the law."
- "Attend LPAC meetings to know what exactly goes on in them."
- "Keep up with current research."
- "Seek all opportunities to learn."
- "Research strategies and methods if you don’t have much support."

Twenty participants, (12%) recommended establishing relationships and understand their culture. Selected statements from participants were:

- "Establish a relationship with students and parents…attend graduations and witness fruits of your labor!"
- "Be personable. Ron Clark talked about greeting students at the door and knowing who they are."
- "Seek out students to say: Hello, how are you? Seek opportunities to make small talk to better understand their background and what they are learning in class."
- "Don’t be afraid to learn enough language to call parents or talk at school. Have
a few simple conversational sentences to exchange and let them know you care about them."

"Make them feel safe. ELLs have a way of hiding in the classroom. Do not let them disappear."

"Accept differences and diversity."

Twelve participants (7%) recommended using support personnel. Selected statements from participants were:

"Work collaboratively with teachers on campus and in the district to share and problem solve."

"Don't be afraid to ask questions."

"Partner with stakeholders to get best results."

"Share your results with your colleagues. Log what works and doesn't."

"Don't be afraid. All students have the innate ability to survive our shortcomings if we are prepared and trying our best."

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 about training received the past year regarding guidelines, learning characteristics, and teaching strategies for English language learners, what teachers of ELLs need to know to be effective, their major concerns regarding serving ELLs, and their recommendations for other teachers of ELLs. 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). Most respondents were familiar with the term English language learner (ELL). Twenty-one percent of respondents (21%) were ESL, or bilingual teachers.

Most respondents, with the exception of 17%, reported having received some type of ELL training during the past year. This may reflect the efforts of the OCR and Title III, which tasks districts with the responsibility of ensuring students have an equal opportunity to have English language and academic needs met in a variety of ways, including adequate training to classroom teachers on second language acquisition (Cordiero & Cunningham, 2013; USDOE, 2005).

Most respondents (54%) reported that knowledge of multiple strategies was needed to be an effective ELL teacher. Cordiero and Cunningham (2013) supported this notion and proposed that teacher training in specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE) methodology revolved around the idea that successful lesson design and course development hinge on the teacher’s ability to provide a supportive affective environment and comprehensible second language input. Cordiero and Cunningham recommended explicit training in teaching strategies used in SDAIE methodology that indicated teachers consciously and purposefully employed strategies and techniques that were effective for learning English and the subject material. Respondents (32%) reported the need for language and performance assessment data, while (19%) reported that knowledge of the culture of students and developing relationships with students and parents were needed to be an effective ELL teacher.

Most respondents (24%) reported accountability issues as a major concern regarding teaching ELL students, since students must meet state and federal standards. Performance of LEP students on standardized tests must be disaggregated, as
mandated by NCLB (USDOE, 2001), which directly impacts the federal Adequate Yearly Performance (AYP) and state accountability ratings of districts and schools. Abedi (2004) asserted the NCLB mandates may unintentionally place undue pressure on schools with high numbers of LEP students. Other major concerns cited by respondents included training, resources, and support services (20%), language barrier (14%), and differentiation of instruction (10%).

Most respondents (37%) recommended ELL teachers learn and use effective strategies, while 24% of respondents noted the importance of advocating for students. Other recommendations were to seek professional development (15%), establish relationships and understand students’ culture (12%), and use support personnel (7%). The importance of having opportunities to train teachers in the use of effective ELL and best practice strategies is supported in law and literature (Cordiero & Cunningham, 2013; USDOE, 2005). As of the 2009-2010 school year, nearly half of Title III district officials (46 percent) reported limitations in their capacities to support the needs of ELLs was due to insufficient funding for ELL services, limitations in their data systems, shortages of staff with ELL expertise, and a lack of information on proven programs for serving ELLs (USDOE, 2010). This implies that the struggle to provide appropriate support for the ELL population, although being addressed, continues.

Recommendations

Based on survey responses and a survey of literature, which indicated a growing ELL population and increasing federal and state accountability standards, a high priority for districts should be professional development provided to all teachers about teaching strategies and methodologies for serving ELL students. Training should be hands-on and on-going to address best practices and specific strategies aligned with the needs and learning styles of ELLs. Training should include the use of assessment processes and tools to monitor growth in language and subject area content. Diversity training should provide information to address issues relevant to ELL cultures. Establishing a culture of collaboration and sharing among campus and district faculties and support staff would facilitate effectiveness of all aspects of ELL programs, and should be a priority of district and campus leaders. District and campus sponsorship of training for parents to assist in learning basic English could yield improvements in home-school communication and support, as well as increased academic achievement for ELL students. It is imperative that school leaders, support staff, and teachers have on-going training and support needed to provide for all students, including the growing English language learner population.

References


### 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</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
### Table 5
**ELL training received the past year (n=223)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training received</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other strategies for ELL (GLAD, Literacy, Math)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language Proficiency Standards</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TELPAS/Assessments</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPAC/regulations/guidelines</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No training</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6
**Need to know about ELLs to be effective (n=180)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What teachers need to know</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of multiple strategies</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language and performance assessment data</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture/Relationships with students and parents</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7
**Major concerns regarding serving English language learners (n=172)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major concerns</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountability issues</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training, resources &amp; support services</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language barrier</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differentiation of instruction</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8
**Recommendations for other teachers of English language learners (n=165)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendations</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Learn and use effective strategies</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocate for students</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seek professional development</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish relationships &amp; understand culture</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use support personnel</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teaching Economics in the Elementary School

Gina M. Almerico
The University of Tampa
Introduction

Economics is a concept people encountered every day. Most cannot remember the first time they were told they could not have everything they wanted. It most likely, however, did occur and no doubt left the recipient of the message unhappy. Chances are the discussion started in early childhood and continues to this very day. The lesson we have all eventually learned is that we cannot have everything we want and because of that we have to make economic decisions.

Economic decisions are a part of everyday life. For instance, one must consider a number of economic possibilities when deciding when, where, and how to spend or allocate money. Possible questions potential consumers ask include: Should I stop to buy a coffee on the way into work this morning? Should I buy those boots to go with my winter wardrobe? If I buy those boots, how will it affect the balance on my credit card? Is this a good time to take out a home improvement loan? Economic decisions can be either good or bad. Initially one might think he or she made a wise economic decision to purchase a nice shirt on sale. The decision may seem like a good one until the garment shrinks in the wash! Economic decisions made by others have an impact on our existence as well. When consumers pump gasoline at the cost of over 4 dollars per gallon, it is apparent decisions made by OPEC influence our lives. Clearly, economic issues affect individual’s lives as workers, consumers, and citizens.

Defining Economics

Chapin (2009) defined economics as the study of people making choices in the allocation of scarce resources. Parker (2009) defined economics as the study of the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. Day (2011) defined economics as the study of how productive resources (natural, human, and capital resources) are used to provide goods and services that satisfy human wants. Goods are tangible items that result from production, such as, computers, bicycles, books, swing sets, and tractors. Services are things people do for other people. Services are nonphysical results of production and are typically consumed as soon as they are produced. Examples include the services of a pilot, manicurist and pedicurist, chef, waiter, or professor. Goods and services, by definition are things that people want. There are not enough goods and services freely available to satisfy everyone’s wants. The result is the basic economic problem of scarcity.

National Standards Establish an Economics Curriculum Focus

The teaching of economics has been identified by established national standards as an important discipline in the social studies. Strategies that support the application of economic reasoning to make choices can help students become intelligent consumers, savers, investors, members of the workforce. Good economic education can help students make sound decisions about their economic lives and their futures. The goal of teaching economics in the early grades is that of helping students develop a conceptual understanding of wise saving and spending habits that will help them throughout their lives.

Several organizations promote economic education like the National Council on Economic Education, the Foundation for Teaching Economics, and the National Association of Economic Educators. These three groups formed a partnership to develop national standards for economics, The Voluntary National Content Standards for Economics (National Council on Economic Education, 1997). These standards were
authorized and funded by the Goals 2000 legislation of 1994. The 20 standards were written to provide “benchmarks” at grades 4, 8, and 12 that describe what students are expected to know and be able to do in economics. They identified concepts which provide the basis for understanding economics and making sound economic decisions. These standards are found in Figure 1.1.

Economic Concepts and Elementary Age Children

Sunal and Haas (2008) found that young children regardless of age, grade, ability level, or socioeconomic status can learn economics. Economists and educators have determined that there are certain aspects of economics to teach and ways to effectively deliver that instruction. They believe:
1. Teachers should abstain from dispensing heavy doses of factual knowledge, and instead develop lessons which promote an understanding of basic economic concepts,
2. Teaching should focus on helping children develop a fundamental understanding of a limited number of economic concepts and their relationships,
3. Children should learn how to methodically and objectively engage in economics thinking;
4. Children will develop into responsible adults as a result of achieving competence in understanding economic issues (Saunders, 1992).

In an elementary school setting, economics is seldom taught as a separate course. Primary-level economics lessons/units typically focus on themes like “the grocery story”, “community helpers”, “my family”, or “transportation.” In the intermediate grades, economics usually has been presented as a part of thematic units of studies. For example, students learn about trade routes during a unit on the American colonies, or they learn about oil production during a unit on Saudi Arabia (Zarillo, 2008). Armento (1987), Berti and Bombi (1988) and Brophy and Alleman (2002) have examined how children acquire economic concepts. Conclusions from this research suggest:
1. As children grow older their economic thinking becomes more abstract and flexible;
2. Mature reasoning in children does not emerge at the same rate for all economic concepts.

Economics: The Curriculum

Almost all social studies texts used in our nation’s classrooms have economic content. Primary texts have focused on production and distribution of common goods, such as, food available in supermarkets and clothing in department stores. Upper grades have embedded economics in units of study. As mentioned earlier, The Voluntary National Content Standards in Economics published by the National Council on Economic Education (NCEE) identified concepts which provide the basis for both understanding economics and making sound economic decisions.

In 2010, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) published National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies: A Framework for Teaching, Learning, and Assessment. These revised standards, like the earlier social studies standards published in 1994, continue to be structured around the ten themes of social studies and define the scope of economic content children should learn. However, the revised standards offer a sharper focus on Purposes; Questions for Exploration; Knowledge (what learners need to understand); Processes (what learners will be capable of doing);
and Products (how learners demonstrate understanding). NCSS standards ensure an integrated social science, behavioral science, and humanities approach for achieving academic and civic competence that can be used by social studies decision makers in K-12 schools. Of the 10 strands in the NCSS standards, one (Strand7, Production, Distribution, and Consumption) is devoted to economics.

Both sets of standards anticipate that elementary students have the ability to learn a great deal of basic economic knowledge and to perform economic analysis. Both sets of standards also expect children to think critically about the economic content they learn. For example, children should be able to:
1. Compare economic systems according to who determines what is produced and distributed,
2. Explain historical events from an economic perspective;
3. Use economic reasoning to evaluate policy proposals for contemporary issues like unemployment and pollution.

Savage and Armstrong (2008) found individuals were apt to have misconceptions about the nature of economics and how it was learned. There are those who believe economics is an abstract subject of interest only to individuals who enjoy working with complex graphs and mathematical formulas. Savage and Armstrong claimed this perspective of economics is untrue. They developed a model for applying economic ideas based on the work on economics education experts Donald Wentworth and Mark Schug (1994). They postulated that human behavior is a result of choices people make based on expected costs and benefits. They recommended educators organize economics related lessons around the following six key ideas:
1. People make choices.
2. People’s choices involve costs.
3. People respond to incentives in predictable ways.
4. People create economic systems that influence individual choices and incentives.
5. People gain when they trade voluntarily.
6. People’s choices have consequences that lie in the future.

Integrating Economics Education with Children’s Literature

When elementary age students read about economics in social studies textbooks they will likely encounter technical, complex vocabulary, unfamiliar writing styles and organization, unknown topics with which they have had little experience, and abstract concepts. Material found in social studies textbooks which are part of the formal curriculum dealing with economics is especially challenging for students to read. One way to combat the frustration students might face when reading the assigned text is to supplement the reading by using trade books. Quality children’s literature can provide the depth and coverage missing in the core textbook. As economic concepts are taught within the context of literature, students realize that economics is a real and interesting part of the world around them (Day, H.R., Flotz, M., Hayse, K., Marksberry, C. Sturgeon, M. Reed, S., 2002). Writers of trade books have more flexibility than textbook writers. They can bring to the pages of their books richness of background, originality of style, and creativity that is often missing in textbooks (Gunning, 2012).

Since students and teachers enjoy stories, using literature is a very motivational teaching technique. When using trade books, teachers are challenged to develop activities that are interactive, reflecting the belief that students learn best through active,
highly personalized experiences with economics. The goal of instruction should be the application of economic understanding to real-world situations in trade book lessons (Flowers, B.J., Kugler, P., Meszaros, B.T., Stiles, L., & Suiter, M.C., 2005). Van Fossen (2003) recommends using stories in trade books to examine the impact of economics on the lives and actions of people, families, groups and nations. Several resources are available to teachers who are interested in incorporating children’s literature into economic education:

1. The Classroom Mini Economy by Harlan Day and David Ballard,
2. Teaching Economics using Children’s Literature by Harlan Day, Maryann Flotz, Kathy Hayse, Callie Marksbary, Mary Sturgeon, and Suellen Reed,
3. Social Studies through Children’s Literature by Anthony Fredericks,
4. More Social Studies through Children’s Literature by Anthony Fredericks,
5. Much More Social Studies through Children’s Literature: A Collaborative Approach by Anthony Fredericks,
6. Social Studies Instruction Incorporating the Language Arts by Joy Anne Hauge Morin,

The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) has had a long standing commitment to the use of children’s literature and to providing resources to teachers. Each year they publish the annual annotated listing of “Notable Social Studies Trade Books for Young People.” The book list identifies a number of publications categorized by strand which represent the best books published in the preceding year to teach and reinforce social studies content.

Final Thoughts
Teaching economics concepts throughout the elementary grades can be challenging and enriching. Research tells us it is possible to teach economics concepts in a meaningful manner to young children. Professional organizations have developed standards to guide curriculum development. Resources for accessing, adapting, and using research-based best practices in economics instruction, including the use of children’s literature have been developed. Children who learn the economics principles and concepts espoused in the national standards referenced in this paper can make a difference in the economic future of our society and become responsible consumers, workers, investors, savers, and citizens of a global economy.

References


Figure 1.1 The Voluntary National Council on Economic Education National Standards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard 1: Scarcity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard 2: Decision Making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 3: Allocation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 4: Incentives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 5: Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 6: Specialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 7: Markets and Prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 8: Role of Prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 9: Competition and Market Structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 10: Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 11: Money and Inflation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 12: Interest Rates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 13: Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 14: Entrepreneurship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 15: Economic Growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 16: Role of Government and Market Failure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 17: Government Failure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 18: Economic Fluctuations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 19: Unemployment and Inflation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 20: Fiscal and Monetary Policy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

North to Alaska

Mary Esther Armistead
Lem Londos Railsback
Railsback and Associates
On To Alaska

In general, Americans commonly think of Alaska as one of those “far-away” exotic places where hunting, fishing, gathering, and flying adventures abound. And they are generally correct. However, few Americans, particularly those who have never set foot on Alaskan soil, realize just how adventurous, exciting, dangerous, challenging, harsh, and thrilling Alaskan daily life can be.

Alaska, our largest state, lies on the northwestern tip of the North American continent, bounded on the east by Canada, on the south by the Pacific Ocean, on the north by the Arctic Ocean, and to the west toward Russia by the Bering Sea and the Chukchi Sea. On Alaska’s North Slope at Prudhoe Bay is the largest oil field in America (P.B. is also the end of the famous-to-the-uninformed “Pan American Highway”). Construction in the 1970’s of the oil pipeline from Prudhoe Bay south to Valdez unleashed a tumultuous clash between two cultures. The indigenous Inuits and The Aleuts who previously had led healthy and hardy lives as hunters, fishermen, and gatherers met post-industrial society with its oil drilling and transporting technologies, with its money system, and with its white bread, white alcohol, and white sugar. The adventures and observations offered below by two retired teachers occurred during that clash.

Professional Service: Mary’s Tale

In the early 1970’s, my husband Bill Armistead served as superintendent of the Presidio Independent School District in Presidio, Texas, and I served as a classroom teacher. During his tenure, Bill’s innovations, energy, and efficiency led the District back into state accreditation. Additionally, the school’s physical plants and grounds were expanded, more accurate fiscal accounting and reporting formats and procedures were raised to state-prescribed levels, and teacher-training and re-training were emphasized, and new teachers and teacher-aides were added, and the schools flourished.

We had a very nice home in Presidio; we drove just across the international bridge over the Rio Grande to buy sugar and to enjoy delicious suppers in Ojinaga, Mexico (where Pancho Villa’s revolutionary troops fought a battle with the federalies). We had wonderful, helpful, and cheerful neighbors; I nurtured a garden; and our son Les loved school. We had a very fine life while living on the Texas-Mexico International Border. On week-ends and during summers, both Bill and I attended classes at Sul Ross State University, ninety miles away.

On one of those summer trips to Alpine, we met a couple, also enrolled in Sul Ross, who were teaching in Alaska at a site above the Arctic Circle. After sumptuous shared meals, their two daughters played with our son while we enjoyed long conversations with them. They told us about their jobs and the working conditions. They lived and worked in the old Russian city of Kotzebue in Northwestern Alaska. The Kotzebue region held the largest number of native Inuit peoples (Please read “Eskimo,” if it helps you identify the population that we are talking about.) still residing in the State of Alaska. The couple claimed that the salaries were high, the classes were small, and nearly every teacher was assigned a teacher-aide. After several meetings with the couple, we decided that we were interested in teaching in Alaska. We made inquiries and researched, by telephone and postal mail, the various options. Upon securing a serious indication of interest, we made plans. Within a very short time, we caught “the fever,” a malady similar to the “Gold Rush Fever” in Alaska in the olden days.
Bill flew to Kotzebue, Alaska. In the northwestern region of Alaska, Kotzebue is on the peninsula that juts out into the Bering Sea toward Russia; in point of fact, Kotzebue had originated as a Russian trading post. Bill met with the superintendent of the Northwest Arctic School District. The District covered many, many square miles and included schools in Noovik, Buckland, Deering, Kivalina, Noatak, Kobuk, Shungnak, Selawik, Kiana, Ambler, and Kotzebue. When Bill returned to Presidio, he announced that he had been hired as the principal for Shungnak, about 160 land miles up-river from Kotzebue. He told me that in the summer goods arrived by boats on the Kobuk River and in the winter by airplane. In other words, Shungnak was a desolate village, frozen for most of the year. For most of the year, people, food, and freight had to be flown in by airplane, piloted by happy-go-lucky, courageous “bush pilots.” He and I discussed the drastic change that we would be making by moving from a very hot and dry Texas city located on the Rio Grande to a frozen, desolate, isolated village inside the Arctic Circle. We spent about two weeks discussing all of the possibilities that we could think of. Together, we finally arrived at a “GO!”

Upon Bill’s recommendation, the superintendent had hired me as a classroom teacher to teach English and history to Grades Six through Twelve, pending my face-to-face interview with the superintendent at Kotzebue. We were scheduled to reach Kotzebue in August 1977.

Before we left Texas, a giant myriad of chores faced us. Telephone calls to my father, who was a restaurant chef, and to my mother, who was always a really good cook, helped me plan a year’s food that we would have to order before we left Texas, ship that food to Alaska, and then transport it from Kotzebue to Shungnak before the beginning of the school year. Both my father and mother offered suggestions on how I could store and preserve the quality of all that food. We made short visits to pay our respects and say “Goodbye’s” to my father and step-mother in Fort Stockton, to my mother in Ingram, to Bill’s stepfather and mother and cousins in Odessa, and to my brother in Laredo. We took our protecting dog in Presidio to my brother for her safety and care; we call her “Osa” which means “female bear” because she was so big. After all the trips, after all of the food-ordering, after all of the ordering and buying of winter clothes and boots, we finally left in July.

We left my father and step-mother’s home in a 1963 Chevrolet pickup with a camper on the pickup’s bed. We drove to El Paso, Texas, where we slept, ate, and swam for two days at a motel. We had decided that, since we had not taken a vacation for several years, this trip would serve, indeed, as a vacation. We decided to stop at certain places and look around. In New Mexico, we travelled through the Lincoln National Forest and on into Arizona. Then, we travelled across a large Native American reservation to Jackson Hole, Wyoming. We camped in and toured the Yellowstone National Park. We visited the Whitney Museum in Cody, Wyoming, and then proceeded to the Grand Teton National Park and the Big Bear Lake. We passed through the Glacier National Park and on to the Montana border where we finally arrived at Lethbridge, Canada, where we were stopped and searched. Lethbridge, formerly the home of a Blackfoot tribe, lies in the province of Alberta amid the beautiful starkness of the Canadian Rocky Mountains with the Old Man River close by. We quickly cross Western Canada through Calgary and Edmonton. Near the western border, we stopped to buy an extra spare tire, plastic lens to protect our headlights, and some plastic arrangements to protect our grill.
work. With surprise, we discovered that the famous Alaskan Highway was not all paved in 1977: as a consequence, we drove on dirt and gravel surfaces across Western Canada until we hit Tok, just inside the Alaskan border. From Tok, we moved along a better pavement except for places where the roads had frozen and buckled the pavement; sometimes, we had to detour over dirt roads past the areas where the pavement was being repaired. Finally, after many detours, we arrived in Anchorage. Because we had a few days to spare before we were due to fly to Kotzebue, we decided to take a break.

In the motel that night, Bill checked, as was his long-standing habit, the local telephone directory for anyone named “Armistead.” He found a “Sydney Armistead” and dialed the number. With just a few introductory words, Bill discovered that he had called a cousin whom he had not seen since both he and the cousin were seven years old! They made plans to meet the next day. On the next day, our family met Sydney and his family. What a great and happy reunion! Over the next decade in Alaska, through short trips, we became close friends.

After putting our pickup in storage at Anchorage the next day, we gathered our suitcases and backpacks and flew on Wien Air Alaska into Kotzebue. We spent the night in school housing, met with central office personnel the next morning, and had my interview with the superintendent and personnel director. They both were satisfied with my credentials, my background, and my teaching experience. We spent another two days in Kotzebue looking around (On a clear summer day, we discovered later, one can stand in Nome, a little south of Kotzebue, and see the mountains of Little Diomede and Big Diomede, islands in the middle of the Bering Strait.). We chartered a small plane to fly us to our new home in Shungnak.

We arrived at midmorning at the village of Shungnak. The head of the Shungnak Advisory School Board met us and showed us to our housing, a large trailer which had been built in northwestern U.S.; the trailer had all of the extra insulation required for living comfortably inside the Arctic Circle. We spent the next several days in cleaning, cooking, and exploring the school. The school had cost $2,000,000.00 to build, and we had arrived during the first year that “all years education” within the eleven schools of the district was going to be offered. Before the 1977-1978 school year, all of the district’s children had received their education through the eighth grade and then sent to boarding schools in southern Alaska, Washington, or Oregon. I could never secure a genuine “read” from my students about their first year of schooling after the eighth grade at home. I thought that perhaps many resented being home, while many others, usually those from the most harmonious families, were happy not to have to leave. And the parents of those harmonious families were happy to not have to send their children away. In contrast, in view of subsequent events, some families were not happy with the new school situation because they, apparently, were not fully prepared to handle their teenaged children.

The brand new school seemed to be the social, educational, and political center of the village of Shungnak of nearly 80 persons, including the families of the teachers. Students played basketball at the school nearly every evening. Since our trailer was so close to the school gym and the school sat six feet above the trundra, we could hear the basketball every time it bounced on the hardwood floors.
My aged mother came from Texas to visit us in Shungnak at Christmas. Later, at Kotzebue, she visited us again. Then, she met us in Hawaii when we were sent by the school district to undergo an intensive in-service training program.

Our son Les, the only Anglo student, was bullied by most of the other high school students. The fact that his father was the school principal and that his mother was a teacher underscored the demonstrated animosity. Les, thirteen years old and growing tall for his age, started playing basketball and was on one of the teams. At nearly halfway through the season, Les quit his team. As he explained, none of his teammates would ever throw the basketball to him. The only time that he got hold of the basketball was when he intercepted it or when he took it away from a member of the opposite team or from one of his own team members. As he told Bill and me, when he was on the court, he felt as though he were playing against both teams. If Les wanted to practice shooting the basketball, Bill would finish his principal’s work and then take Les into the gym and watch him shoot. The situation with his peers never improved. When the bullying began occurring even in the dressing room, we talked over the situation with Les and then asked friends in Kotzebue if we could pay for Les to live with them. When they agreed, Les moved into their home in Kotzebue in December 1978 and stayed for the remainder of his high school education. He got along great with his peers, except in one incident in which a star high school wrestler pulled a 300+ pound bully off Les and told the bully to “Go pick on somebody your own size!” With that even, the bullying stopped, except for the small stuff that Les could handle.

Back in Shungnak, Bill and I worked many hours every day trying to assist students to learn and to improve the conditions for learning. For example, one of my female students was scheduled to graduate in 1980, and her parents had indicated that she was going to college. I remembered that when I had arrived in 1977, I tested the reading skills of all of my students; I remembered that on those tests, she had scored at the first grade level in her reading skills. I offered to give her special graduated work assignments in reading so that she could gradually improve. She and her parents resisted my offer and, apparently, had gone to the superintendent to complain. When I discovered, when I asked Superintendent George White about the matter, he replied that the girl would graduate when spring came and for me not to worry.

As a strategy to attempt to raise the reading levels of my students, I began to read to them as they followed along in their textbooks. At the time, I did know that two of my students could read independently, but they didn’t dare let the other students know about their advanced skills. This discovery reminded me of what my brother, a university professor of reading, had told me about some surprises that several of the professors at Columbia University had discovered in Harlem back in the 1960’s. Since Harlem is within a good walking distance from the university, several of the professors who wanted to participate in the big liberal reform movement of that decade—like the War On Poverty—would walk over to Harlem schools and tutor and mentor young Negro males in junior high school. One of the surprises was that whenever a young Negro male of that age group actually knew how to read fluently, he did not want his peers to know that he could read. I suspect that the same kind of “negative peer pressure” was at work among my students.

Bill and I also discovered that if a student or students grew annoyed at us, that student or students would call us “honkies.” At first, we were mystified at how such a
derogative term from “the lower 50” could arrive inside the Arctic Circle; then, we
determined that our students must have picked up the word from television. At that
particular point in time, Ted Turner’s television broadcasting tower in Atlanta, Georgia,
was the only station strong enough to reach all the way to Alaska. For the remote
villages of the Northwest Arctic School District, television programs were recorded in a
central location in Anchorage and then sent to each village. And we just figured that the
students had “lifted” the term from that television station. Predictably, the “programing”
was not always the best.

Usually, the gym was for the students to practice basketball during school hours;
however, if a student and siblings were friendly with the janitor, the gym was the place
to take showers after school hours. That gym and the cafeteria/auditorium served as
the village’s social and civic center. Funerals were also held there. About once every
month, the Alaskan National Guard would come to Shungnak for their annual
conference and maneuvers. Bill would permit the helicopter teams to sleep in the
school’s gymnasium. The guardsmen would sleep upon the wrestlers’ mats and prepare
their meals in the school’s “cafeteria.” We got to know very well the members of
several helicopter teams. They would bring in cases of Coca Cola for Bill, Les, and me.
They sometimes brought in six-packs of beer for themselves. Frequently, they would
bring in a movie and show it on the school’s projector for all of the villagers to watch.

During our time in Shungnak, Bill was assigned to teach a library science class, in
addition to his duties as a school principal. I taught my regular subjects of English and
History and, in addition, classes in art and in typing. Art class was a wonderful
pleasure—coloring with art pencils, drawing, and sculpting in soapstone. I discovered
that with the sculpting class many of the riffs—i.e., small metal files—disappeared. So
many riffs disappeared that last semester that I finally realized that we probably would
not be able to offer the sculpting class again. Because of the “tight budget” in the central
office, the needed riffs could not be “re-ordered.” For the typing class, I literally
begged and badgered the central office for a large keyboard poster. Again, a “tight
budget” won the argument. I finally made one out of pasteboard and colored it with
black and white permanent markers. I hung my masterpiece up high in my classroom so
that the students could learn the keys without looking down at their typewriters. After
several months, a minor administrator from the central office visited my classroom, saw
my home-made version of a keyboard, and promised me that he would order a
commercial version for me. Toward the end of the school year, the commercial poster
depicting the typewriter keys arrived. I got very little use from that poster since school
would be “out” in one month, I felt that, at least, the next teacher would be able to use
the poster with great advantage. Because we missed Les so much, Bill and I had
applied for transfers to Kotzebue as soon as the school year ended.

In Kotzebue, Bill was assigned as a traveling principal to the schools in Buckline, in
Noatak, and in Deering. After a year of such grueling trips in the Arctic winter, Bill
requested a change in assignment. He was assigned to teach all of the subjects for a
self-contained fourth grade; in other words, he was to teach all of the subjects and he
was assigned a full-time teacher-aide. I had been assigned, part-time, to teach special
education reading to secondary freshman students and, part-time, to work in the Skills
Bank. In the Skills Bank, several teachers used Schaeffer Ditto Lessons and DISTAR
lessons which were either run off on the ditto machine or Xeroxed and then stapled into
manila folders and labeled by grade level. Each folder included a single lesson designed to be used at a given grade level. Any classroom teacher, regardless of subject matter, could secure from the Skills Bank any lesson on any subject at any grade level to fit the needs of a given student.

I was assigned the next year to teach second grade reading. Because Kotzebue’s elementary school concentrated on a reading program called DISTAR, most of my students scored at or above the second grade level. From their scores on standardized tests, we found that of my three reading classes, one read below grade level, the second read at grade level, and the third read a little bit above grade level and enjoyed reading. The regular reading students changed rooms for different classes in the portable-extension classrooms. We had few troublesome students in my classes because of their success with the skill-building work-folders and their newly-discovered enjoyment in reading magazines and newspapers. A lot of the instruction required a lot of oral reading and working with the teacher on particular skills. For independent work, the students would gather at two large tables to perform their work under the close supervision of a teacher-aide. In addition to their regular textbooks, skill-folders from the DISTAR and from the Schaefer systems were available, along with many magazines and newspapers.

In Kotzebue, Les continued his drumming that he had learned in Presidio. He was good enough to be invited to join a jazz band composed of several of the district’s male teachers. Les also enjoyed his drama class and participating in plays presented to a whole village at a time. At Christmas one year, my mother enjoyed seeing her grandson perform in a school play.

Bill and I spent several more years and then retired and flew home to Texas. Bill had to undergo surgery on one knee for arthritis. We were staying at his mother’s home in Odessa while he was recuperating. Early one morning, Bill fell on a throw rug and had to be rushed to the hospital where he passed. After grieving for a long time for Bill, I began teaching again in Texas. After a massive stroke, I finally retired. I bought a nice little farm outside Kerrville and went to Ingram as often as I could to pick up my mother and bring her to the farm. After several years, she passed.

My son attended Laredo Junior College, The University of Texas, and Full Sail, a school for film, broadcasting, and drama. He began his professional career with Disneyworld. He now edits video for the Wide World of Sports and for a large local church in Orlando, Florida.

I look back upon our adventures in Alaska with fondness. To this day, I recall the fierceness of the weather and the professional challenges. I remember particularly the time that one our “bush planes” had to land unexpectedly. We stayed out in the frozen tundra until the early morning of the next day when the Selawik Search and Rescue Team found us. In light of all of the obstacles, challenges, and hardships, I do not feel that I could, with good conscience, recommend Alaska as a place for a newly graduated teacher to start a career. However, en toto, I am glad that we did it.

Tourist/Just Passing Through Service: Lem’s Tale

I am Mary’s brother. I have visited Alaska three times.

First trip: After completion of my two weeks of consulting and teaching in Lincoln, Nebraska, I received $ 1,200.00, which was a lot of money in those days! With that money, I decided to tour the eight states that I had never visited: Kansas, South Dakota,
North Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Oregon, Idaho, Washington. I had a great time viewing the sights and meeting the people, and I especially enjoyed the Yellowstone National Park since I danced and drank with three Irish girl student-tourists until closing time in the early morning. I stayed that night in an ancient hotel in which the doorways were so low (People of one hundred years before must have been much shorter than modern Americans!) that I had to duck my head in order to get through to the room. When I got to Seattle, I still had enough cash for a one-way ticket to Alaska. I decided that, if I needed, I could always work my way back. I left on Alaska Airlines and landed in Kotzebue in late afternoon. As I am retrieving my bags from the trunk of the taxi, the taxi driver, whose alcohol smell should have warned me, nearly backed over me; he had not even looked back to see that I was out of the way. I knocked on the door of the apartment complex manager, introduced myself, and explained that my sister Mary and her husband Bill had given me permission to use their apartment while they were staying in my home in Laredo, Texas, to allow Mary and Leslie to attend the university. I gave him the note that Mary had written to him. He shook my hand and welcomed me to Kotzebue; then he showed me the way to the apartment, opened it, and gave me the key. Later that night, a neighbor in the next apartment took me to a filled bar. He introduced me to one of his friends who offered me my first job in Alaska.

The neighbor who took me to the bar had warned me before we got inside that if someone were to pass out and fall off a stool at the bar onto the floor, I was to stay in my seat and not try to help. As he explained, if the person who passed out was still on the floor as I was leaning over to lift him up were to “wake up” just as I was bending down to help, the drunk would, quite logically, assume that I was the one who put him on the floor. In such case, he would slash up with a knife in his hand. I took my neighbor’s advice and then put it away for safekeeping in my short-term memory. Then, as the night wore on, surely enough, the female in the tall seat next to me fell to the floor and passed out for a moment. After a few minutes, a tourist got up out of his seat at one of the tables next to the back wall came over to help the lady up. As he was about to reach down, she came up with a knife and slashed the arm of his jacket. Luckily, the sleeve of his thick padded winter jacket was the only casualty that night. As the female finally made her way up, the bouncer ungentlemanly escorted her quickly to the door.

Early the next morning, I went to work at a salmon fish camp situated directly down on the beach. I cleaned and cut fish, hosed down the tables when the cutting was done, and performed various other camp chores. At night, I would return to the apartment. On every one of the fourteen days in the apartment, I ate salmon: fried salmon, baked salmon, salmon-head soup, and several other combinations of salmon. (And I still like salmon.) On one of our trips in a small fishing boat, another fisherman and I looked behind us and noticed that a “squall” was fast approaching. By the time that we had pulled in our catch, weighed anchor, and turned our boat around heading for the beach, the big waves of the storm hit; at times, our boat was lifted up six to seven feet and then tossed back down again. We held on very tightly and very luckily got back to the beach just as the thundering downpour began. We took our small catch to the “fish-house,” a temporary shed made of nailed 2"X4"s and two large cutting tables on a wooden floor. We stayed under the quickly spread tarps until the rain ended. Then, we resumed our cleaning, cutting, and filleting of the fish. Those fillets were then be taken to the
“smoking bin” where the fish would be transformed into “smoked salmon” for the lower-48 markets. Interestingly, since trees didn’t grow on the peninsula after the lumber barons had taken their profits, all of the wood used to smoke the salmon had to be purchased and transported from the "lower 48."

Chuck, one of Bill’s friends invited me to come out to see his village. Chuck was a local teacher/leader, to his village of Selawik. We flew with one of the bush pilots in a small plane to Selawik. On the way, we flew across the enormously meandering Selawik River, one of the oldest in the world. While there, I stayed overnight in the home of Chuck and his family. The home was one of those innovative, prebuilt geodesic domes of metal and wood. He had ordered the parts from “the lower 48” and paid shipping all the way out to Selawik. Then, he and his family and two specialists from the manufacturing company had put the home together. It was warm during my several winter nights there. Chuck took me around the village and introduced me to over a dozen leaders. After I had listened to their list of “needs and wants,” Chuck led me around the village to see the dogsleds and the large crews of dogs that pulled them. He introduced me to his neighbors who hunted beavers and other animals: I purchased two of the beaver skins, had them tanned, and brought them home (I still have them on my couch in my Art Room as foot-warmer for a cold day in Laredo.) Another one of Chuck’s friends, a local artist, sold me two beautifully engraved walrus tusks (I still have them, too.). Chuck’s friend, the bush pilot, and I got to be friends. Whenever he had a paid trip for one or two persons to one of the northern villages, thereby having an extra seat, he would call me, and I would ride over to the village and back with him. On several trips, I got to view several villages and vast areas of the Arctic wilderness. Whenever his supply of Crown Royal ran dry, I would present him with one of those “fifth” bottles that fit snugly into a pocket of his flying vest.

A particular problem that I had each day/night in the apartment was how to tell the time. After all, the weather was rather dark throughout the night and for most of the day. One could see, but not very far since the continuous overcast hindered very clear vision. Finally, one of my buddies at the fish camp told me how to solve the problem. Since my alarm clock went off at six o’clock every morning, I was to look through the window toward the large cannery down the road. If the workers were walking toward the south, they were going to work at the cannery; therefore, it was six o’clock in the morning. In contrast, if they were walking toward the north, then it was six o’clock in the evening. That settled it, and from then on, I could tell the difference between early morning and late afternoon!

One of the federal Public Health Nurses whom I met on that first trip relayed an incident that illustrated the difficulties that the nursing groups were experiencing in some of the villages. As she told me, one of the largest villages had invited the nurses into the high school to begin an awareness program whereby high school females could be learn of the dangers of alcohol, weed, and unprotected sex. By Christmas on the first semester of the program, the high “failure rate” of the program prompted a consensus of the nurses and the school personnel to delete the program at the high school level and to re-start it at the sixth grade for junior high school females.

Upon my return to Laredo, I attempted to reconcile all of the stories that I had picked up from my co-workers in the fish camp, from my fellow “drinkers” at the bars, and from neighbors. I then matched those insights with insights that I had gleaned from my
neighbors and bars in Laredo: I concluded that in those long-gone days, it was easier to buy a “roach” in Kotzebue than it was in Laredo. Amazing.

I returned to Laredo for the spring semester to resume my professorial duties at the university.

**Second Trip:** Les was living in my home and attending Laredo Junior College. For Christmas, he was going to visit his grandmother—the mother of Mary and me—in Ingram, Texas. I decided that I would have another “go” at Alaska, particularly so since I had considered and reconsidered the many problems that I had found and thought that I might lend some genuine assistance for resolution. I flew into Kotzebue, got a taxi to Mary and Bill’s new cozy little house, and walked a path that Mary had cleared with her shovel through seven feet of snow on either side of me. Because I had injured my leg, I was still wearing a cast and walking with the assistance of wooden crutches. So I especially appreciated Mary’s recent shoveling right up to her door. At my first knock, Bill and Mary opened the door with big wide smiles and welcomed me into their new home. Throughout this second trip, I ate too much, drank too much, and had a wonderful family reunion. We called Les and wished him and his grandmother a very merry Christmas!

For this second trip, I had planned several strategies. From my memories of my first trip, I had decided that I might be able to be of genuine service to the Alaskan citizens who lived inside the Arctic Circle. I had decided to approach different authorities to offer my consulting services. I approached public officials in Kotzebue and provided them with my background and experience in writing grants for federal aid. I offered to design, write, and negotiate a grant whereby the city of Kotzebue could secure funds to construct a two-storied complex with twenty apartments in downtown Kotzebue. Upon its construction, the complex would provide jobs for at least six persons in administration, supervision, maintenance, and public relations—a big plus for an impoverished city population. I offered similar services to the individuals involved in “preserving the Inupiat culture”4: I offered to write and place “artist-support” grants for three artists, one of which engraved walrus tusks with depictions of Arctic life. I offered services to the schools for securing Title I, Title III, and Title VII grants. I sent word to Chuck of my various offers to the leaders of Kotzebue. I assured him that I could do the same thing for the leaders of Selawik.

Sadly, none of my offers were accepted. I was amazed every time I went for an interview by the fact that no official ever met me alone; there were always two or more persons listening in on our conversations. I was struck by hearing so many New York accents and by meeting so many leaders with Italian surnames. Later, I discovered from a friend who told me in strict confidence that many of the infrastructural business that had been brought in to support the building of the giant oil pipeline—temporary living quarters for the pipeline crews; one general store that sold groceries, clothes, beverages, and weapons; the largest restaurant in town; and two of the bars—were coordinated through the office of the senior senator for New York. Apparently, even the schedule for the airline was configured so that regular flights to and from Alaska to Houston, Texas, and back could be enjoyed by the pipeline crews. Needless to say, not a single one of my offers was ever taken seriously.

I was amazed to discover how many of the school administrators whom I met in both Kotzebue and in Selawik seemed, according to my short observations, to know so little
about supervision, administration, and, even, teaching. I was further amazed at how so many of them had so little experience in the school business. From my acquaintances, I learned just how badly some of the administrators had treated certain teachers although those teachers were seasoned veterans of schools in the lower 48. Finally, one day I realized just how important an effective teachers' union could be. On one of my visits to the schools in Kotzebue, I walked by two buildings that had three feet of space between them. In that space, I noticed that 22 thick pasteboard boxes were stacked on each other nearly all of the way to the top. And those boxes were getting soaked by the falling snow. Once inside, I asked the principal if he knew about the boxes outside in the snow, and he replied in the affirmative. “Oh, those are all of those PLATO computers that someone ordered awhile back, but we just don’t have the room inside my office here to store them. I was appalled. I had wanted to buy one myself, but one would have cost a lot more than I could afford. To see 22 of those wonderful computers getting “snowed” hurt my heart to the quick; before that day, Before that day, I could not have fathomed such waste in the school business!

Third trip: My third trip to Alaska, about two decades after my second trip, occurred when I participated in a seminar conducted by the National Social Science Association aboard a ship cruising up through the Inland Passage to Juneau and back to Seattle. After we landed at Anchorage, I was walking down the main street and saw a store front that looked just like the cantinas that I knew so well back in Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, Mexico, just across the international border. (To be honest, I also knew some cantinas in my home town of Laredo, Texas, too.) I walked in, ordered my food and drink, and looked around. When the manager/chief cook/cashier delivered my food, I asked where he was from. He was from McAllen, about 150 miles south of Laredo where I lived. I was very happy that civilization/tacos had finally arrived safely in Alaska. I learned from the fellow from McAllen that most Alaskans now lived in Anchorage and that Anchorage had grown into a giant city with sidewalks, mansions built up on the slopes of the mountains leading down to the shore. When I asked him if they were still having difficulties up on “the Slope,” he replied in the affirmative but explained “That’s just the way it’s going to be.”

I walked down the main street of Juneau with a beautiful local female who stopped and pointed out to me the governor’s mansion built on one of the slopes on the mountain. The governor’s mansion was huge and very attractive and had a street for its cars that led down into the main street and over to the building in which the legislature met. Then, on another slope a bit higher that the governor’s mansion was another mansion that was bigger and more opulent than that of the governor. She explained that the “shepherd of the legislature,” a big oil tycoon, lived in that larger mansion.

As I continued to visit the shops and eateries and bars in Juneau, I begin to suspect that the “imports from the lower 48” had gained much more influence and leverage than they had enjoyed two decades earlier. And today, I have finally understood how former-Governor Sarah Pallin had got to be the first citizen of Alaska and, later, the Vice-Presidential running mate with Senator McCain.

En Toto:

Both of us look back at our Alaska adventures with relish and amazement. We are glad that we did them when we did them, but we would not want to repeat them. And neither of us would recommend that a recent graduate of a teacher-training program
apply for a professional position in Alaska. One of the teachers at Kotzebue who befriended Mary early-on communicated with Mary until the teacher passed away. Several other friends and neighbors corresponded for a while; some of them have passed away in the interim. One of my drinking friends and confidants in Kotzebue communicated with me for a while; then, he was promoted to a vice-presidency for one of the airlines. He was especially effective in matching head with bodies after a plane crash. In light of all of the comradeship and good times, we remember Alaska and our good friends and confidants and good times with good thoughts, but we would not want to live there, even today with all of the civilization flowing around.

Sources
Personal observations and experiences in Alaska by both authors.

1 After the song by the same name made popular by Johnny Cash and Johnny Horton.
2 The term often used long ago to refer to these peoples is “Eskimo,” which is historically a pejorative and, therefore, inappropriate in polite situations.
3 I still have my framed picture of the Selawik in my kitchen. Until I explain that it is an aerial photo of a meandering river, most of my guests think that it is an abstract painting.
4 The Athabaskans, whom we would call today the “Native Americans” or “Indians” lived further to the east and to the south of the state.
5 The PLATO or “Programmed Logic for Automated Teaching Operations,” according to Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/PLATO_(computer_system), “was the first…generalized computer assisted instruction system…offering coursework (elementary—university).” The PLATO “established key on-line concepts: forums, message boards, online testing, e-mail, chat rooms, picture languages, instant messaging, remote screen sharing, and multi-player games.” (p. 1.)
6 The National Social Science Association is one of the largest multi-disciplinary organizations in the United States.
7 In Laredo, those breakfast tacos are known as “mariarchis.” We are the only city along the U.S.A.—E.U.M. international border that calls the tacos by the French label. But the reason for that is a long story that has to be told later in another paper with adequate space.
Implementing a School-Based Counseling Program: Keys to SUCCESS for a Family-School-Community Partnership

Sheri A. Castro-Atwater
California State University, Los Angeles
This article describes five “keys to success” in implementing a comprehensive school-based “life coaching” counseling program for at-risk students at diverse Los Angeles area schools, based upon seven years of the author’s direction of the program. Specific techniques that work to create and sustain a family-school-community partnership are highlighted. The “keys to success” emphasize three main goals critical to a school-based counseling program: (a) counselor training in clinical communication microskills and brief counseling methods, (b) ongoing clinical needs assessment and program evaluation, and (c) a six-step goal-setting process that mimics the stages of the clinical interview process. Within a counseling program that targets these goals, flexibility of implementation based on individual client progress is necessary.

Introduction

School-based counseling and mentoring programs attempting to reach “at-risk” students and motivate them to succeed abound in schools across the country (Garringer, 2010). Many of these programs aim to provide one-on-one counseling opportunities to youth in schools in order to increase academic performance, modify school or home behavior, and/or increase motivation.

Although these programs exist in abundance, even those that report statistically significant data on the effectiveness of such programs can lack clear program modifications made and “lessons learned” that other programs can take away. Thus, although many programs appear to be successful given quantifiable data, academics and program directors may be left to “reinvent the wheel” when it comes to implementing similar counseling programs in their own school district. The goal of this article is to review the practical “keys to success” and lessons learned in the seven year history of the implementation of a successful school-based clinical counseling program, with the hope of providing insight prior to implementation of other, similar programs across the country.

Program Description

The SUCCESS “life coaching” counseling program is an established University-school partnership, most recently created between California State University, Los Angeles (CSULA) and the Los Angeles Unified School district. From 2004-2010, the program was created as part of an after-school program within the Pasadena Unified school district, a surrounding district in the regional Los Angeles area. Through the experience of implementing the program in both districts, the author came away with both a series of key successes to implementation and a list of mistakes to avoid.

The SUCCESS program enlists the participation of 24 graduate students enrolled in the Counseling program at CSULA. Every graduate student is trained, prior to their experience as an individual “SUCCESS coach”, in two quarters of clinical counseling microskills and brief counseling theory. Despite their training and enthusiasm, many of these students are “green” to the counseling field; thus, this opportunity to engage in a community partnership and serve their first client is both exhilarating and nerve-wracking. Each life coach is assigned one client for a series of eight sessions to be held at the school site; all clients are recruited from an after-school program at an elementary or middle school, and referred by teachers or administrators for needing extra academic and/or social support.

The goal of the SUCCESS program is for graduate student “life coaches” to successfully guide clients through an individual 6-step, goal-setting process using brief
counseling methods over a period of 8 weeks. Life coach counselors use a colorful visual worksheet entitled the “Life Map” with their clients every week, using the scaling techniques of the Life Map for both a baseline and a progress monitoring tool (see Appendix A).

Keys to SUCCESS

How then, does a University go about creating a successful individual counseling program? How can a program be marketed to participants to ensure maximum participation? What steps are necessary to create a unique bond with the community and parent participants so that the program is sustainable and not a “burden” to parents, school staff, clients or counselors? How can the progress of clients be monitored over the course of the program? How does one measure “success”? The following keys to success attempts to address each of these questions. While some answers were clear from the outset of implementation, others were deduced after a long (and sometimes painful) trial-and-error approach.

Key to Success #1: Market the program without using “stigma-inducing” terms

This lesson to success comes only after two years of using, in hindsight, what can only be referred to as “psychologically unhelpful” terms when describing the program. The SUCCESS program began in Spring 2004 at a middle school that had a majority of students coming from a historically racial minority background (Latino/a, African-American) and from poverty (76% received free and reduced lunch). The program began as the “CSULA Counseling” program – and marketing materials were sent home and placed in teachers’ boxes to recruit clients into the program. It soon became evident that the term “counseling” was seen as a deficit. Many parents who had to return permission slips let it be known that they had a difficulty time with the term “counseling” (often stating indignantly that their child “wasn’t crazy” and/or did not need “a shrink”), while teachers tended not to refer the student in need of academic/social support if they did not sense any psychological problems associated with that student in class. Despite this resistance to the term, the program persisted for two years with “counseling program” as its main title, leaving participants to view it as nothing more than a “stigmatized” program designed to help students that were (often reluctantly) referred, and to watch as clients’ attendance—despite being mandatory for many clients as part of a study skills class—dwindled over the 8-week period. The author initially believed that the program would “prove that counseling could be a good thing” – however, eight weeks was not enough time to change the stigma of the term.

In 2006, at the suggestion of a school administrator and influenced by recent literature on anti-stigma programs in the schools, the author approached the program with a title designed to inspire and to capitalize on a recent trend – life coaching. Since the late 1990s, life coaching had been increasing in popularity, both within employment agencies, motivational conferences, and even among celebrities in popular culture. Researching life coaching materials and goals led to the epiphany that individual, goal-centered brief counseling and life coaching shared many similarities. Moreover, a “coach” is someone who inspires, guides, and supports a person through a game or skill, and someone who often has the experience and wisdom to do so—someone who is not stigmatized in a negative way. Thus, in 2006, the SUCCESS life coaching program was born.
In addition to a name overhaul, the program also needed more explanation and transparency to clients, their parents, and the teachers who would be enlisted to participate. The author found that a motivational “spiel” about the effectiveness and attraction of life coaching delivered to referred clients prior to the onset of the program (e.g., “Celebrities pay quite a bit of money for one, while your life coach will be free of charge!”), as well as newly designed materials with “life coaching” process and terms, increased support and enthusiasm for the program greatly. Moreover, attendance—particularly when tied to a SUCCESS pizza party at the end for participation in at least seven out of eight sessions—improved dramatically. Parents, it appeared, welcome a “coach” to help their son or daughter to improve upon academic and/or behavioral goals. In essence, this term captured the essence and goals of individual brief counseling—minus the stigma.

**Key to SUCCESS #2: Conduct an ongoing, client-driven clinical needs assessment**

It is largely understood that having the ability to determine if your program is successful through quality data-gathering and effective progress monitoring is the key to any successful program. In addition to using traditional clinical assessment instruments to gather pre- and post-data on client self-esteem, social skills, attitude towards school, etc., the SUCCESS program uses a unique, one-page “Life Map” that was created over time using instructor and graduate student input (see Appendix A). This Life Map creates a visual marker of student success—in ALL life areas (not just school or behavior). This is consistent with what research has long shown is essential to an effective counselor-client relationship: namely, the need for counselors to take an interest in and gather data on the whole student, not just problem areas (MA Dept. of Education, 1990). This holistic view is also consistent with ecological systems’ theory, which states the need to understand the client within a series of larger systems (micro-, meso-, exo-, macro-, and chrono-) in order to fully comprehend the client’s development (and the impact of interruptions within those systems on that development) (Bronfenbrenner, 1976).

Each “bubble” within the Life Map asks the client to describe a different domain within the client’s life: family, school, friends, career/future, and hobbies/interests. Life coaches begin the first client session by asking each client to “rate, on a scale of 1-10, how happy you are with each domain of their present life”. In this manner, baseline scaling data can be collected, and used throughout the 8-week program to monitor client progress in a manner that is transparent and meaningful to the client.

The purpose of the Life Map is threefold. In addition to data collection and progress monitoring, the Life Map also serves as the most important tool for the goal-setting process involved in the SUCCESS program (see Key to Success #6). After the client rates each domain on a scale of 1-10, the clients’ two lowest ratings can be used as the two domains in which the client would like to see his/her life improved. In this way, scaling domains and subsequent data gathering can quickly highlight and establish two main goal areas. Every subsequent week prior to the initial session, sessions begin with a discussion of the Life Map and its identified goals. Moreover, the familiarity of viewing the Life Map at every session makes it a quick, comforting visual that often serves as the catalyst the client needs to assess and open-up about life since the previous session.
Key to SUCCESS #3: Train your Counselors Throughout the Program

The SUCCESS program identifies its “life coach” counselors through acceptance into a counseling program along with demonstrated success in two sequential counseling courses on individual microskills and counseling theories, respectively. The course titled “Counseling: Individual Microskills” requires candidates to meet with a fellow student for a minimum of 8 weeks in a simulated counseling session. They must identify the needs and goals of their “client” and lead their client through all five stages of counseling interview process (Ivey and Ivey, 2010), most notably helping the client design activities to help them meet their stated goals. The following course in sequence, “Counseling Theories” allows SUCCESS life coach counselors to learn a variety of established counseling theories and psychotherapy techniques, with an emphasis placed upon Solution-Focused Brief Counseling (SFBC) as a philosophy and skillset that will be employed within the SUCCESS program during their 8-week sessions.

Even if counselors used within your program are not coming with as great a background in counseling techniques, training them about microskills in communication and non-judgmental rapport-building strategies is key. Why? If counselors do not understand how to approach a student—particularly one deemed “at risk” who may be well-experienced in judgmental, punitive or reactive communication techniques by adults—they are much less likely to create a positive, effective rapport with the client which is the backbone of inspiring client change. Training counselors to use Ivey and Ivey’s Basic Listening Sequence (BLS)—including how and when to use open and closed questions, encouragers, paraphrases, summaries, and reflection of feeling—will allow them to approach their mentees with a set of basic communication skills designed to elicit trust, empathy, and rapport-building. In addition, counselors should be trained in a counseling theory that is effective for use in the schools and that comes from a solution-based—rather than problem-based—approach. SUCCESS counselors utilize the brief counseling techniques such as the Miracle question (e.g. “What if you woke up tomorrow, and this problem were no longer a problem, how would you know?”), scaling, and finding “exceptions” to guide the client through a goal-setting process.

Most importantly to the success of a school-based counseling program based upon the author’s experience is to view the counselors themselves as needing training throughout the counseling process. Rather than a short training before the counselor meets their client followed by an assumption that the counselor is now “trained”, counselors should be viewed as students themselves, needing guidance and considerable opportunities for case conference support and self-reflection.

In the SUCCESS program, we use a combination of strategies to create ongoing self-reflection in our life coach counselors. Counselors must tape record sessions and analyze what happened during the sessions. Digital voice recording is also encouraged and used by many participants. Counselors also keep a series of “reflective journals” of their activities, as well as their students’ responses and progress. In their journals, they reflect upon what worked, what did not work, and what they may do to change the course of sessions in the future. They submit the reflective journal in several parts to receive weekly feedback.

Requiring counselors to record at least two client sessions and complete a post-analysis of the skills they used prepares them to become reflective coach practitioners. They reflect on the activities and strategies that they utilized with their clients and can
then examine their efficacy. Reflection also enables counselors to gain a deeper understanding of their counseling and to plan for future sessions. Similar to Honigsfeld and Schiering (2004), who document that when teachers have the opportunity to reflect on their teaching practices, they develop (a) a better understanding of the teaching process, (b) stronger pedagogical skills, and (c) improved attitudes toward the teaching-learning process, we have found that the counselors-in-training participating in the SUCCESS program often come away with a better understanding of the life coaching process, stronger counseling microskills, and more positive attitudes toward their client and their client’s goals.

Lastly, weekly case conference seminars and presentations post-sessions are required for each counselor. Following each individual client session (individual counseling sessions typically occur in an empty classroom after school), life coach counselors then return to a main room identified on the school site and meet with peers and the author (a trained school psychologist with a valid pupil personnel services credential and a Ph.D. in School Psychology) to discuss client progress, identify client needs, and plan for subsequent sessions.

Key to SUCCESS #4: Use a 6-Step Goal-Setting Process

The SUCCESS program would not be a “success” without a clear, transparent process for client goal-setting. The goal-setting process is based upon the clinical stages of a counseling interview identified by Allen and Mary Ivey (2010) in the many editions of their classic textbook, *Intentional Interviewing and Counseling*. The interview stages can be found throughout the counseling literature, and their “tweaking” aims to make the process transparent to clients so that they know exactly what to expect from their counselor.

The goal-setting process involves six main steps that are engaged in by both the client and the counselor: 1) Connecting and Establishing Rapport, 2) Assessing Client Needs, 3) Setting Mutual Goals, 4) Creating Strategies to Meet Goals, 5) Executing and Supporting Strategies, and 6) Re-Assessing. These steps to goal-setting will be outlined briefly, below, with an emphasis on lessons learned from the author’s years of implementation of the process with clients.

*Step 1): Connecting and Establishing Rapport:* In this initial step, the counselor works to establish a healthy, trusting rapport with the client. As previously stated, the need for clients deemed “at risk” for academic or social reasons to receive a non-judgmental, warm “vibe” from counselors is particularly important, as it sets the stage for a trusting relationship. Too often these students are reprimanded, punished, or ignored by adults in their home and school settings, and breaking this pattern to illustrate that a relationship with an adult can be wholly supportive and trusting can be paramount to their success in the counseling process. Using the Life Map to open up a discussion about hobbies, interests, career goals, and other interests of the client before delving into a discussion of areas of weakness can go a long way in establishing an effective rapport. Counselors should be instructed to remember this, and to get to know the “whole” student to better develop a healthy rapport. Similarly, counselors should not rely on questions alone to draw out the client’s story, but should use visuals, such as the Life Map or other worksheets, to make this initial “getting to know you” phase less threatening for the client. This also accounts for developmental differences—children
and early adolescents are concrete and visual, with logic/abstract thought still developing well into the teen years.

Step 2): Assessing Client Needs: In this step, the client’s needs are assessed visually through the Life Map (Appendix), with specific scaling methods used to obtain client ratings on each life domain. Often within the space of a few minutes with a client during an initial interview session, a counselor can assess needs using this scaling method, particularly if questions and data-gathering regarding each life domain are saved for after the scaling is complete.

Step 3): Setting Mutual Goals: In this step of the goal-setting process (which often occurs during the second-fourth sessions), the two Life Map domains rated the least satisfactory are used to create goals for the client (e.g., '2' on a scale of 1-10 in Family, etc.). Using a series of open and closed questions and the use of brief counseling methods (e.g. Miracle question, etc.), the counselor encourages the client to identify his/her “ideal” situations in each of these life domains. Goals are then mutually created based upon these client responses. The author has found that two client goals—no more and no less—are often the most desirable amount for the client given the SUCCESS program’s eight-week timeframe. At least one goal should be school or academic-based, ideally, as this addresses (or is often associated with) the reason for referral. Less than two goals focuses the client on one area too intently—one that is often evokes feelings of failure or frustration, particularly if it relates to a school subject or situation. More than two goals can dilute the time and effectiveness of the counseling process, while two goals tend to provide a healthy balance and shift of focus within the sessions without overwhelming the client.

It is most important for the goals created to be client-controlled, specific, and attainable for the client within (or close to) the timeframe of the counseling program. For example, if the life domain of Family was rated “2”, and the client revealed that he has a tenuous relationship with his stepmother, a goal may be “To show respect to my stepmother by using positive communication skills with her”, rather than simply, “To be nicer to my stepmother”. Strategies on how to obtain the goal flow more directly with a specific and attainable, rather than vague, goal.

Finally, the author encourages counselors to teach clients the difference between short- and long-term goals. This can be done through visuals (e.g. drawing a star on the board to indicate the long-term of goal of medical school, and having the client tell the counselor all the interim steps—short-term goals—he/she must complete to get there).

Step 4): Creating Strategies to Meet Goals: Once goals are established, strategies or steps to meet the goals should be clearly written and outlined. These strategies can involve a brain-storming session with the client, but ideally they should come from the client to increase motivation and buy-in. Example strategies for the goal, “Explore the Careers of Doctor vs. Nurse” may be “I will complete the Career Interest Inventory Test to see which career may suit me best”, and “I will look up requirements for Medical School and Nursing School online by next session”, etc. Similarly for the academic goal of “Go from “C” to “B+” in Algebra 1”, example strategies may be “I will start my Algebra Homework at 5pm (after a snack) every day” and “I will search out a quiet place to study away from my video games and TV every night this week”, etc. Three to four strategies
per goal offer a good target, as this allows for creativity of strategies for successful goal completion without overwhelming the client.

Step 5): Executing and Supporting Strategies: This step occurs during Ivey and Ivey’s (2010) “working stage”, in which the client is actively working to change his/her thoughts, feelings, and behavior toward a particular issue. Once the strategies are written, it is the job of the client to try the strategies at home or school. Subsequent counseling sessions are an opportunity to reflect on how the strategies are working for the client. If they are working, praise and encouragement to continue the hard work are in order; if they are not working, they can be re-fired and “tweaked” to allow for greater success or eliminated and re-written as needed. The important thing for counselors to remember in this step is to avoid blaming the client for strategies that go untried, or are carried out unsuccessfully. It is during this stage that client motivation (or lack of) often surfaces as an issue; it is difficult to change habits or patterns of behavior! Rather than becoming frustrated with the client or blaming him/her, the counselor can validate the difficulty of implementing new behaviors while simultaneously looking at ways to alter the strategies to ensure optimal chance for success. When a counselor follows this more constructive mindset and indicates that they are still “on the client’s side”, many clients sense this trust and acceptance and try harder to change their behavior.

Step 6: Re-Assessing: The final step in the goal-setting process involves checking in regularly with the client to re-scale all areas of the Life Map. This can be done weekly to ensure that the client’s needs are being met. Client’s will often have a “crisis” occur in their life that takes precedence over or alters the focus of the counseling session for a particular session. Using the Life Map at the beginning of each session to re-assess client’s needs and feelings regarding all areas of his/her life puts this “crisis” in a context that is relatable to the client.

Key to SUCCESS #5: Enlist the school and family as equal partners from the outset

Another key lesson learned “the hard way” came from the initial lack of plan on how to engage both school personnel and family as partners—rather than peripheral supports-involved in the program. Given that the program did in fact involve confidential, one-on-one counseling and all sessions adhered to the ethics codes from ASCA with coaches explaining the limits of confidentiality, involving families and teachers seemed difficult initially. If everything that was said in sessions was confidential, how could parents be enlisted to participate without breaking confidentiality? How could teachers, whose input and understanding of the client’s goal-setting process could truly help the client in the classroom, be involved without breaking this confidentiality rule? The answer was two-fold: 1) explain the goal-setting process to parents, teachers, and client initially, so that all parties could anticipate the exact structure of each individual session, if not all of the sensitive content, and 2) enlist the consent of the client in “declassifying” certain details of the session to parents and teachers as the client—not the counselor—deemed appropriate. Again, the former response required a change in semantics of how the program was marketed and discussed. The creation of “Student Coaching Teams” was highlighted on brochures marketing the program, with a visual diagram that illustrated the life coach, teacher and/or administrator, client, and parent/guardian as the four “pillars” of the Team. Ideally, Student Coaching Teams met once at the beginning of the program to go over
the goal-setting process and structure of the SUCCESS program, and met again mid-way through and at the end of the program as well.

During the Student Coaching Team meetings, the Life Map and the goal-setting steps are openly shared and discussed with all parties. During this time, the counselor sends a clear message to all parties that all information shared between the client and the counselor is confidential unless the client would like to share specific information with the teacher and/or parent. The author has found that announcing the confidentially expectations during the team meeting is helpful to eliminate misunderstandings. Should the teacher and/or parent later ask for specific information from the counselor, the confidentiality agreement can easily be referenced and can lessen the chance of awkward exchanges explaining the nature and purpose of confidentiality within the sessions.

In reality, it is rare that all members of the Team can get together in person as frequently as intended. However, “setting the bar high” for increased collaboration and communication has two indirect beneficial effects: 1) it enables the client to view his/her journey through the program as a supported one and one that could be shared with teacher and parent along with life coach (thus encouraging the client-release of certain confidential information); and 2) it often calms the parent and student and “clues in” the teacher as to the clear, goal-setting process involved, thereby eliminating the mystique of life coaching to all parties.

Summary

School-based counseling programs can be a “win-win” for all parties concerned: schools that lack the designated funding and/or resources to provide counseling services to students can receive such supervised services, free of charge, through an established counseling graduate training program at an accredited University. Conversely, University faculty in charge of graduate training programs in counseling can have their training needs met for their “green” counselors-in-training by connecting with an underserved school site and providing a program of quality supervised counseling for students in need of academic and social support. Throughout the authors’ years of experience conducting such a program in two different school districts, “keys to success” emerged in several domains, including how to market such a program for maximum buy-in, how to invite parents and teachers to be part of the process in lieu of confidentiality requirements, and the importance of helpful “scaling” Life Map worksheets that collect data and serve as a goal-setting catalyst simultaneously. It is the author’s hope that sharing these keys to success will allow those involved in the implementation of similar programs the chance to avoid “reinventing the wheel” when it pertains to school-based counseling services.
References

Appendix. SUCCESS Program Life Map (Castro-Atwater, S. 2012)
Teaching and Learning in the Here and Now:
Incorporating Mindfulness
Principles into the College Classroom

Laurae Coburn
The Sage Colleges
Abstract

The practice of mindfulness has been shown to ameliorate the effects of chronic stress and improve self-care in individuals who engage in the practice of meditation for sustained periods. This study explores the impact of practicing mindfulness on graduate students. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed to examine the impact of a four-week mediation practice. Participants reported a decrease in stress and anxiety and an increase in awareness and relaxation. The data suggest that mindfulness practice has a positive impact on the lives of those who practice.

Chronic stress is a causal factor in numerous emotional and physical health problems (Kabat-Zinn, 2005). Although many physical challenges such as high blood pressure and heart disease are more likely to occur in middle-aged and older adults, students in college are not immune to the emotional and physical effects of stress. Many are struggling with mounting student debt, unemployment, and the stress associated with graduating from a college in a time of economic recession.

The practice of mindfulness has been shown to ameliorate the effects of chronic stress (Kabat-Zinn, 1994; 2005 & Richards, Campenni, Muse-Burke, 2010). During the last twenty-five years mindfulness research on individuals with various health conditions, such as cancer, high blood pressure, heart disease, and chronic pain has shown promising results. The practice of mindfulness has also been proven to positively affect the lives of individuals challenged by anxiety disorders and depression (Kabat-Zinn, 2005). In like manner, mindfulness has a positive relationship to overall well being and practices of self-care (Campenni, Muse-Burke, 2010).

What is Mindfulness?

Mindfulness is a concept derived from Buddhist teachings. The practice of mindfulness is embraced by people throughout the western culture as is evidenced by meditation classes in health clubs and yoga studios in towns large and small. Mindfulness is not a religious concept, it is simply the practice of focusing on the present moment with a non-judgmental awareness of thoughts, feelings, and perceptions (Kabat-Zinn, 1994). The practice of mindfulness involves a heightened sense of awareness to the here and now and a detachment from thoughts about the past or future.

The word meditation is used interchangeably with mindfulness, as the practice can be the same depending on the tradition or school of meditation. In the tradition of mindfulness meditation, the object of meditation is the breath. Practitioners are encouraged to sit in a comfortable position and notice the breath. The breath is used as a point of focus because it is a natural process that impossible not to do. Therefore, it is always available to the practitioner. The practitioner is aware of the breath and knows that thoughts will come and go. The object of mindfulness meditation is not to avoid thoughts, stop them, or repress them. Rather, the aim is to regard them non-judgmentally with an open attitude. To hold them in present moment awareness with out being hooked by or drawn into a story line attached to the thoughts. In the Buddhist tradition, meditation is regarded as a way to cultivate an attitude of unconditional friendliness toward oneself.

Research supports the positive effects mindfulness has on well being (Campenni, Muse-Burke, 2010). The current study explores how practicing mindfulness over a four-
week period affected the lives of twenty female graduate students at a small private institution in the Northeastern United States. The study employs mixed method research to capture both the quantitative and qualitative elements of the student’s experience.

**Method**

**Participants**

The participants were graduate students in a school-counseling program. They were all first or second year students who signed up for the course to satisfy an elective requirement. The participants have undergraduate degrees in education, psychology, and the social sciences. Their ages ranged from twenty-two to forty. Two were married, one has children, and they were all Caucasian. Only one participant indicated that she had previous experience with meditation.

**Measures**

Both quantitative and qualitative measures were used in this mixed method exploration of the effects of mindfulness. The Mindful Attention and Awareness Scale (MAAS), (Brown and Ryan, 2003) was used as a pretest and posttest measure. The MAAS is a 15-item trait measure of one’s tendency to attend to present moment experiences in everyday activities. The reliability coefficient of this scale was reported at Cronbach’s alpha of .82, an acceptable rate for a measure of internal consistency. The students filled out the MAAS on the first day of the course before any background or instruction on mindfulness. They also took the posttest on the last day of class before the final examination.

Qualitative data were collected in three different forms. Students wrote in weekly journals in an electronic course management system. Their journals were confidential and were viewed by the instructor exclusively. They had unlimited space to write and had a 48-hour time line to respond. The students shared their experiences with mindfulness practice and what, if anything, they noticed about themselves throughout the week. Additionally, students participated in three focus groups and discussed their experiences with mindfulness. Finally, students responded in writing to the open-ended question: “How has practicing mindfulness affected your life?”

**Procedure**

Students received instruction on mindfulness techniques at the first class meeting. Following the instruction, participants practiced mindfulness meditation for twenty minutes. Student then watched a mindfulness instructional video and practiced again for another ten minutes. Students also practiced mindfulness for twenty minutes per day for the next week. Additionally, they were required to participate in at least one small group meditation group weekly. At the end of the first week, students wrote about their experiences with mindfulness in electronic journals. During the second class meeting, students shared their experiences in a focus group format and discussed any problems or challenges with the mindfulness practice. Two distinct periods of mindfulness instruction were provided during the second class meeting. Students proceeded as with the first week and practiced mindfulness for twenty minutes individually daily and in group meditation one time per week. Students continued with this process for weeks three and four.
Results

Quantitative measures

Descriptive statistics were computed for pre and posttest means. The low n of the sample did not provide possibility for statistical significance, however, increases in means across items were found. The MAAS scoring guide states that higher scores on items suggest higher levels of dispositional mindfulness. The items and means for pre and posttest are listed in Table 1. A more robust sample is needed to confirm any positive effect but the results suggest potential for a confirmation of positive effect of mindfulness practice. Although there were across items, the most obvious increases were on items six, eleven, twelve and thirteen.

Qualitative measures

The qualitative data were analyzed were examined and categorized using a process of qualitative data analysis known as open coding. Through open coding; the data from the journal responses, the open ended written responses, and field notes from focus groups were examined and fractured into categories. The next phase of analysis included reexamining the data and finding emerging themes. The themes were tentatively constructed and then compared with the data again to ascertain if the data matched the themes, this process is known as axial coding. The themes are included in Table 2. Quotes are also included in Table 3 and were selected for their relationship to the themes.

Discussion

The practice of mindfulness meditation was reported to have a positive effect on the lives of students in this study. Both the quantitative and qualitative results suggest that students experienced an improvement in their ability to manage stress, engage in relationships, stay psychologically present in the moment, and notice and regulate internal states.

The use of mixed methodology comes at a cost to both internal and external validity in this study. Consequently, this research study is not without several limitations. From a qualitative perspective, the lack of a control group and lack of random assignment are significant limitations to internal validity. Additionally, the low sample size, homogeneous sample, and lack of random selection are threats to external validity. Finally, the use of more sophisticated data analysis would allow for deeper understanding of data. The qualitative methodology was also limited because of the short four-week engagement period as well as the lack of additional interviews to improve qualitative credibility.

The need for additional studies on the effect of mindfulness practice on college students is clear. From a quantitative perspective, the use of a larger sample with random assignment would strengthen the claim that mindfulness does have an effect on the lives of college students by controlling for threats to internal and external validity. A qualitative grounded theory study would allow for additional coding procedures such as selective coding; therefore, increasing credibility of the themes.

Conclusion

The results of this exploratory study suggest that mindfulness practice had a positive impact on the lives of the participants. The use of both qualitative and quantitative methodology allowed for a broader exploration of the perceptions of the participants
than would be afforded by a single method study. The results suggested that participants experienced a decrease in stress and anxiety and an increase in awareness and relaxation. The data suggest that mindfulness practice has a positive impact on the lives of those who practice; this is consistent with the extant literature on the effects of mindfulness (Baer, 2006; Baer, Smith, Hopkins, Krietemeyer, & Toney, L. 2006; Brown, & Ryan, 2003; Gunuratan, 2002; Shapiro, Oman, Thoresen, Plante, & Flinders, 2008).

References
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item #</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Pretest</th>
<th>Posttest</th>
<th>+/-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I could be experiencing some emotion and not be conscious of it until some time later.</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>+.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I break or spill things because of carelessness, not paying attention, or thinking of something else.</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>+.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>I find it difficult to stay focused on what's happening in the present</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>+.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>I tend to walk quickly to get where I'm going without paying</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>+.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>I tend not to notice feelings of physical tension or discomfort until they really grab my attention.</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>+.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>I forget a person's name almost as soon as I've been told it for the first time.</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>+1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>It seems I am running on automatic, without much awareness of what I'm doing.</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>+.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>I rush through activities without being attentive to them.</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>+.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>I get so focused on the goal I want to achieve that I lose touch with what I'm doing right now to get there.</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>+.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>I do jobs or tasks automatically, without being aware of what I'm doing.</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>+.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>I find myself listening to someone with one ear, doing something else at the same time</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>+1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>I drive places on 'automatic pilot' and then wonder why I went there.</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>+1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I find myself preoccupied with the future or the past.</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>+1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>I find myself doing things without paying attention.</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>+.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>I snack without being aware that I'm eating.</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>+.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increased present moment awareness and appreciation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Decreased perceived stress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Decreased perceived anxiety</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increase awareness of surroundings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increased ability to observe emotions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Decreased worry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less critical of self</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increased ability to listen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Improvement in relationships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increased ability to know what is happening in body</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,4,6,9,</td>
<td>“I feel that it (mindfulness) has allowed me to worry less, take time for myself, and become more attuned to my surroundings, it has definitely improved my relationship with my husband and my family”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,3,6</td>
<td>“Practicing mindfulness has allowed me to become more relaxed and less anxious. I find meditation to be something I need in my day to day life. It also helps me to slow down my mind and body when it constantly feels like it is going faster than I am.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,4,8</td>
<td>“Mindfulness has made me appreciate the world around me more, I can now go outside and sit without being on my phone or having something else to do. I am a much better listener now too.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,7,10</td>
<td>“I find that I am not beating up on myself as much, I feel as if I know how I am feeling and sometimes where I am feeling it.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Many Faces of Autism

Anne Daly
Beverly Doyle
Creighton University
Abstract

Research in the area of autism indicates that educational programs with autism spectrum disorders (ASD) are often generic with little focus on approaches specific to disorders within the spectrum. Because of the number of students with ASD has increased significantly in the past ten years, it becomes imperative that individuals working with these students develop effective strategies to enhance their success educationally, socially, and vocationally. By matching intervention strategies to specific student needs and diagnoses, progress within identified student needs is improved. *The Many Faces of Autism* is a summary of current evidence-based approaches designed to teach students with ASD. This article presents approaches for each category under the spectrum and describes how to implement these strategies in a classroom setting. However, levels of severity of students differ within and across categories in ASD and it is difficult to judge effectiveness of interventions. Students with ASD not only deal with challenges, but they also have many gifts to share with society if given they have right tools and resources.

Introduction

The category of autism spectrum disorders (ASD) has grown quickly in the past decade. In the year 2000, approximately 6.7% of children or 1 in 150 were identified whereas in the year 2012, 11.3% of children or 1 in 88 were identified with ASD, according to Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (1). This syndrome has affected children both at home and in school. Educators continue to struggle with how to teach these students. Autism has demanded the need for new teaching strategies that can be effective in working with autistic students. Our goal is to discuss methods that can produce quality teaching and learning in the classroom. Methods discussed in this paper were selected from evidence-based research. This refers to treatments that have been proven effective in multiple research designs. They have been applicable in numerous studies; both group and single subject studies or a combination of these. Different research teams have contributed to the methods discussed. Information on programs developed for teaching students with ASD have been included in the discussion of how methods are implemented.

Statement of the Problem

The increase of numbers of students identified with ASD has created challenges for teachers to help students with this disorder succeed not only academically, but also socially and vocationally. These students must be prepared to meet the demands of society outside the classroom. Not only do these students manifest learning problems but also a number of challenging behaviors making it difficult for themselves and their peers to be successful. *The Many Faces of Autism* is focused on the specific disorders included under the category of ASD with references to evidence-based methods and procedures described as ways of teaching these students.

Teachers have used different techniques to modify instruction and maximize learning potential among their students. However, the unique demands that autistic students embody from academic to behavior, communication and social skills are especially challenging. It is important to develop all these key components to maximize autistic students’ potential.

Review of Literature
According to “Interventions for Autism Spectrum Disorders: State of the Evidence,” a collaboration of the Maine Department of Health and Human Resources and the Maine Department of Education, there is an importance for students with Autism Spectrum Disorders to have early and intensive interventions. Still, there is not much information provided for intervention plans for students with ASDs in terms of educational supports or behavioral supports (2). Direct and consistent instruction for students with ASD has provided a more customized intervention that has helped students. For students with higher IQ scores prior to their intervention, more substantial gains have been seen throughout the intervention and post-intervention.

From the book “Classroom Instruction and Students With Autism Spectrum Disorders: A collection of articles from Teaching Exceptional Children” edited by Alex F. Peck, Ph.D and Stan Scarpati, Ed.D, parent involvement with early intervention for children with an ASD offers progressive results for the student. According to the National Research Council, for effective educational interventions, these features must be present: “[1] Programs that start as soon as a diagnosis is made, [2] Intensive instruction based on full-day school programs, [3] Repeated instruction that is organized around focused one-on-one or small group lessons of short duration anchored by observable and measurable objectives, [4] A strong family component, and [5] Procedures that allow for ongoing data collection that provide useful measures of progress as well as program adjustment.” Furthermore, intervention strategies for students should be based on deficits that they show, such as academic, communication, social skills, interpersonal, behavioral, and self-regulation (3).

From the article, “Case Studies on Using Strengths and Interest to Address the Needs of Students with Autism Spectrum Disorders” by Aaron Lanou, Lauren Hough, and Elizabeth Powell, finding intervention strategies based on students interests can help with a more successful intervention plan for the student. By having intervention plans based on the student’s strengths and interests, they are more engaged and involved in the activity or task that they are working on. An increase in motivation can be seen, which affects the student’s interest in the intervention strategy (4).

Overall Programs Appropriate for Treatment of Autism

Project DATA (Developmentally Appropriate Treatment for Autism)

Project DATA is a program used for children across the autism spectrum. Focusing on six domains, the project works to enhance adaptive skills, cognitive skills, social communication, social skills, fine-motor skills and gross-motor skills. With five main components, peers are utilized as a part of the peer training with students across the spectrum. As a high quality inclusive early childhood program, focusing on extended instructional time, technical and social support, collaboration and coordination among services and transitional support, Project DATA has seen some great gains (5).

SOCCSS Strategy

The SOCCSS Strategy is used for students across the spectrum to improve self-regulation in difficult situations. Focusing on the Situation, Options, Consequences, Choices, Strategy and Simulation, the student is able to analyze situations and consequences better. When there are problems, especially socially, the student focuses on the situation stage where the student understands who, what and why for the situation and behavior. Then, he or she brainstorms options that can be used for the appropriate behavior. The student and the teacher will then evaluate the consequences
and the different options and from there, make different choices of the desired consequences. The student then focuses on a strategy based on choosing the best action plan to implement. The student and teacher can then use simulation for role-play, visualization, talking with a peer, or writing a plan and practicing it. With this model, the student is able to correct undesirable behaviors and self-correct the problem. This model provides students the opportunity to be in control of their own behaviors and actions, which is important to a child on the spectrum (5).

**TEACCH (Treatment and Education of Autistic and Communication Related Handicapped Children)**

The TEACCH program is an overall program for children across the spectrum where visual supports, structured teaching and maximizing the independent functioning of a child is used for success of the child. This program focuses on four components and is accompanied with structured teaching. This program emphasizes the physical structure and organization of the workspace, schedules indicating details and the required task, work systems depicting detailed expectations of the individual during the task, and task organization explicitly describing the learning task. With this program, increases have been seen in fine and gross motor skills, functional independence, on-task behavior, play behavior, imitation behavior, and other functional living skills, while reducing the need for teacher assistance. (6)

**Developmental, Individual-Difference, Relationship-Based Model**

This model is found helpful for students on the autism spectrum by increasing social-emotional function, communication skills, thinking and learning processes, motor skills, body awareness and attention span. This program focuses on specific student needs and is based on the interest of the student. Part of the intervention focuses on Floortime, which is a one-on-one interaction with adults where appropriate socialization and actions are encouraged through modeling and prompting the student. Increased gains have been seen if family and parental involvement in this intervention are integrated with school supports. (6)

**Approaches for teaching Autistic Spectrum Disorder**

*Autistic Disorder* is known as classic autism, this disorder affects the ability to communicate, form relationships with others and respond appropriately to the environment. As defined by Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) (12), autistic disorder is “a developmental disability affecting verbal and nonverbal communication and social interaction, generally evident before age 3, that affects a child’s performance. Other characteristics often associated with autism are engagement in repetitive activities and stereotyped movements, resistance to environmental change or change in daily routines, and unusual responses to sensory experiences.”

Interventions that were evidence-based included Structured Teaching (6), Applied Behavioral Analysis (2), Reciprocal Imitation Training (13), Picture Exchange Systems (2), Integrated Play Groups (11), Video Modeling (7), Teach calming techniques (9), and Life Skill interventions such as Power card and Functional Academics (5). Appendix I describes autistic disorder intervention techniques in great detail.

*Asperger’s syndrome* differs from autistic disorder because an individual does not have a delay in spoken language development. However serious deficits in social and pragmatic communication skills exist (8). The individual may engage in obsessive, repetitive routines, and be preoccupied with a particular subject matter. Appendix II
describes academic interventions such as social stories (8), writing responses to social situations (8), and a focus on reading comprehension (9). By providing background knowledge of information contained in the stories and doing picture walks in the stories, a child with Asperger’s syndrome has an enhanced ability to comprehend reading materials (9). In math, direct instruction using concrete representation of abstract concepts and check-lists for solving advanced problems can enhance mathematical operations (10). Appendix II also describes self-regulation techniques such as tactile cueing and compensation for sensory over-simulation (8). Teaching social skills through direct modeling and games enhances a student with Asperger’s syndrome to function more effectively.

_Pervasive Developmental Disorder – Not Otherwise Specified_ is an atypical type of autism. The individual does not meet all the criteria for autistic disorder. Appendix III has intervention approaches for improving communication through visual script interventions (6). Students are asked to initiate conversations and give models of appropriate language. In terms of social interventions and behavior, the interventions in Appendix I for autistic disorder are appropriate for this level of autism.

_Rett’s Syndrome_ affects mainly females. It is genetic in origin; a developmental regression happens between 6 to 18 months. An individual affected can have profound intellectual and physical disabilities. Rett’s syndrome Interventions described in Appendix III focus on Discrete Trial Training and Applied Behavioral Analysis (6). Because development regresses, language and communication needs will change. Strategies should be selected based on current needs. Complex tasks must be broken into small segments, with students reinforced for their ability to do the tasks.

_Childhood Disintegrative Disorder_ also is a type of regressive autism. Developing normally from 2-4 years, students often develop a disorder similar to autistic disorder. However language, interest in a social environment and self-help skills are lost, as this disorder progresses. Appendix III describes a behavior and self-help intervention described by Lovaaas (6). Using Applied Behavioral Analysis, students’ self-help needs are analyzed and specific tasks leading the accomplishment of them are reinforced. Behavior chaining, an intervention that integrates small segments of tasks needed for a more complex behavior, is reinforced and eventually the child will be able to accomplish a more complex task.

**Conclusion**

A teacher identified with having students with ASD in his or her classroom must be skilled in assessment, differentiation of instruction, and lesson planning. Depending on the skill and difficulty the student demonstrates, interventions can be selected and strategies geared for specific age and motivation of the student. Direct instruction may aid the student in all areas. It provides specific strategies used for the student to accomplish specific goals.

Natural stimuli need to be incorporated in instruction, since students with ASDs have problems with generalization. They may not transfer skills from one setting to another or to untrained settings or situations. In addition, they have trouble maintaining skills overtime; therefore spaced practice should be incorporated into the intervention package. Research indicates that it is difficult to compare instructional approaches across categories, or sometimes within a category, because level of severity along the
spectrum differs. However, students with higher IQs have increased gains after treatment. Interventions are more successful if a family component is included. The current emphasis on implementing evidence-based interventions demands that educators use programs supported by data from empirical research. However, research is still limited across all areas.

References
Centers for Disease Control and Prevention at http://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/autism/data.html/
Lanou, Aaron, Hough, Lauren, and Powell, Elizabeth. (January 2010). Case Studies on Using Strengths and Interest to Address the Needs of Students with Autism Spectrum Disorders. The Asha Leader, (The paper on-line)
Appendix I

Autistic Disorder Intervention Strategies

Academic

- Structured Teaching
  - Organizing environment utilizing visual cues to help student focus on relevant vs. non-relevant information. Elements Include:
    - Physical structure: boundaries to help students understand where each area begins and ends to minimize visual and auditory distractions.
    - Examples include carpet squares, room dividers, study carrels, limiting decorations and storing equipment
  - Visual Schedules – child has specific schedule with pictures or words to help understand organization of the day
  - Teaching Methods – Each child has a work system depicting detailed expectations of the individual during the work task. Task organization describing the work and task is included.

Communication

- Verbal speech, nonverbal communication, such as gestures, facial expressions, eye contact and inflection and using speech in social situations
  - Applied Behavioral Analysis for Communication
    - Used for establishing eye contact, getting attention, play
    - This is accomplished by: observing the language, modeling the language, reinforcing approximations, chaining behaviors and reinforcing desired behaviors. Generalize by teaching in naturalistic settings
  - Reciprocal Imitation Training
    - Encourage imitation, gestures and eye contact. Therapist imitates actions and vocalization of the child. Then the therapist models new behaviors and reinforces the child’s imitation of these
  - Picture Exchange Communication System
    - The child exchanges pictures of items desired to get needs met

Social Skills and Interpersonal

- Play
  - Integrated Play Groups
    - Children with autism are paired with students who do not have autism. The adult facilitator places the child in groups based on their interests. The premise is that autistic children learn appropriate social skills by observing and interacting with peers.
  - Video Modeling
    - A visual via video is shown of the targeted behavior to the student. The facilitator sets up a situation and encourages the student to model that behavior utilizing behavioral techniques. Once the child masters the social sequence, he or she is video taped and asked to watch and the facilitator reviews the behavior with him or her.

- Self-Regulation
  - Teach calming Techniques
1. Use sensory techniques such as swings, padded weighted vests, low visual stimulation like lights and noises.

2. Break interaction down into segments and discuss appropriate responses to each
   a. Situation – who was involved, what happened, and reasons for it
   b. Options – brainstorm options for behavior
   c. Consequences – Evaluate each option
   d. Choices – Select an option that has most desirable consequences
   e. Strategy – Develop action plan for implementing option
   f. Simulation – role play

3. Utilize stories, videos and games to help the student understand emotion expression and appropriate response. For example, bibliotherapy utilizes stories where the main character responds to similar situations as the student.
   o Break down and analyze interactions and process together
   o Utilize stories, games and videos to help with emotional expression and appropriate responses

- Life Skills
  o Power card – child carries a card with them to remind them how to deal with a problem situation. The card has step by step instructions such as
    ▪ Look at the person
    ▪ Answer and ask questions politely
    ▪ End conversations politely

Teach functional academic and life skills such as cooking, shopping, banking, using transportation, and job skills. Picture prompts can be helpful in teaching vocational tasks.

Appendix II
Asperger’s Syndrome Intervention Strategies

Academics
- Reading – social stories
- Writing – writing responses to social situations
- Reading comprehension
  o Priming background knowledge of materials contained in the story
  o Picture walks are a look through a book and then predict the plot
  o Visual maps are used to organize the story and plot, when there are no pictures for cues
  o Goal structure mapping is a graphic organizer focused on cause and effect
  o Social stories are stories that teach a social skill through characters and interaction
  o Think aloud and reciprocal teaching is a way to model thinking to students by focusing on predicting, questioning, clarifying and summarizing.
• Math
  o Self regulation – completing checklists for steps involved in solving math problems
  o Direct instruction – systematic instruction that instructs how to perform tasks, prompts learner and teaches specific skills
  o Goal structure – goal setting and rewards for completing math tasks
  o Concrete representation of the abstract – fractions using concrete materials using real money and teaching with clocks.
  o Integrated behavioral experiential teaching – concrete presentation of stimuli, real life experiences then abstract symbols

Social Skills
• Direct Modeling of behaviors and asking student to copy.
• Using games to teach body language, gestures and voice qualities

Self-Regulation
• Compensate for sensory overstimulation by deep breathing, removing self from situation, etc.
  o Visual cues such as tactile cueing
  o Auditory cues – clicker, reduce noise
  o Motion activities – stroking with brushes
  o Lighting – colored overlays, low light

Appendix III
PDD – NOS, Rett’s Disorder and CDD Intervention Strategies
PERVASIVE DEVELOPMENTAL DISORDER – NOT OTHERWISE SPECIFIED
Communication
• Visual script interventions
  o Simple words to get assistance like “help”
  o Initiating conversations like “how are you?”
  o Replacing inappropriate language like cursing or slang
• Implementation:
  o Choosing objectives and activities
  o Observing peers
  o Writing and developing script
  o Teach students to recite it

Social
• Refer to social interventions under Autistic Disorder

Behavior
• Refer to interventions listed under Autistic Disorder for Social Skills and Interpersonal
RETT'S SYNDROME AND CHILDHOOD DISINTEGRATIVE DISORDER*

Behavior and Self-Help
- Refer to interventions under Autistic Disorder for Social Skills and Interpersonal
- Discrete Trial Training and Applied Behavioral Analysis
  - Look at the antecedents of the behavior and the consequences of it.
  - Task analyze by breaking the behavior into small segments
  - Present a behavior to the student
  - Ask student to respond and reinforce approximations of the appropriate behavior
  - Give the student the consequence or reinforcement
  - Give feedback and repeat sequence until the desired behavior has occurred.
- Lovaas Method
  - Intervention based on interests and needs. Use of behavioral techniques such as Discrete Trial Training discussed in Rett’s Syndrome.
- Applied Behavioral Analysis
  - Student's self help needs are task analyzed. Specific tasks leading to the accomplishment of a behavior are developed and reinforced. Behavior chaining is utilized so that the student can accomplish a more complex task. For example, washing hands is divided into 5 steps. Each step is developed and reinforced then chained together until child is able to wash hands.

Communication
- Refer to interventions under Autistic Disorder

*Because development regresses, language and communication needs will vary and change. Appropriate strategies should be selected based on current needs of the student.
The Plight of America’s Cities: 
The Deepening Crisis of Long-Term Unemployment

Louis Ferleger
Jacob Magid
Boston University
For many US communities, the economic picture is enduringly dark because unemployment rates have lagged far behind the national average for decades. Many show no indication that this trend will end in the foreseeable future. In this paper we argue that there are 215 defined metropolitan (metro) and micropolitan (micro) areas— with populations ranging from 10,000 to 4 million—that have had unemployment rates at least two percentage points higher than the national average for 5, 10, or even 20 years between 1990 and 2010. In addition, between 25-35 percent of their residents’ incomes are provided by government aid, compared to 17 percent nationwide; 25-40 percent live on $30,000 a year or less. The workforce in most distressed zones has a low education level, with more than 50 percent possessing just a high-school degree or less. Most jobs in distressed zones are in low-end service industries, especially retail. Such jobs offer few prospects for upward mobility or skill enhancement.

These are America’s distressed cities. Here employment growth is stagnant or non-existent and high levels of joblessness dominate. In these communities paid work is hard to find for those who have not given up looking, and widespread involuntary idleness is the norm.

Within these cities, poor employment prospects are not simply functions of the business cycle; these communities have not had substantial and sustainable increases in employment for lengthy stretches. America’s distressed zones can not be described as containing “weak labor markets” because many have had long term unemployment problems that are more than weak and not temporary. Even in zones with only 5 years of high unemployment, the prior years were hardly marked by robust job growth.

These distressed zones include both rural and urban areas. Though each area is different, there are some trends. The Northwest areas (Oregon, Washington, and Northern California) historically had large numbers of jobs in the timber and fishing industries. Many of these zones now rely upon tourism and retirement as their major industries, both of which are seasonal and sensitive to fluctuations in the broader economy.

The Southwest (Southern California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas) industries historically employed substantial labor forces either working on farms or in trade with Mexico. In both cases, employment tended to rely on the large scale movements of temporary workers. This huge amount of seasonal work has created the highest metropolitan unemployment rates in the US.

Employment in the Deep South has never fully recovered from the decline of the cotton industry and mechanization in the early 20th century. Since then, southern zones have suffered considerable emigration, and few areas have made progress towards the development of alternative industries.

Distressed zones along Appalachia and the Atlantic Coast (Kentucky, West Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee) have relied either on coal or timber industries, both of which suffered steep declines in the 1970s and are unlikely to recover in the foreseeable future.

The Rust Belt’s distressed zones were once dependent on various manufacturing industries, usually but not always in the automotive sector. The growth of outsourcing and the decline of the American auto industry throughout the 80s and 90s left few other avenues for employment.
The map in Figure 1 presents a visual representation of distressed zones where red dots are areas that have been distressed for the past 20 years, orange dots are areas that have been distressed for the past 10 years, and yellow dots are areas that have been distressed for the past 5 years. Only the plains states lack distressed zones. New England is underrepresented because cities in that region are classified as New England City and Town Areas (NECTA) which are defined differently than metropolitan and micropolitan areas and, therefore, could not be included in this dataset. In addition, the map shows how the Midwest and Appalachia region have suffered the most concentrated increase in distressed areas since 1990.

The unevenness of the current national recovery—as weak or strong as it appears—is starker in distressed zones, where unemployment rates have been high for longer periods of time. The numbers capture only part of the story. Metro and micro areas are defined as encompassing one or more cities as well as adjoining areas. In some cases, one large city may be lumped together with two smaller communities for the purpose of describing a metropolitan area; one city’s chronically high unemployment might be masked by the lower figures of its neighboring communities. Thus America’s distressed zones are not limited to areas listed in the tables. Other areas, many larger than 600,000, some smaller than 10,000, contain sections (if not whole cities) that could be classified as distressed zones and where high unemployment rates are common.

While different methods of gathering government data make it harder to assess the unemployment picture in New England, long-term distressed zones exist in former manufacturing and mill towns such as Lawrence and Fall River, MA, Waterbury, New Britain and New Haven, CT, and Providence and Central Falls, RI. These cities have characteristics similar to other distressed zones. In more and more American cities, the lack of opportunities and poor job prospects point to the existence of more areas that have not been, but should be, recognized as emerging distressed zones.

In the last few years some distressed zones have moved forward while others remain stuck. Shining a spotlight on five specific cases gives us clues to the scope of the predicament as well as potential solutions. We’ll compare Henderson, North Carolina; Seneca, South Carolina; and Kokomo, Indiana with distressed areas that seem doomed to continued stagnation—Hanford, California and Natchez, Mississippi.

For more than 20 years, Henderson, population 43,000, has watched jobs vanish. The tobacco, cotton and textile industries once made it a thriving community, but for the last few decades the city’s main industries have been in distributional warehousing, low-end manufacturing and retail trade. Henderson’s median income has plunged by 9 percent over the past decade to stand at $45,000, the national average. Because of its poorly educated work force, Henderson sends few workers to nearby higher-education institutions like the University of North Carolina and Duke, or to Research Triangle Park, the high-tech hub located between Chapel Hill, Durham and Raleigh.

Similarly, Natchez, which hugs the border with Louisiana along the Mississippi River, was once a center for cotton, trade and textiles. Old South wealth settled in the area, and even today more than 200 antebellum structures remain standing. But today’s Natchez has experienced high joblessness levels for 20 years. The 49,000 residents have a median income of $29,000, which is 11 percent less than a decade ago. In 2003, the already struggling city suffered a major loss when three companies shut down: International Paper Plant, Armstrong Tire and Johns Manville, a construction-supplies
producer. Natchez now promotes itself as a retirement community and relies mainly on tourism, medical and retail industries, as well as a local casino and prisons.

With 148,000 permanent residents, Hanford has had high unemployment for over two decades. The city’s median income is right at the national average, about the same as it was 10 years ago. Here, the primary employers are prisons, seasonal agriculture, the Lemoore Naval Base, a small Indian casino (located about 10 miles away), and two large firms: Del Monte (a canning plant) and Marquez Brothers (a cheese producer). As with other distressed cities in the Southwest, Hanford’s economy depends on migrant workers. Hanford’s one area of strength is that it provides the only major shopping center within 40 miles. Here again, however, low-paying retail work is the norm, with few opportunities for upward mobility.

Seneca is a rural community of 71,000 residents that has seen high levels of unemployment over the last decade. Its median household income is $41,000, down 13 percent from 10 years ago. Similar to Natchez and Henderson, Seneca was originally a textile town. Here, the influence of the textile industry was considerable—residents relied on the mills for everything from running schools to maintaining stores. The construction of Hartwell Dam in 1962 created two artificial lakes, which have made the area a self-described haven for retirees and recreational tourism. These lakes also led to the construction of the Oconee Nuclear Station in 1974. Small to midsize factories producing automotive and industrial parts comprise the rest of the local economy.

The 98,000 people who live in Kokomo have historically relied on the automotive industry to provide good jobs. Chrysler operated four plants, and several suppliers of auto parts and materials also had factories in the area. For many years, young people who graduated high school could look forward to jobs at these local plants. They therefore had little incentive to pursue higher education, even though the city boasts four universities (Indiana University Kokomo, Purdue School of Technology, Indiana Wesleyan University, and Ivy Tech Community College). Though Kokomo’s median income is right around the national average, it is down 16 percent from a decade earlier. The city’s workforce was hit hard by the recession of 2008 and the subsequent Chrysler plant closings. Between 2005 and 2010, unemployment has steadily climbed.

These cities illustrate the economic diversity of the over 200 distressed zones in the U.S. But they also suggest that these areas have more similarities than differences. For example, many present themselves as destinations for tourists and retirees, and like Natchez, hope to foster this sector as a “renewable industry.” But tourism remains extremely sensitive to changes in tastes, seasonality, and macroeconomic conditions (as is the case in Las Vegas, where high unemployment has recently become the norm). It also tends to create low-skilled service jobs that offer almost no prospect for upward mobility.

Distressed zones are often home to military bases, casinos and prisons—industries that demand very little skilled labor, and like retail and local government work, offer few opportunities for workforce advancement and job growth. The single industry commonly found here that provides opportunities for advancement is medical services. But even here, the jobs in greatest demand tend to be in lower-paying occupations.

The overwhelming majority of these cities have been economically distressed for decades. But in the cases of Henderson, Kokomo and Seneca, they have started to work with economic development organizations on programs that focus on improving
local job prospects. Henderson, for example, created Triangle Park North in 2005 with three surrounding counties. This initiative includes sharing the costs of developing and marketing industrial parks in each of the counties. The hope is to provide manufacturing services for the nearby high-tech Research Triangle. The effort has begun to pay off, as a solar-panel manufacturer and an EMS-vehicle firm have recently announced plans to move to the area.

Distressed cities differ in their approach to education and workforce training as well. In Kokomo, the days of 24-hour production and 15,000-plant workers are gone. A new business model has emerged that focuses on encouraging advanced, specialized manufacturers to relocate to the area. To that end, the Greater Kokomo Economic Development Alliance started working with local colleges and technical schools to retrain workers. This initiative has led to record enrollments, supporting the area’s education industry while simultaneously creating a more skilled workforce.

Seneca faces a very different challenge: a general lack of infrastructure. Here the Oconee County Economic Development Group has tried to attract businesses by highlighting its strengths: a stable local workforce and very low costs. In addition, a program was started that reaches out to students as early as eighth grade to begin career planning. Older workers who have recently lost their jobs are also attending classes at the local community college and enrolling in retraining programs in new fields.

Rodney Hollingsworth is an example of just this kind of worker. Laid off after more than 30 years of working in the construction industry in the Seneca area, he decided to return to school and applied to the Goodwill and Tri-County certified nurse aide (CNA) program. After completing 92 hours of training plus an additional CPR class, and passing the CNA state certification exam, he was offered an interview for a part-time job by the head nurse at Clemson Downs Retirement Center. Having already cared for both his father and mother-in-law, who had recently succumbed to cancer, he knew this was the career path for him. Within three months, he was working full-time.

Rodney’s story is an example of local businesses and non-profits partnering up to tailor educational programs for specific needs. In Seneca, the plant manager for auto-parts manufacturer BorgWarner has been working with the superintendent of public schools as well as the directors of the local technical colleges to design programs that will enhance students’ employment prospects in advanced manufacturing. In fact, Seneca was recently honored at South Carolina’s 20th Annual Industry Appreciation Week for its business-government partnerships.

In Kokomo, Chrysler recently announced a $1 billion investment plan to make the city the center for manufacturing certain car parts. The city has partnered with local colleges and even high-school career centers to ensure a steady supply of qualified electrical engineers and other technical workers.

In Henderson, when a new company moves to the area, the Henderson-Vance County Economic Development Commission schedules a meeting with representatives from local community colleges to determine what programs might be needed to support the enterprise. At Vance Granville Community College, administrators work on instituting and implementing customizable training services for the company’s workforce; they also created a new five-year program in which students can earn a
high-school degree and an associate degree simultaneously. As a result, high school drop-out rates have fallen and new bio-tech labs have been established.

Business-government partnerships are only one part of what needs to be done to reduce the staggering number of distressed cities. In Kokomo, even with a new business model, the economy remains heavily dependent on automotive manufacturing, so city leaders are now focusing on diversifying production to other industries; recently they have attracted a cabinet-making firm from Kansas.

Moreover, the city has created a commercial incubator, Inventrek, to nurture small businesses. After the automotive-electronics firm Delphi laid off 300 of its lowest-skilled engineers in Kokomo in 2008, the Economic Development Alliance partnered with a venture-capital firm, Purdue and Indiana Universities, Inventrek and the local community to create an engineering contract company, Neupath, which farms these workers out to different projects. Funded in part by a WIRED (Workforce Innovation in Regional Economic Development) grant from the U.S. Department of Labor, this new company enables qualified and experienced engineers to continue working in their fields without having to relocate. Not only does Neupath provide work for recently laid-off laborers, it also serves as a database for future employers looking to hire full-time. Kokomo’s mayor, Greg Goodnight, recently said, “Private-public partnerships are what move this community forward.”

Unfortunately, Henderson, Kokomo and Seneca are the exception rather than the rule. Too many places, from Atlantic City to Branson, Missouri rely heavily on tourism as their major industry. Most distressed cities, like Hanford, have yet to put in place a proactive economic-development program. Too many others have weak or nonexistent Chambers of Commerce, most of which serve merely as directories for local businesses, and political leaders who lack the expertise to develop and promote programs to reduce unemployment. Other cities, such as Natchez, lack developmental resources—their local economic-development group, Natchez Inc., has only three staff members, all hired in 2010. They have had some success, attracting businesses like Elevance Renewable Sciences and InterSteel, but they have failed to put in place a comprehensive vision for Natchez’s future. They are now trying to promote industries as varied as tourism, forestry and chemical manufacturing.

Developmental initiatives take time to plan, implement and realize results. It is unlikely that outside resources—particularly from the federal government—will be available to boost employment in the near future. As evidenced by Kokomo and Seneca, economic-development programs can have a major impact. Both areas have seen significant reductions in unemployment since 2009 when they implemented such programs: from 14.7 percent to 9.9 percent in 2011 in Kokomo, and from 13.4 percent to 10.2 percent over the same time period in Seneca. Natchez and Henderson, on the other hand, have had proactive initiatives in place for a year and have not yet seen significant changes. Hanford, where the jobless rate sits at 16 percent, clearly shows that when no initiatives are taken, unemployment will remain high.

More critically, how can lasting jobs be created in these distressed cities? Simply increasing federal grant money for infrastructure or raising budgets for tourism advertising (as suggested by the US mayors association report) can provide only temporary employment. These short term solutions, however, don’t deal with the hundreds of communities that have one-dimensional, unstable economies. These
communities, even after the temporary solution, are still overexposed to fluctuations in the industry they rely on—so when business models change, unemployment spikes once again.

Unfortunately, all distressed areas still face large obstacles. In Kokomo’s case, nothing could have prepared it for the mass layoffs of 2008, nor could anything have saved it short of a full-fledged government bailout of Chrysler. But WIRED grants, plus local commitments, can make a difference. It remains the case, however, that state and federal aid is often both too slow and too scattered, minimizing its impact. Thus the onus for action falls to the local level, precisely where the fewest resources are available. Here, Kokomo and Henderson again set an example. They’ve partnered with smaller neighboring communities to share costs as well as expertise. Initiatives such as the workforce-retraining programs in Seneca provide one potential model. Proactive business-government partnerships, education and training programs geared to local labor force needs, and diversifying local economies hold the key to reducing high levels of unemployment across the nation’s distressed areas.

References

1Unemployment rates provided by Bureau of Labor Statistics via ProQuest Statistical Datasets
4“Neupath Expanding Employment, Contracting Opportunities.” Kokomo Perspective. 11/12/09 <http://kokomoperspective.com/news/article_8ecf625e-cfb3-11de-b286-001cc4c002e0.html>
The Constitutionality of Obamacare:
Post U.S. Supreme Court Review

Georgia Holmes
Sue Burum
Minnesota State University, Mankato
One of the most popular books published in 2012 was titled *Unintended Consequence: Why Everything You Have Been Told About The Economy Is Wrong* (Conard, 2012). It suggests that there are consequences whenever laws are passed or actions are taken. Author Edward Conard included an analysis of government actions taken during the Great Recession related to tax policies, government support of large banks, overseeing debt, unemployment, investment practices, and other topics argued over the past four years. He concludes many errors have been made. When decisions are made, there are outcomes. Conard calls those that were not widely expected “unintended consequences.” This approach will be used in reviewing the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (often referred to as Obamacare or PPACA) recently upheld by the Supreme Court. It is still too early to foresee all outcomes, but some early consequences can be considered.

The topic of medical care is expected to continue to be widely debated and in the daily news for some time. The candidates chose to debate medical care in the first debate of the 2012 Presidential election. For many voters, it was one of the main issues deciding a close election. Several times in the past couple years Obamacare was the major news topic for weeks. A series of arguments relating to the implementation of the new health act should continue for some time following the 2012 election. Whenever additional funds or changes to the Act are needed, drawn-out debate has to be expected. Scholars and students will also return to this case and consider its effect on the development of the law in areas such as Congressional power and federalism and the role of the Court in areas affecting politics.

This paper will first summarize the major issues discussed by the United States Supreme Court in *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius* (the Obamacare case), which is the 2012 case in which the Court upheld the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (National, 2012). The first issue the court addressed in the case is whether the federal Anti-Injunctive Act (AIA) bars challenges to the PPACA prior to full implementation of the challenged minimum-coverage provisions and the penalties imposed therein for noncompliance. The second main issue is whether Congress has the power to pass the PPACA with its individual mandate under the Commerce Clause. The third main issue is whether the mandate provisions are constitutional under the taxation provisions of Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution. The final main issue is whether the states can be forced to expand their Medicaid programs or be penalized by losing all federal Medicaid funds. This analysis will be followed by a review of some unintended consequences that could result from the implementation of the act.

The first issue addressed by the justices in the Obamacare case is whether the case could even be decided. The AIA says no suit can be brought challenging the act until the tax is paid and the payer sues for a refund. The purpose of this provision is to be sure taxes are paid and the act is not used as a stalling provision. The payments for noncompliance do not begin to be collected until 2014. The Obamacare case in essence challenged future collections. This raised the issue of whether the case was “ripe” for decision. All of the justices concluded the AIA did not bar the suit. The majority of justices on the issue, Roberts, Ginsberg, Breyer, Sotomayor, and Kagan, gave three reasons for allowing the suit. First, Congress chose to call the extraction a penalty on those who chose not to purchase insurance. Taxes and penalties are different. In the
PPACA, Congress refers in some places to the extraction as a tax and in other places calls it a penalty. The court concluded that Congress’s choice of words was intentional and should be respected. Second, although Congress cannot control how the extraction is labeled for the purpose of deciding whether it had the power to pass the act in the first place, Congress can control the labeling for the purposes of the AIA. The AIA and the PPACA were both created by Congress. Thus Congress can control how the two acts relate to each other. Third, the Internal Revenue Code, also passed by Congress, treats the terms taxes and penalties differently. As Congress can and does distinguish between the two, the court should do the same.

The minority justices on this issue, Scalia, Kennedy, Thomas, and Alito, did not see the AIA as a bar to the case. However, they reached this conclusion for different reasons. They concluded the individual mandate in the PPACA was not passed under Congress’s power to tax. Since it is not a tax, and since the AIA only applies to taxes, the AIA cannot bar the suit. In the opinion of these justices the penalty provision must either be a tax for both constitutional and AIA purposes or not a tax for both purposes. The provision cannot be a tax for one purpose and not a tax for the other. These justices consider the creation of this distinction as the creation of a distinction between what Congress did and what Congress should have done. The wording of the PPACA and the AIA are both within the control of Congress, and Congress has the responsibility to clearly and consistently label legislation.

The second issue Chief Justice Roberts analyzed was whether Congress could require people to purchase a health insurance policy providing a minimum level of coverage. The conservative justices Scalia, Kennedy, Thomas, and Alito joined the Chief Justice in concluding Congress could not create the individual mandate under the Commerce Clause. The Commerce Clause is not triggered until there is a “substantial effect” on interstate commerce. The federal government cannot create a substantial effect by forcing people to purchase insurance and then conclude the entire interstate insurance market is now affected, thus creating the substantial effect on interstate commerce that would allow Congress to regulate the area. The substantial effect must exist before the Commerce Clause can be used to regulate. The Chief Justice uses the example of an individual who bought a car two years ago and may buy another again some time in the future. This person is not active in the car market now. The Chief Justice points out that most of those regulated by the individual mandate, like the person who might buy a car in the future, is not currently engaged in the health care market. “Everyone will likely participate in the markets for food, clothing, transportation, shelter, or energy; that does not authorize Congress to direct them to purchase particular products in those or other markets today. The Commerce Clause is not a general license to regulate an individual from cradle to grave, simply because he will predictably engage in particular transactions (National, 2012).” The police power to regulate the health, welfare, safety, and morals of citizens lies with the state, not the federal government.

The Necessary and Proper Clause was also argued by the government as a means to give Congress the power to impose an individual mandate. The use of the clause must be tied to the listed functions of Congress. If Congress can regulate in a particular area, Congress can use whatever means are necessary and proper to carry out the regulation of the area. If Congress has the power to coin money, then any means
necessary to carry out that end, such as establishing a federal bank, would also be legitimate. The majority of justices concluded that the Necessary and Proper Clause also does not give Congress the power to enact the individual mandate simply because the mandate is an “integral part of a comprehensive scheme of economic regulation.” Both the Commerce Clause and the Necessary and Proper Clause are outside Congress’ authority because they regulate inactivity. Congress could not create the condition to act under the Commerce Clause, and Congress cannot create the necessary predicate to the exercise of an enumerated power under the Necessary and Proper Clause. Creating the individual mandate under the Necessary and Proper Clause is not proper because it is allowing Congress to obtain the power it could not exercise under the Commerce Clause through an alternative means; the Necessary and Proper Clause. This maneuver would undermine the structure of government established by the Constitution. The Necessary and Proper Clause allows for carrying out the enumerated powers. The clause does not allow powers independent of the enumerated powers. The individual mandate is not a proper means of carrying out the Commerce Clause because Congress could not regulate in the first place under the clause. Under the Necessary and Proper Clause, it is enough that Congress regulates an activity. If an activity is regulated, inactivity can be regulated if that is the only way for the initial regulation to be effective. However that was not the case with the individual mandate. Activity was not being regulated, just inactivity. The majority concluded that Congress may not “dictate the conduct of an individual today because of prophesied future activity (National, 2012).” Congress can anticipate the effects on commerce an activity may have, but Congress cannot anticipate the activity in order to regulate people not currently engaged in economic activity. Justice Kennedy concurred in this decision but added that the court must also consider the effects on state sovereignty when the federal government uses the Necessary and Proper Clause to justify regulation. Allowing the regulation of the uninsured by the individual mandate would create a substantial expansion in federal power. Congress would now not be limited to regulating, under the Commerce Clause, people who brought themselves into the sphere of federal regulation through their activity. The Necessary and Proper Clause would be used to expand the Commerce Clause to cover those outside the clause’s natural reach. “Even if the individual mandate is ‘necessary’ to the Act’s insurance reforms, such an expansion of federal power is not a ‘proper’ means for making those reforms effective (National, 2012).”

The dissenters, Justices Ginsburg, Sotomayor, Breyer, and Kagan, concluded that the Commerce Clause gives the federal government the power to enact the individual mandate. The healthcare market is unique. Everyone will inevitably have to participate in the market. People do not need to drive a car or eat broccoli. People do need to see a doctor. Also, unlike other markets, the inability to pay for that care does not mean the care will be denied. Significant amounts of care are provided to the uninsured. Healthcare providers and insurance companies pass the costs onto the people who purchase insurance or pay for their services. The cost of this cost shifting is significant and raises insurance premiums to the point where some employers and individuals can no longer afford to purchase insurance. This leads to further cost shifting. States cannot solve this problem on their own. Massachusetts passed laws encouraging its citizens to get insurance. However, Massachusetts found that their emergency rooms saw an influx of
out-of-state people without insurance coming to their state for the benefit of their health care. Their health-care providers still had to treat people in need. This situation resulted in the continuation of cost shifting to the state’s residents and the loss of benefits a universal system of healthcare should provide. Seeing the effect on Massachusetts, other states will be unlikely to try to reform their state’s healthcare system even when it is in their state’s best interest to do so. They would be in a position of economic disadvantage compared to their neighbors. They would have to increase taxes to cover the influx of uninsured people into their healthcare system. The only alternative was to end this impasse with the federal government to providing a national solution. Under the Articles of Confederation, the regulation of commerce was left to the states. The system proved unworkable because the states focused on their own interests rather than the nation as a whole. The Framers’ solution was the Commerce Clause, which, as they perceived it, granted to Congress the authority to enact economic legislation “in all Cases for the general Interests of the Union, and also in those Cases to which the States are separately incompetent (National, 2012).” The uninsured substantially affect interstate commerce, therefore their activities can be regulated. The minority did not see the threat of the growth in the federal government through the regulation of health care and did not see the need to make fine distinctions in the application of the Commerce Clause. The need to buy a car or eat broccoli is not inevitable, but the need for health care is. Since health care poses problems unlike anything else, there is no danger that allowing the federal government to regulate will cause further expansions of federal power. Not allowing Congress to regulate only makes it difficult or impossible to solve this national problem. Further, the fine distinction drawn by the Chief Justice between action and inaction in the area of Commerce Clause analysis was tried before. The distinction proved unworkable.

The Necessary and Proper Clause also justifies the individual mandate. The PPACA was a response to economic and social problems with health care that have plagued the nation for decades. According to the dissenters, since the Commerce Clause allows Congress to address this problem, the Necessary and Proper Clause allows Congress to use any means necessary to carry out the regulation of health care under the Commerce Clause. It is a proper use of the clause because the clause is being used to carry out an enumerated power, the Commerce Clause.

The third issue analyzed by the Chief Justice is whether under its taxing power, Congress can impose a tax on people who do not buy a product. Justices Ginsberg, Breyer, Sotomayor, and Kagan joined Chief Justice Roberts in concluding that it does. The mandate’s penalty provision can be considered a tax that is paid to the IRS. People can avoid the tax simply by purchasing insurance. Congress’s power to tax is broader than its powers under the Commerce Clause. The check on the taxing power lies with the people, not the courts. When Congressmen increase taxes, they must justify the tax increase to voters or risk losing their seats. If the people do not like the new tax, they can elect Congressmen who will repeal the tax with a simple majority vote in each house of Congress. Also the text of the statute calls the individual mandate a “penalty” rather than a “tax”. However, the simplest reading of the statute is that people are required to purchase insurance. The mandate cannot be upheld under the Commerce Clause, but it can under the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises. When a statute has more than one meaning, courts should choose the meaning that
allows the statute to be upheld. The meaning a court gives to a statute need not be the most natural meaning; it simply needs to be fairly possible to read it in that way. In concurring on this point, Justice Ginsberg stated that she would read statutes to give them their most natural meaning. Nevertheless, to avoid declaring the statute unconstitutional in this case she agreed to apply the more strained meaning adopted by the majority.

The appellant and the minority justices, Scalia, Kennedy, Thomas, and Alito, raised several concerns with the interpretation of a penalty as a tax. The first problem they argued was that the individual mandate was not passed as a tax. The language in the bill clearly calls the extraction for noncompliance with the individual mandate a penalty. However, in deciding the case the court rewrote the bill to make the extraction a tax. The minority justices believed the rewriting of the act should not have been done. The House of Representatives addressed using the taxing power of Congress to pass the act, but rejected it. Under Article I, Section 7 of the Constitution all revenue bills must originate in the House of Representatives. However, the bill that passed Congress passed in this case originated in the Senate. The majority countered this argument by stating that the amount of the extraction is determined by familiar tax factors like taxable income, number of dependents, and joint filing status. Furthermore, the requirement to pay is enforced by the tax code and the extraction does provide some revenue for the government, which is something accomplished through taxes. The majority noted that taxes could also be used to affect conduct. Some of this country’s earliest taxes were designed to deter the purchase of imported goods in order to grow domestic industries. The word penalty usually means punishment. The individual mandate is designed to encourage people to purchase health insurance. However no negative consequences are attached to not buying insurance other than having to make a payment to the IRS. Millions of people are expected to pay the tax/penalty in lieu of purchasing insurance. Congress would be troubled by the prospect of millions of outlaws. Instead Congress apparently regards the extensive failure to comply as tolerable, as long as the tax for not complying is paid.

The minority justices identify a second problem with the majority’s tax analysis. If the extraction is a tax, it would be a tax imposed on people simply for existing and failing to do something. They reason that if this is a problem for the Commerce Clause, it should also be a problem for the Taxing Clause. The Chief Justice argued that the Constitution does not guarantee people can avoid taxation through inactivity. Congress has long used the power to tax to encourage people to buy something. Taxing has Constitutional limits. However this extraction is not so punitive that this is a concern.

A third argument by the minority against upholding the mandate as a tax is that the provision is not structured as a tax. Congress is empowered to write different types of taxes. However each type has limitations. To be constitutional population must apportion direct taxes. The individual mandate looks like a direct tax. It is imposed on people who fail to perform the duty of buying insurance. People who buy the insurance or people who are poor are exempt from the tax. This is not taxing according to the population within a state. The Chief Justice argued that the Direct Taxation Clause was unclear even when it was written. A land tax is one example of a tax that has been clearly considered a direct tax over time. Capitations are another example of direct taxes. This is a tax that is paid by every person without exception. The extraction in the
individual mandate makes exceptions such as for poor people. Thus the extraction cannot be a capitation tax. Even the Chief Justice concluded that the extraction is probably not a direct tax. But then what type of tax is it, and does the tax meet the constitutional requirements for its type of tax? The Chief Justice does not say. Finally, it was argued that the check on taxing by the people would be harder to exercise if the Congress is allowed to hide the fact that they are passing a tax simply by referring to the new tax as a penalty. The majority did not address this concern either.

The final issue the court had to resolve was the states’ challenge to the mandate. The states must expand their Medicaid programs to provide everyone earning less than 133% of the federal poverty level free health care. If states did not comply, they would lose all Medicaid funding from the federal government. The Court split 7-2 on this issue. Only Justices Ginsberg and Sotomayor would have upheld this provision. The Chief Justice, for the majority, wrote that this provision amounted to “holding a gun to their heads.” The provision was struck down for being unconstitutionally coercive. It would destroy federalism and make the states agents of the federal government. The minority focused on the federal government’s ability to attach conditions to federal grants. States do not have to participate in the expanded Medicaid program and states have no claim to the money its residents pay in federal taxes. The removal of federal funds for not participating was not considered excessively punitive. The states have notice. Discretion belongs to Congress, unless their choice is clearly wrong. Congress is spending money for the general welfare and its goals cannot be accomplished without state participation.

The court split 5-4 with the liberal justices and the Chief Justice deciding to sever the state penalty for not participating. However, states that choose not to participate in the expansion of the state’s Medicaid rolls will now have its citizens taxed by the federal government to support the expansion of Medicaid rolls in other states that are participating. The dissenting justices considered this option to be equally coercive. The state still has a gun to its head. As nothing is accomplished by severing the provision, the Court should leave the provision alone.

There is a great deal of speculation that Chief Justice Roberts switched his vote in the case at the last minute. Some people believe he initially thought the extraction was a penalty and not a tax. He concluded Congress did not have the power to create the penalty under the Commerce Clause. And he decided that the individual mandate could not be struck from the PPACA leaving the rest of the act in place. Therefore, the entire act had to be declared unconstitutional. There is evidence for this speculation. The dissenting opinion of Scalia, Kennedy, Thomas and Alito reads like a majority opinion, not a dissenting opinion. There is little reference to the Chief Justice’s opinion and there is little reference to the extraction being upheld as a tax or refutation of the argument. These justices even refer to Justice Ginsberg’s opinion as a dissenting opinion. The concurring opinion of Justice Ginsberg reads like a dissent in its tone. The bulk of her opinion is spent on the Commerce Clause and there is only a small discussion at the end, which looks like an afterthought, that the Commerce Clause is immaterial because the extraction is a constitutional tax.

Justices do change their vote. After a case is heard, justices meet in conference to discuss the cases they heard earlier during the week. At this time they take a nonbinding vote as to how the case should be decided, and a justice in the majority is
assigned to write the majority opinion. Dissenting justices also begin to write their own opinion. They can also write with other dissenters. These opinions are circulated amongst all of the justices. Sometimes these opinions are considered so persuasive that some justices will sign on to another’s opinion. Sometimes a justice will even switch his or her decision on the case. The Chief Justice may have done this. However, Justice Ginsberg’s opinion was more focused on the Commerce Clause. Nothing in her Taxing Clause discussion seems so persuasive it would cause a justice to change his or her mind on the issue. Chief Justice Roberts’ own research on the issue could have accomplished this shift.

In March, right after the case was argued, the President was anticipating defeat and he was verbally very critical of the Supreme Court. The President did this very publically before in a State of the Union address with the justices held hostage in front of him. The Chief Justice could have felt this pressure and found a way to uphold the law. However, this is very unlikely as federal courts are designed so that the justices are immune from political pressure. First, they have their jobs for life. The only way federal justices can be removed is through the impeachment process. Justices who do not agree with people in other branches of government cannot be removed through the impeachment process. The impeachment process is reserved for the removal of people who have committed high crimes, treason, or misdemeanors. Second, Congress can never lower the salaries of justices. This limits Congress’ ability to retaliate if its members do not like a particular opinion of a court. As a result, political pressure seems an unlikely reason for a change of opinion. Some people speculate that the Chief Justice could have changed his mind on the outcome of the case through conversations with his old Harvard Law Professor Laurence Tribe. There are two videos indicating that Professor Tribe was the only legal scholar who was arguing the case was constitutional under the taxing power of Congress. The professor argued this position over a year before the case was decided. The argument that the Chief Justice wrote in the case is remarkably similar to the one Professor Tribe had been advocating. The government’s lawyers only argued that the law could be upheld under the taxing power as an after thought. Even these lawyers were focused on the Commerce Clause. As the Chief Justice was Professor Tribe’s former student, maybe there was some gentle persuasion from the former teacher (Constitutional, 2012).

Some believe the Chief Justice is a chess master (Drehle, 2012). He might have believed the PPACA is an unconstitutional act, but chose to call it a tax. This might have had the effect of “firing up” the opponents of the act to vote in the upcoming presidential election. It could have lulled the supporters of the act into complacency causing them not to vote. It could have given those undecided about the act a reason to retaliate at the ballot box. His chess master move could have been based on the belief that the President and supporters of the act told the people that the PPACA was not a tax. The act would not increase their taxes. Voters would believe elected leaders lied to them. Voters would be angry and vote the elected leaders out of office during the upcoming elections.

More likely the reason for a last minute shift in position, if any, was a result of philosophy. Many justices on courts subscribe to either an activist or restrainer role for courts. Activists consider the courts to be a third branch of government. As such, they see no problem making or changing laws and policy from the bench. These justices
have no problem checking other branches of government. Restrainers, on the other hand, give great deference to the other branches of government. The Chief Justice appears to be a restrainer. Scattered throughout the Chief Justice’s opinion are many statements that reflect a restrainer’s philosophy. In his opinion he states, “We do not consider whether the Act embodies sound policies. That judgment is entrusted to the Nation’s elected leaders. We ask only whether Congress has the power under the Constitution to enact the challenged provisions (National, 2010).” The people, not the courts, should usually be the one to check branches of government. Even more than mere words, the Chief Justice demonstrated through his actions that he was using the tools of a restrainer to decide the case. When the extraction was found unconstitutional under the Commerce Clause, the Chief Justice looked for alternative methods to resolve the issue and save the act if possible. Finding the act constitutional under the Tax Clause through a careful reading of the statute is also a restrainer’s tool. Restrainers look for alternative interpretations to statutes and adopt meanings that will result in the statute being constitutional. The approach gives deference to the legislative branch. The opinion in the area of the Taxing Clause went beyond the ordinary because the chosen interpretation was not even the main interpretation advanced by the government. Severing the state’s loss of Medicaid funds should the state not comply is also a restrainer’s tool. The approach only removed the unconstitutional part of an act while leaving the rest of the act intact.

The PPACA is supposed to provide the following three advantages: 1. Provide affordable insurance coverage to most, 2. Improve access to primary care, and 3. Lower the costs of health care. The Act was designed to reduce overall costs by requiring insurance instead of the use of hospital emergency rooms for primary care. For people who cannot afford insurance, the Federal government pays the states to add them to Medicaid. If a person does not qualify for Medicaid, tax credits are available. States are required to set up insurance exchanges to help these people shop for insurance. The act does not apply to businesses with fewer than 50 employees. Companies with more than 50 employees are required to offer health insurance, but they receive tax credits to help employees pay the premium. People with existing insurance are supposed to be able to keep their insurance. Insurance companies cannot deny coverage for pre-existing conditions or drop people once they get sick. Parents can cover children up to age 26 on their insurance policies. Also the Medicaid “donut hole” gap in coverage will eventually be eliminated. According to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the Act will lower the budget deficit by $143 billion over ten years by raising some taxes and shifting costs (Amadeo, 2012).

Following the decision, news articles and editorials appeared responding to the Supreme Court decision. Various consequences, including some unintended or at least unforeseen by many, began to be identified. A number of examples follow. The first consequence involves finances. Many cash-strapped states were looking for a means of cutting budgets. Within hours of the court decision, Maine led the way by preparing legal arguments for removing over 20,000 Medicaid recipients. The Main plan would remove 10 to 20 year olds from Medicaid, an age group of considerable concern under the law. This could result in $10 million in savings by next July (Weaver, 2012). Other states are beginning to explore reductions to their Medicaid rolls. Wisconsin followed by considering the removal of 60,000 people. By mid-September a half dozen state had
decided not to participate in the new Medicaid provisions in Obamacare, and a half
dozen more were leaning toward doing the same (Radnofsky, 2012). More states will
probably follow suit when their legislatures meet. It is doubtful that many voting for the
law intended that this might be a consequence. The law was meant to have federal
funds expand existing Medicaid programs. State legislative debates are expected to
continue as growing opposition to state cutbacks is coming from hospitals (Burton,
2012). Hospitals expect to experience a growing number of patients with future
inadequate funding to cover costs. This part of the law takes effect in 2014 (Mathews,
2012).

A closely related consequence involves another economic problem, program
financing. Apparently most Americans believed that Obamacare would be financed with
current funds, and limited additional funding if needed. Tennessee’s previous governor,
Democrat Phil Bredesen, called the health care law “the mother of all unfunded
mandates.” State governors are speaking out. North Dakota expects the number on
Medicaid to increase by 50%. Idaho expects their numbers to double and include a
fourth of the state’s population. Financially strapped states will be expected to help pick
up a new $2.5 billion (Alexander, 2012). While states receive some funds to start up the
health care program, it is expected that the funds will not continue let alone increase to
cover new, unexpected costs. It’s doubtful that any state expected this serious
consequence. Its no wonder some states are exploring possible reductions to Medicaid
funding as soon as possible.

Religion abruptly became an issue. The new health care reform act mandated that
Catholic institutions pay for employee insurance that covered birth control including the
morning after pill (Obama’s, 2012). Supposedly Obama had given assurances to
Catholic leaders that “Catholic rights of conscience would be protected” prior to passage
(Parker, 2012). Obama was surprised by another unintended consequence of act when
Catholic institutions began to be covered by minimum standards of health care required
by the act. He quickly backed off deciding that Catholic institutions did not have to pay
for birth control coverage after all. It was included in Catholic health insurance plans,
but the cost was to be spread across all policyholders by insurers (Radnofsky 2,
2012).Article titles like “Obama’s war on religion” were not helpful during re-election. The
President probably should have seen this coming; it might not have been an unintended
consequence. Now, despite Obama’s attempt to back off, the courts may still hear
religious challenges to the Act.

Because the PPACA was upheld by the United States Supreme Court, it has opened
the door to challenges to its specific mandates based on such issues as “religious
liberty” or the “free exercise” of one’s religion when the specific mandates of the law
require insurance coverage someone finds morally objectionable. The decision could
become a springboard for cases that would expand the Bill of Rights to include the “free
exercise” of religion by corporations just as Citizens United v. Federal Election
Commission (Citizens, 2010) now guarantees full rights of free speech, including the
right to contribute unlimited corporate funds to political candidates and causes.

The Becket Fund For Religious Liberty is a non-profit public interest legal and
educational institution that represents parties in court cases it believes advance issues
of religious liberty. It is raising the issue that EWTN television network as well as
several separately incorporated religious nonprofit universities should be exempted from
provisions of the PPACA. Becket is making these challenges for nonprofit corporations in the cases of Wheaton College v. Sebelius, Ave Maria University v. Sebelius, EWTN v Sibelius, and Belmont College v. Sebelius. All of these cases posit the theory that corporations are guaranteed 1st Amendment free exercise religion rights just as corporations are now guaranteed free speech rights. In Hobby Lobby v. Sebelius, the Becket Fund contends that Hobby Lobby, Inc., which is a business corporation, should be exempt from PPACA regulations because its owners should be able to carry out the corporation’s mission in a way consistent with its owner’s religious principles (Hobby, 2012). All of these cases could result in courts becoming hopelessly entangled in issues of religious dogma.

Another consequence involves requiring insurance. As previously mentioned in the analysis of the court decision, the PPACA included an individual mandate requiring health insurance. People are required to carry health insurance or pay a fine. If the word “tax” had been included in the act, it would have had little chance of passage. Democrats were initially pleased that the Supreme Court upheld the mandate, but soon were less than pleased when the Court called the mandated costs a tax. This unintended consequence has implications for future. Democrats face upcoming elections and may be held responsible for tax increases. Future bills should limit the use of words like mandates and other terminology that attempt to avoid the word tax. Otherwise citizens cannot hold lawmakers accountable for tax increases, which the Court says is the democratic check by citizens on taxes they do not approve of.

Employer-provided health insurance became the norm in the United States after World War II, when employers were forbidden from raising wages and sought other ways to lure workers (Radnofsky, 2012). By 2000 about 65% of Americans were covered by insurance. This has since dropped to 55%. Employers with over fifty employees were to provide a certain level of health insurance or pay a $2,000 per worker penalty. It appears profits and the bottom line may dictate that more businesses decide not to provide insurance, an unintended consequence that could cause considerable difficulties for implementing and financing the act. Even state employees, such as those working for state universities, are worried that they will lose health insurance they have long bargained for, even at the expense of increased pay. In the recent past, some state employees even had to strike to maintain benefit levels. Even state employees are concerned about being handed some money and being told to go buy insurance from state exchanges. The promise that people can keep the insurance they have may not be honored.

These are additional examples where costs and coverage may not happen as planned. It is estimated that 4 million people will pay the tax rather than purchase health insurance. The CBO estimates this will cost $54 billion. While more people will receive preventive care, these people will now receive preventive care and testing that may not need because they are healthy. Increasing the numbers of people receiving this care will increase the cost of health care, as well as straining a system that already does not have enough doctors. “Death panels” that articulate what care and treatments patients may receive may have to become a reality to control costs. Taxes will be raised on people earning over $200,000 individually and $250,000 for couples to help cover additional costs. Pharmaceutical companies will pay an extra $84.8 billion in fees over ten years to close the “donut hole”. This could raise drug costs for customers
if these fees are passed on. There are 30.1 million people who purchase their own private insurance plans. Many may need another plan if their plan does not meet minimum standards set by the government. In 2014, families will only be able to deduct medical expenses that exceed 10% of their income. Currently, people can deduct expenses that exceed 7.5% of their income. Finally, in 2018, insurance companies will be assessed a 40% excise tax on “Cadillac” health plans. These are plans with premiums that exceed $10,200 for individuals and $27,000 for families. People who have these plans are people in high-risk pools like elderly workers and workers in high-risk jobs. How the cost and coverage of these pools will be covered is unknown. These examples all point to areas where costs could increase (Amadeo, 2012).

Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney did not escape these unintended consequences. It was not enough to say “repeal and replace.” Voters wanted to know exactly what he planned to do to control costs and insure more people. Ideas like controlling medical malpractice costs and providing the ability to purchase insurance across state lines just do not seem to accomplish the goals of insuring more and lowering costs for all. The ideas seemed more like potential additions to Obamacare that should be added through compromise and revision.

The Supreme Court seemed to avoid consequences through their decision. While limiting the expansion of the Commerce Clause, they confirmed the almost plenary power of the Taxing Power. They avoided political criticism by not overturning the PPACA. When the country is so divided, it is hard to decide politically charged cases. The Court may not be able to do justice in this type of case as one side or the other will always question the Court’s decision and wisdom in becoming involved in a case so politically charged. The Court loses prestige and authority when it is viewed as too political.

Health care is clearly a widely discussed national problem in the United States. Even the Edward Conard book, mentioned in the opening paragraph of this paper, discusses additional PPACT unintended consequences. Briefly, he argues that long-term programs like Social Security, Medicare, and now health care are threatening today’s risk takers and job creators. Society needs to consider the effect of future increases in health taxes on the economy. If these taxes deter future business investments, they may need to be re-examined. He also addresses concerns about more governmental regulation and expansion resulting in greater costs without increased output and profits (Conard, 2012).

Despite the passage of the PPAFA and the upholding of the Act by the Supreme Court, expect this debate about health care to continue for the foreseeable future. However, after the re-election of President Obama and continued Democratic control of the Senate, it is unlikely there will be serious measures to repeal the PPACA. Elections have consequences. The President won the popular vote as well as the majority of votes in the Electoral College. It is hard to conclude the people did not know where the candidates stood on the PPACA. There were questions on the Act in the first debate. It was also discussed in the media in terms of the budget debate. The people did not reject the PPACA in the election (Adamy, 2012). The Act is here to stay, and it will be implemented. States will have to create health care exchanges, business will have to adjust, and dissenters will have to comply with the individual mandate. This is not to say there will not be any unintended consequences. What votes may be saying is the
problems presented by health care had to be addressed. They feel the rising costs of insurance and worry they may not continue to have a job that provides insurance. The PPACA may not be perfect (Hardsell, 2012), but the voters may be saying that the two sides are expected to compromise and make changes where necessary to make the Act work and achieve its goals. Repeal and replace simply to start all over again is not an option.

References
Moments of Joy:  
Preservice Teachers’ Experiences of Professional Efficacy

Lynne E. Houtz  
Creighton University
Abstract
After a science and math field experience, preservice elementary and middle level teachers reflected on their “Moments of Joy” – events or circumstances that affirmed their career choice and resulted in a sense of professional efficacy. Themes from reflective essays and online discussion forums in two settings and times are identified and compared. Results fall in three general categories – External Input, Internal Responses, and Interrelational. The greatest source of joy came from evidence of student learning, particularly by children who struggled. Preservice teachers also experienced joy when their students were enthusiastic or gracious about the teaching-learning interactions, and when self-esteem was fostered. Implications for teacher education are discussed, including the need to hold Moments of Joy to prevent burnout. Keywords: moments of joy, professional efficacy, field experience, preventing burnout

Introduction
The concept of teachers’ sense of efficacy has gained increasing attention in the past two decades (Pajares, 1992; Bandura, 1997). Bandura (1977) described the concept of self-efficacy as an individual’s beliefs about his or her ability to successfully perform the task that produces a desired outcome. Teacher efficacy is defined as “teachers’ beliefs about their capability to impact students’ motivation and achievement” (Tschannen-Moran & Woolfolk-Hoy, 2001, p. 2). Research by Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli (2001) suggests that perceived efficacy rather than actual academic achievement is the key determinant of a person’s preferred choice of work-life. High teacher efficacy correlates with positive teacher attitudes and behaviors. Teachers with higher efficacy display more enthusiasm (Guskey 1984), and are more willing to try new teaching methods and technologies (Guskey 1988). Chang’s (2009) study in Taiwan verified that the construct of internal and external factors played a significant role in cyclically contributing to continuous efficacy development in beginning mathematics teachers. The high rate of attrition of teachers in the first few years is a continuing concern in the United States. As Brock and Grady (2000) report, teachers begin their career eager and enthusiastic, and the early stages of burnout are usually only vague. “Burnout is not an event, but rather a process, a chronic syndrome that becomes progressively worse.” (p. 4). Gold and Roth (1993) contend that “The pressures of the [teaching] profession manifest themselves early. They are evident in the teacher preparation process well before students become teachers in their own classrooms” (p. 2).

Data Collection and Analysis
Beginning in 1994 and over the following eighteen years as a professor in teacher education, the preservice teachers in my science and math methods block participated in a supervised practicum in which they plan, prepare, facilitate and assess hands-on/minds-on science and mathematics lessons with children in intermediate (typically grades 4 – 7) classrooms. A minimum of 25 hours of active teaching and learning involvement must be logged, but the requirements typically require more hours, with an average of 36 hours. This experience typically occurred the semester immediately preceding student teaching. Most practicum participants worked alone; occasionally students worked in pairs. At the completion of the practicum, I had students share in writing what I termed “Moments of Joy” – events or situations in their practicum experiences that affirmed their choice to become an elementary teacher. Students were
assigned to write about “A moment of joy.” Most wrote about a single incident or circumstance, but a few wrote extended essays pouring out several events or circumstances that brought them professional efficacy. All incidents were tallied, but not ranked. Students received a set number of points towards the course grade for submitting their reflective essay, but the contents were not graded. As I read these assigned reflections each semester, I recognized themes emerging. I began to collect these sets of reflective essays as raw qualitative data that could potentially give insight into specific circumstances, triggers or feelings that preservice elementary teachers find personally rewarding in the experience of teaching science and mathematics with elementary children. The results share valuable insight to those concerned with teacher preparation and retention.

Sets of responses from fall and spring semesters of academic years at 2 different institutions, 15 years apart were analyzed and compared for themes and their frequency. Setting 1 was a small Christian denominational college in a midsize Midwestern city, with 90% of the students from the state, during the 1996-1997 academic year. Practicum experiences occurred in urban low to moderate socioeconomic status (SES) public schools. At that time, themes were communicated only to the instructor in a written essay. Setting 2 was a private Jesuit institution in a larger city in the same state, with students from many regions of the United States during the academic year 2011-2012. Practicum experiences occurred in inner-city low SES public and parochial schools. Moments of Joy were communicated to the instructor and to classmates through an online discussion forum.

From an analysis of these themes I seek to address these questions:
1. What circumstances or events develop a sense of professional efficacy for preservice teachers in science and math teaching field experiences?
2. How similar or different are the themes at the two institutions 15 years apart?
3. What do these findings suggest or imply for a teacher preparation program?
4. How might the findings be used to prevent burnout and improve teacher retention?

**Findings**

An analysis of the responses resulted in development of three general interconnected categories, with a number of clear themes emerging in each category. To insure internal validity in my investigation of themes, I employed member checks and peer examination. Two preservice teachers in the masters-level initial teacher certification program read the transcriptions, and independently identified, clarified and verified or confirmed themes and subthemes to polish or supplement my interpretations.

**Category 1: External Input - Reactions of Others**

In both settings, the largest proportion of reported Moments of Joy addressed events or circumstances generated outside the preservice teacher. (Setting 1 = 51%, Setting 2 = 71%) Preservice teachers most frequently shared incidences or responses from the elementary and middle-level students they were teaching as their Moments of Joy. The most common theme was related to *Evidence of Student Learning*. Preservice teachers found affirmation in their teaching effectiveness as evidenced by either individuals or by the entire class. Their reflections frequently indicated a sense of efficacy when overcoming learning challenges with students who found the content or concept difficult. These Moments of Joy were described as witnessing the “light coming on,” or an “Ah-ha! Moment.” For whole-class learning, the preservice teachers were
affirmed by evidence of learning as indicated on in-class and homework assignments, formative and summative assessments, and class projects and presentations.

**Samples from Setting 1**

In spring semester 1997, Melanie wrote:
The first day that we taught a unit on fractions I was wondering if the students understood what we were telling them. Later I asked a student to help me clean off a table. I said, ‘you clean this half and I'll clean the other half.’ To my surprise, he answered, ‘Hey, that's a fraction.’ I was glad to see that he did understand the lesson.

Stephanie wrote:
It was nice to see that they (the students) did learn the five senses. This showed us that they were really listening and we can teach!

Amy also spoke to teaching success:
The greatest accomplishment for me was when we assessed every student on telling time and they all knew how to both write the time using numbers and draw it on a clock face!

**Samples from Setting 2**

During the academic year 2011-2012 in the second setting, the predominant response (71%) remained teaching effectiveness. Responses again ranged from making an impact to individuals with differing abilities to whole-class accomplishment. **Success-after-struggle** is frequently cited as a Moment of Joy.

In fall 2011, Deana describes success-after-struggle with math in the online discussion forum:
This semester I had a few moments of joy in working with the students, but the most memorable was working with a small group for remediation. The group was a mixture of the students that were in the special needs program and students that were just struggling with the topic at hand. The moment came for me when one of the students, who struggled in multiple areas, finally understood how to do the problem. She had spent the entire time struggling with it and it hurt just to watch her struggle and be frustrated. And once she figured out how to solve the problems, a wave of relief and excitement came over her. She started getting multiple answers right and she began to smile and laugh.

In spring 2012, Mary also writes about individual math accomplishment after a struggle:
My moment of joy happened one day when I was helping a student one on one. She just needed a little extra help with one of the math concepts they were working on that day. After I had re-explained the concept in a different way she seemed to understand. Just by giving her that little extra amount of attention she was able to complete the problem on her own, as well as the next few problems that followed that. I could tell that once she finally got it she was very pleased with herself. It is really an awesome feeling when you see that even the few extra minutes you spend with one student can make such a huge impact.

After expressing the joy of success with students who found the math concepts challenging, a Spring 2012 student stated:
My other moment of joy was with high ability learners. There were two students who finish their work incredibly fast. I normally give them a ‘challenge’
problem. When they figure out the challenge problem they are so proud of their work and cannot stop smiling.
Numerous students in Spring 2012 independently spoke to the joy of teaching effectiveness, many citing episodes of success-after-struggle. Tommy wrote:

One moment of joy that I experienced in my practicum was when I was able to explain adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing fractions to a student when she was so confused. I love seeing those ah ha moments in young kids.

It is exciting to see when they are really able to grasp an understanding of something.
Katey shared:

Every teacher will tell you that they love seeing the light bulb turn on. This may sound cheesy, but it is so true. Every time I see a look of understanding on a child’s face, I am filled with joy. When a child finally understands something that he or she had not been able to understand until I taught them, it makes me so happy.

Laura’s practicum experience included teaching physical science with a difficult class of unmotivated high-energy students who were a challenge both academically and behaviorally. Laura shared in her online discussion:

I was asking questions about the concepts we had learned about earlier and experimented with throughout class, such as matter, mass, volume, and density. As I asked follow up questions to assess their understanding there was a good number of hands raised, waving excitedly to answer. Not only were they excited about answering, but they understood the concepts we were It was great to see them excited about science, and actually understanding the concepts!

Nora shared her reflections, enthusiastic about her triumph over struggle:

It’s hard to pick just one moment of joy because I feel like there’s been So many! The one that really stands out was when I was teaching them a lesson on adding fractions. The day before, [the cooperating teacher] introduced the topic and the kids really struggle with it. The next day, I came in and taught a whole different way of doing it with a completely different method than she used, and all of a sudden more than half the class yelled out a huge ‘OHHHHH NOW I GET IT!’ This immediately reminded me of all the reasons why I chose this profession! It made me so happy that my teaching skills are actually working and made sense to this group of students! I look forward to many more of these “AHA” moments in my future!

A notable difference between 1996-97 and 2011-12 was that by the latter academic year, teaching effectiveness was more likely determined by results on assessments, whether classroom products or unit tests. By 2011, he preservice teachers were expected to document their practicum teaching effectiveness in terms of student learning. For this requirement, the preservice teacher typically reported results of posttests or district- or state-mandated testing done over the concepts they covered. Though the results of the standardized tests consistently affirmed their teaching effectiveness, it is noteworthy that those test results were not identified as incidences of Moments of Joy for them. Expressions of teaching effectiveness based on assessments were far more likely to be generated by the preservice teacher, and on a
one-to-one, lesson-by-lesson, or concept-by-concept basis rather than summative standardized test results. Successes by individual students who struggled made very strong impacts on the professional efficacy of the preservice teachers. In fall 2011, Jeffrey shared:

It was great to see the finished products (life-size models of the digestive system on butcher paper) hanging on the walls of the school hallway. It looks like I actually taught them something...

Spring 2012, Monica said:

My moment of joy this semester was when a girl that usually does not seem to be paying attention did well on the posttest we gave over our unit on measurement. To me this was a moment of joy because it showed she was actually learning ....

Further examination is suggested to explore if and when teachers develop a sense of professional efficacy from results of high-stakes testing. Do preservice teachers perhaps recognize there are too many intervening variables between their limited teaching and the summative nature of the required test? Do they not feel a sense of ownership or yet personally experience the consequences of high-stakes accountability testing prior to their own permanent placement?

Bandura (1997) also identified first-hand teaching experiences as the most powerful source of teacher efficacy. Teacher perceptions of changes in student performance gleaned from student utterances, work on classroom assignments, homework, and formal assessments all provide information to teachers that informs their self-judgments. According to Bandura, successful teaching accomplishments lead to a development of a positive and robust belief in a teacher’s efficacy, which then contributes to the expectations of future proficient performance. On the contrary, efficacy was lower if a teacher sensed the teaching performance as a failure, contributing to the expectations of future unsuccessful performances.

Unless people believe they can produce desired outcomes by their actions, they have little incentive to act or to persevere in the face of difficulties. Whatever other factors may operate as guides and motivators, they are rooted in the core belief that one has the power to produce effects by one’s actions. Perceived self-efficacy is, therefore, posited as a pivotal factor in career choice and development. (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, Pastorelli, p. 187).

In Chang’s 2009 study, mastery experiences and successful performance attainment remained the most powerful sources of efficacy information. Research with adults confirms that beliefs of personal efficacy play a highly influential role in occupational development and pursuits (Bandura, 1997; Betz & Hackett, 1986; Hackett, 1995; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994).

The second external affirmation theme I term Emotional Expressions. Preservice teachers identified a variety of emotions and reactions evidenced to them vocally or in writing, during and near the end of their practicum experience as Moments of Joy. During the course of their teaching of science and math concepts, preservice teachers found joy when their students indicated their excitement, enthusiasm, enjoyment, or welcoming. As the practicum experience drew to a close, preservice teachers found joy in expressions of appreciation, including thank you notes and cards from the students. Preservice teachers who wrote about more than one moment of joy typically started with
incidences of teaching effectiveness, followed by expressions of appreciation by students. This theme remained popular in both settings and times.

Samples from Setting 1

In spring 1997, numerous preservice teachers shared their students’ excitement in doing hands-on science or math activities. Jenny wrote:

I was very excited the day we made the class terrarium and when we did the movement activity when we pretended to be seeds growing. The kids were very excited to do these activities – anything hands-on they enjoyed! I loved to see them excited about doing an activity and learning new things – they were motivated!

Sara M:

I loved the excitement these kids showed towards me and my activities. They would ask me what fun math we were doing today and if I would be the one to help them if they needed it!

Amy C:

When we studied the flowers, it went absolutely wonderful. The children and teacher gave us wonderful compliments. One of my students asked if I would be coming from now on everyday and be his teacher. It feels good to be appreciated and walk out of the classroom knowing I did a good job.

Melanie wrote:

During my experience with a class of 5th graders a moment of bittersweet joy was on the last day. A particular little girl gave me a hug just about every day and always wanted me to help her with something. On my last day she asked when I would be back and she was quite sad. I really like this little girl – she always was eager and cheerful. It’s these little things that I feel make teaching such a fulfilling career.

Samples from Setting 2

In spring 2012, Laura H. wrote of her challenging students who started out unmotivated:

Students are coming into science class excited to learn now. Students who are moving to another class are jealous they can’t be a part of the experience …

Mary, after expressing the joy of her teaching effectiveness with sets of challenging children, shared:

Another professional efficacy that makes me smile is simply going to [a lower SES practicum setting] and seeing how happy the students are that [my partner] and I are there. It makes me so happy to know that these students are excited to see us. I am so sad that my time at [this school] is ending, it has been a great semester!

In fall 2011, Hillary shared:

… I was really making a difference in science for my kids. The other thing that really stood out to me was on my last day. My students surprised me with a book that contained a note from each of them thanking me. The really heartwarming part was that I had some students tell me that because of me they enjoyed science, and that is now their favorite subject!

In addition to vocal and written expressions, the preservice teachers shared a number of Physical or Body Language Expressions of Appreciation as Moments of Joy. These include smiles, hugs, eyes lighting up, and having the door held for them. Both
female and male preservice teachers, particularly in the 1990s, reported receiving spontaneous hugs from children as momentous. Hugging reports were generated primarily in classrooms with children in the younger grade range for the experiences, which occurred more frequently in Setting 1. A possible explanation for the predominance in Setting 1 include not only the age of the children, but also the smaller town. Plus, as years have passed, physical contact by teachers with students, and by students with authority figures, has grown increasingly more taboo.

Samples from Setting 1

Jill R:
When it came time to leave [at the end of the practicum experience], [the children] gave us lots of hugs and said they didn’t want us to leave. It was fun and it made our experience worthwhile!

Matt O:
During this practicum I felt good about being a teacher because every time I walked into the classroom I was met by a group of students who gave me hugs. That made me feel really good. Also I could tell that I was getting through to some of the kids who needed extra attention and help. They started to really want to learn. That was really encouraging for me.

After sharing her joy related to her teaching effectiveness, Kelly B. stated, “The hugs I got each day also made me happy and know I am in the right field.”

Samples from Setting 2

Merijke C. In a 4th grade parochial classroom:
I have found that every semester the students find a way to melt my heart on the last day that I am there. … The students each wanted to give me a hug on their way out to the playground and they were willing to be late to recess to do so. … This has been a great semester and I am sad to be leaving my class, but excited for what is yet to come.

Laura C. in an all male parochial setting, responded to classmates’ online descriptions of hugging incidents:
I can say quite honestly that I did not receive any hugs from the 7th grade boys, but I felt the same way when they would open doors for us and bow.

ADORABLE!

Becky K. also worked in the parochial all-male middle school:
My moment of joy was from a particular card I received on my last day. One of the students was always very attentive, polite, and kind. He was always trying his best and seemed genuinely interested. He was the first with his hand up and the one always on task but he did all of it in a genuine and noble matter, which struck me. He always had a pleasant smile on his face and was the one to hold the door. Today he gave me a card saying how much he loved our unit and enjoyed having us and even suggested that when I become a teacher in 2 years to come back and teach their class again. It was so cute and I know I will hold on to that card!

External validation also came from feedback from authority figures in the practicum setting, particularly the instructor who observed and provided feedback.

Sample from Setting 1

Susan B: “When [our professor] said I ‘shined’ in front of the classroom.”
Laura C: “I’d say my biggest moment of joy came after completing all of our lessons on Genetics and I got a solid review from [our professor].”

Bandura (1997) termed this major source of teacher efficacy “verbal persuasion.” Verbal persuasion refers to verbal interactions in which a teacher obtains feedback that their teaching performance was successful, from important others such as colleagues, administrators, parents, etc. (Tschannen-Moran & Woolfolk-Hoy, 2001). A study by Bruce & Ross (2008) suggests that when a teacher receives positive and constructive feedback from a respected peer, there is even greater potential for enhanced goal setting, motivation to take risks, and implementation of challenging teaching strategies.

**Category 2: Internal Responses within the pre-service teacher**

No firm line can be drawn between external and internal validation the preservice teachers experienced regarding their professional efficacy. However, some of the shared Moments of Joy indicate their feelings of competence came more from within rather than from without. Expressions of feelings of competence and confidence were expressed with a higher proportion in Setting 1 (22%) than in Setting 2 (13%):

**Sample from Setting 1**

Cassie stated:

> It was a joy to see that I am actually remembering the techniques I’ve learned from methods classes. I feel it is starting to come naturally that I modify and look to each student’s needs.

Amy N. reported her feelings:

> S. and I introduced this unit without the help of our teacher and it made me feel very worthwhile and effective as a teacher!

In the fall of 1996, Ben shared:

> The first class I taught didn’t go as smoothly as I hoped, but the second class was where I received my ‘moment of joy’. When I started to go in front of the class everything felt so different. Instead of being a student, I felt like I was ‘Mr. H’.

And Tanya stated:

> I felt confident as I went through the lesson and was encouraged and reassured when several students showed their eagerness to participate. I was surprised, but pleased, that the majority of the students respected my authority despite my age.

This resonates with Bandura’s fourth source on which a teacher’s efficacy depends, which he termed “physiological arousal.” The affect or feelings of happiness or pleasure a teacher perceived from a successful teaching performance may elevate their efficacy.

**Category 3 – Interrelational**

My third category evidences Developing Relationships between the preservice teacher and his or her students. These joyful circumstances often involve bolstering of self-esteem either of the student or the preservice teacher or both. Preservice teachers found it personally rewarding to help students or the class overcome a problem, deal with a challenge, or reach a goal. Preservice teachers found it joyful when students indicated they wanted to maintain a bond, keep in touch, or have them as a teacher in the future. These Moments of Joy spoke to carry-over into other in-school and out-of
school settings. Preservice teachers enjoyed opportunities to go beyond the practicum expectations, including active supervision of science fairs and field trips.

Samples from Setting 1
In spring 1997, Kim J. wrote:

I was in a classroom with little classroom management and I got the students to follow directions and behave. I came up with a signal, which meant that I needed their attention and wouldn’t go on until I had it. After my lessons were over, I saw kids using this signal in the music room and in the hall and I felt like I made a difference.

Kim has since earned her masters degree and remains an educator.

In the fall of 1996, a male preservice teacher wrote:

While I was home over fall break one of the children in my class came over to me at a football game. He was with some of his friends and told them how ‘cool’ I was. It made me happy to know that I taught him and got through to him and he still thought I was cool. It seems kind of funny, but it really made me feel good. My parents were sitting with me and really thought that was neat also.

And Jenny R stated:

… I felt proud and kind of excited that [a girl student] was comfortable enough to come over to sit with me at the table. I then also learned that she was from Mexico, same as my grandfather. … I’m very excited for next Thursday when I’ll see her …

In the 1990s, boosting student self esteem was an important trend. In fall 1996, Ashley reflected:

To me, it is the little things that cause joy. Knowing I have boosted a student’s self-esteem is one of the main reasons why I want to become a teacher.

Another student in 1997 reported:

[A certain boy] tends to be a oppositional child, and he was so frustrated that he quit working on his project. I went over to him and patiently boosted his self-esteem, aiding in his project. He was finally able to join the group.

Sample from Setting 2
A student in Fall 2011 also spoke to developing relationships beyond the classroom practicum experience:

Going with the students on their field trip was really fun! It was a great way to get to know the students and their personalities outside the classroom.

Many researchers report that perceived social efficacy promotes satisfying and supportive interpersonal relationships (Bandura et al., 1996; Holahan & Holahan, 1987a, 1987b; Leary & Atherton, 1986; Wheeler & Ladd, 1982). Educators have long known that an ethic of caring is critical to guiding instruction and managing a classroom. Collier (2005) states:

The relational nature of caring provides a reciprocal reinforcement of well being which nurtures and sustains positive interactions between teacher and student. The act of caring and being cared for forms a loop, which provides needed support to enhance student growth, development and performance while refueling teachers with experiences of gratification and appreciation, increasing satisfaction with teaching and commitment to teaching as a profession. Student
and teacher success experienced within communities of caring increases confidence or efficacy in teaching skills and student ability to learn. In essence, caring is the fuel for teacher efficacy working in tandem to create the stable, capable and committed teaching force required for the effective education of our nation’s children.

Another small but mentionable category of Moments of Joy I term Humor, or funny incidents. Preservice teachers enjoyed sharing their own sense of humor with children, diffusing tense classroom management situations with humor, and enjoying funny situations as they occurred in the classroom setting. In Setting 2, the preservice teachers could share and find the humor together in things that occurred in their practicum settings on the Discussion Forum. In Setting 1, spring 1997, Darcy V. shared:

We were talking about kinds of graphs and the kids were trying to think of what to call a circle or pie graph. One of the kids yelled out, ‘a pizza graph.’ It was just so funny at the time –

**Discussion and Implications for Teacher Education**

I began collecting Moments of Joy reflections and recognizing recurring themes before many of Bandura’s writings were published. My findings with preservice teachers, though described or articulated differently, corroborate and mesh with Bandura’s research. My themes were derived from fairly brief preservice field experiences, and may not be generalizable to other settings or teaching experiences.

Tschannen-Moran, Hoy & Hoy (1998) represented the formation of teacher efficacy as a cycle in which teachers glean information from experiences, process this information, and use it as a basis to assess the influence of both internal and external factors on their ability to teach successfully. Self-perception of teacher efficacy has consequences for motivation, planning, persistence, enthusiasm, and effort toward teaching. Teacher efficacy has been defined as both context and subject-matter specific. Teachers may feel very competent in a specific area of study or when working with one particular kind of student and feel less able in other subjects or with specific populations of students (Tschannen-Moran, Hoy & Hoy, 1998). In my study, joy was frequently associated with creative lessons that generated student enthusiasm. Research indicates that teacher self-efficacy is an adaptive dynamic construct and that it can possibly be “enhanced through a given performance domain, particularly in those with lower levels of self-efficacy and if they are provided with the proper environment and motivation” (Turner, Cruz, & Papakonstantinou, 2004, p.1). Brock & Grady (2000) report:

Teachers at risk for burnout are the hard-working, passionate, master teachers who dedicate themselves to students and to the pursuit of teaching. They make learning enjoyable for students. Their continued interest in their students and consistent professional growth are inspirational. Often their work becomes the focus of their lives and their identities. The factor that creates risk for burnout is the same factor that makes them good teachers – their passionate dedication to their work. When they are not rewarded or recognized for their extraordinary effort, disillusionment can lead to burnout. (p. 9)

Individuals develop burnout indicators over time, and the initial experiences of burnout may be felt as early as student teaching (Bowers, Eicher, & Sacks, 1983; Chan, 2003; Gold & Michael, 1985; Greer & Greer, 1992; Javis, 2002). Preservice teachers in
practicum and student teaching experience an ambiguous role as both student and
teacher, and must meet the expectations of the university supervisor and their
cooperating teachers. Student teachers may have few or limited coping strategies on
which to draw. Fives, Hamman & Olivarez (2007) studied the relationship between
teacher efficacy, burnout, and levels of support during student teaching. Results
suggest the relations among efficacy, burnout, autonomy support, and interaction
support are somewhat fluid during the student-teaching practicum. The need for
support from the cooperating teacher and supervisor transitioned over time to
confidence in their abilities to engage students and meet instructional needs generating
greater feelings of accomplishment or satisfaction with their teaching experience. Their
findings imply that one potential means of decreasing teachers' burnout is to provide
them with efficacy –enhancing opportunities – including high guidance interaction with
their teacher training instructors and cooperating teachers. As Hemric, Eury &
Schellman (2010) state: “It is imperative that leaders in education recognize the
significance of protecting and supporting the self-efficacy of their teachers.” Studies with
preservice teachers in Taiwan (Chang, 2003; Chang & Wu, 2006) also noted that a
teachers' sense of efficacy serves as a warning of critical problems faced by a teacher
education program and an orientation for future directions of its reform.
Brock & Grady (2000) recognized that teachers value personal, job-related compliments
from their superiors.

Praise is a powerful strategy in influencing teachers’ work and level of
satisfaction. It enhances teacher morale, attitudes toward students, instructional
practices, and the amount of effort put forth. Praise, however, needs to be
personalized, specific, related to a professional role, and sincere.

Preservice teachers may experience stressors and vulnerability as they are expected to
implement new, innovative, or district-specific approaches for which they were not
prepared. In essence, they are “teaching blind” having neither personal experience nor
professional preparation for the role they are expected to undertake (Fives et al, 2007).
In the teaching profession, measures of quality rarely exist at the end of a hard day.
Reinforcement may be limited to self-assessment, an occasional glimpse of success in
a student’s response, and infrequent praise from administrators, colleagues or parents.
Recognize that it is essential to teachers to know the impact they have on students,
both in terms of learning and personally. My research findings suggest that teacher
training programs emphasize professional efficacy - Moments of Joy - with preservice
teachers.

Preservice teachers are understandably placed with master teachers in field
experiences with skills to emulate. Field experience placement coordinators should also
strive to select nurturing environments and cooperating teachers who guide their
student teachers and provide them with greater opportunities to enhance and build their
efficacy beliefs. In this study’s settings, preservice teachers received extensive
feedback on their teaching performance from these master teachers, which is
appreciated by both the preservice teacher and the teacher training program. However,
not a single preservice teacher in the study mentioned feedback from cooperating
teachers or authority figures within the practicum setting as their Moment of Joy.
According to Bandura (1997) an additional source of teaching efficacy is “partly
influenced by vicarious experiences mediated through modeled attainments” (p. 86).
When a model with whom the observer closely identifies performs well, the observer’s efficacy could be enhanced. However, when the model was not salient to the observer in terms of similar levels of experience, training, or gender, the observer’s efficacy might not be promoted even though they had observed a very effective or successful teaching performance. As part of teacher preparation programs, preservice teachers often have opportunities to observe lessons demonstrated in the college classroom by and with their peers, but unless they work with a peer partner, they have little opportunity to see the salient models Bandura describes. To develop professional efficacy, teacher education programs may want to consider giving preservice teachers opportunities to observe and give feedback to peers within actual classroom teaching settings.

As a leader within my teacher education program, I have often expressed my concern about the high rate of burnout, often by our best and brightest. What tools can we give them as part of their preservice training to maintain their zeal and endure the inevitable stresses that can lead to discouragement? Yes, we equip them to organize their classroom, structure and assess learning experiences, and deal with challenging behaviors. Yes, we stress the importance of finding balance, but sometimes that notion is stressful in itself, suggesting that the teacher is not living up to a reasonable expectation if she or he can’t manage to incorporate exercise, quality time with family, diverse interests, socializing with friends, journaling, meditating, etc. on top of the demands of the teaching week.

Teacher trainers recognize the importance of field experiences not only as opportunities for preservice teachers to practice teaching skills in a number of content areas and environments but also to assess their career choice. As Derek, a preservice teacher summarized in his fall 1996 Moment of Joy musings, “Field experience has been challenging, exciting, and helpful in confirming my decision to become a professional educator.”

Individuals in teacher training programs involved with field experiences, including field experience coordinators, course instructors, and seminar directors, need to teach preservice teachers to recognize, focus on, and remember their Moments of Joy. Direct them to reflect and recognize what events or circumstances provide them a sense of professional efficacy, and to steer their careers in those directions. Encourage them to recognize their moments of joy and focus on them. My results reveal that teaching effectiveness is extremely important to preservice teachers, as well as to the rest of the education community. In this era of assessment, the pressures of high-stakes accountability serve as stressors that may influence feelings of teaching efficacy and the experience of burnout. For their own efficacy, teachers need to recognize the significance of small learning successes along the way. Does she or he find joy in teaching effectiveness measured in baby steps with students with learning challenges? Is their joy found in the enthusiasm children exhibit when they explore using science inquiry? Is it their knack for making mathematics concepts relevant and understood? Is it the opportunity to form appropriate and lasting relationships with young people? Is developing social bonds within the teaching and learning community important to them?

In the 1980s, the widely popular Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement (TESA) (Kerman & Martin, 1980) encouraged teachers to offer equitable opportunities to children for appropriate touch. In recent years teacher trainers have had to advise preservice teachers that legally a totally “hands off” policy is best. My findings suggest
that spontaneous and appropriate hugs are important to the professional efficacy of teachers as well as affirming to youngsters. Teachers should seek the circumstances that provide them opportunities for moments of joy. Because teaching effectiveness is paramount for professional efficacy, train preservice teachers that this may need to be vocal in their efforts to have the appropriate class size, environment, time, and tools to make a positive impact.

Teach preservice teachers to share their moments of joy.

- With themselves through positive self-talk and in reflective journals. Pat themselves on the back, as well as giving praise to the individual child.
- With the students: as you praise the struggling student for overcoming a learning hurdle, let them know their progress brings you joy.
- With peers – Opportunities for preservice teachers to discuss, whether in course online discussion forums, in class discussions, or in informal sharing sessions, may lead to social efficacy. Chang (2009) suggests that even with frustrating moments while teaching, positive peer interaction equips a preservice teacher with experiences that can lead to efficacy development. Encourage preservice teachers to help set a positive tone in the teachers lounge by sharing moments of joy, whether individual learning successes, the enthusiasm the students demonstrated for an activity, warm and fuzzy comments or notes that made your day or melted your heart, or the funny things kids say. Encourage preservice teachers to proactively foster interpersonal skills, particularly listening, and warm but professional relationships between teachers and students, and teachers with fellow teachers.
- With their administration – in this era of testing, communicate to authority figures how well students are performing on authentic and formative assessment approaches, leading up to likely success on summative accountability strategies.
- With their friends and loved ones – relate the incidences, events, and circumstances that bring you joy. Limit venting about negatives.

Teach preservice teachers to hold the joy. Keep and reread their positive journal entries. Retain the drawings, notes and cards that affirmed their choice to dedicate their life to teaching children. Recognize that a happy teaching career is an ongoing sequence of treasured Moments of Joy!

Acknowledgment
Thank you to [name deleted for blind review] whose insights were instrumental in identifying and categorizing themes.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests
The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding
The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.
References


### Figure 1. Settings, Time Frame, Respondents, Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Semester</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Total Number of Moments of Joy Mentioned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Setting 1</td>
<td>Fall 1996</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring 1997</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting 2</td>
<td>Fall 2011</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring 2012</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Figure 2. Major Categories of Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semester</th>
<th>External Input - Reactions of Others</th>
<th>Internal Responses - Reactions from within the Preservice Teacher</th>
<th>Interrelational - Relationships with the students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fall 1996</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring 1997</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals/percentages</td>
<td>36/51%</td>
<td>22/31%</td>
<td>12/17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall 2011</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring 2012</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals/percentages</td>
<td>27/71%</td>
<td>5/13%</td>
<td>6/16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Embedding Action Research in Elementary Classroom and Physical Education Settings

Geraldine C. Jenny
Slippery Rock University of PA
Seth E. Jenny
University of New Mexico
Introduction

This article is primarily designed to assist teacher candidates and classroom teachers in conducting action research. Where the authors ask teacher candidates to discuss or share their research drafts with cooperating teachers or university faculty, the in-service teacher should share their classroom research with colleagues and administrators for constructive feedback.

Action research has become a popular format for teachers who desire to improve their own teaching. The systematic process allows practicing teachers to focus on what is important for them to examine regarding teaching and learning in their own classrooms. Action research also allows teachers a time saving way to stay current with research and improve their teaching while enhancing student learning amongst the busyness of the typical teaching year. Indeed, teachers have very little time to spare! Action research not only provides a teacher with an efficient way to improve teaching and expand self-learning, but it also positions teachers to share the knowledge they gain from their classrooms with other teachers at professional conferences while learning from other colleagues as well.

Furthermore, many school districts are turning to action research as a way to develop novice teachers within the mentor program process that is often required for the first three years of teaching (Zambo & Zambo, 2004). Numerous administrators are implementing action research as a plan for a half year or full year professional development option in their school districts. This is the era of No Child Left Behind, and stricter accountability has come to the forefront in American education. Action research has become an effective way for teachers to examine their own teaching success in the classroom and has prompted them to find approaches that have proven even more successful at enhancing student learning through data based decision making.

Since most teachers are not familiar with action research, this article provides an ideal starting point for in-service teachers who wish to improve their own teaching in a non-intimidating, fruitful format which will have positive results. The step-by-step process described here can fit any teacher’s self-paced time table and will prove well worth the effort as teachers and their students alike reap the benefits.

Now is the time to focus on what is important to examine regarding teaching and learning in the classroom. Action research allows teachers a time saving way to stay current with research and improve their teaching while enhancing student learning during the busy schedule of the typical teaching year. This process will provide one with an efficient way to improve teaching and expand reflection, while positioning a teacher to share the knowledge gained from classroom research with colleagues and in professional arenas such as faculty meetings, conferences and other professional development events.

In the approach presented, teachers select an area of emphasis in one of the major subject areas of the elementary curriculum that will be the focus of their study. A physical educator may choose to concentrate on a particular skill or National Association for Sport and Physical Education (NASPE, 2004) student learning objective. Teachers assess students in that content area, plan and teach lessons that target this focus, and then collect follow-up data related to student growth. Candidates will develop an action research proposal and lesson plans, and will gather assessment data and student work samples that will demonstrate student learning in this academic area.
Although action research can be used to focus on almost anything you choose in the teaching and learning environment, it is recommended to focus research on teaching strategies that impact student learning.

**Developing a Research Question**

A first priority is to make sure a question is sufficiently open ended to allow several possibilities to emerge (Hubbard & Powell, 1999). This means that questions cannot have a simple yes or no answer. Deciding upon a question is one of the hardest tasks of action research. How this question is written will impact the way a topic is approached, the type of data to collect, how data is analyzed, and the ways the results of a study are reported. There are many approaches to developing a good research question. This process may be a bit “messy” at first as revision and refinement are part of the process. It is not unusual to revise a question many times throughout the process of initial question formulation, review of related literature, and during the planning and procedural phases.

When identifying a possible topic, one approach is to use question stems. These are thought starters that allow focus on topics of interest related to teaching and learning. Below are common questions stems adapted from Hubbard and Powell (1999) that will help one to get started in thinking and developing a topic of interest:

- What classroom procedures or activities promote…..?
- How does…..?
- What issues do students encounter when…..?
- What happens when…..?
- How can…..?
- What is the difference between…..?
- How do students…..?
- What strategies do students use to…..?

In addition, the open-ended statements below, adapted from [http://www.sitesupport.org/actionresearch/ses3_act2_pag2.shtml](http://www.sitesupport.org/actionresearch/ses3_act2_pag2.shtml), may also aid in focusing on an area of interest.

- Something I am particularly interested in learning about teaching is.....?
- An academic area that I am particularly interested in learning about in classrooms is.....?
- In my classroom teaching, I am bothered by.....?
- I am very curious about.....?
- I desire to.....?
- I would like to make a difference in the classroom by.....?
- If I could change something about teaching or student learning it would be.....?
- I am passionate in wanting to learn about.....?

Moreover, it is advisable to keep a journal and brainstorm a list of things that cause wonder in your classroom. What surprises, concerns, intrigues, or delights are there (Hubbard & Powell, 1999)? Other strategies to assist in finding research questions are to consider the following approaches (Johnson, 2003):

- Study or evaluate a teaching method in order to determine the effectiveness of the teaching method or technique.
• Identify and investigate a problem to understand what is happening and the possible causes of a problem.
• Examine an area of interest. What in particular about teaching is of interest?
Please note, an effective action research question…
• …include key starting words which are usually “what or “how” that focus on explanations, reasons, and relationships.
• …is meaningful, possible to do in the classroom, manageable, written in everyday language, and has not already been answered.
• …is concise, but is not a yes-no question.
• …is one in which one feels commitment and passion.
• …should provide an opportunity to stretch and grow as a professional while providing a deeper understanding of the topic and may lead to other questions.
A final suggestion to aid in refining a research question and to frame it is to develop a problem statement. As seen in figure 1, the question development chart may aid in developing a problem statement. A problem statement consists of a brief statement that answers the following critical queries that are affected by the question selected (Sagor, 1993).
1. Who is affected?
2. Who or what is suspected of causing the problem?
3. What kind of problem has been identified? Is it a problem with student learning, meeting curriculum goals, etc.?
4. What is the goal for improvement? What would the outcome be if the action had an ideal impact?
A final suggestion to aid in refining a research question and to frame it is to develop a problem statement. As seen in figure 1, the question development chart may aid in developing a problem statement. A problem statement consists of a brief statement that answers the following critical queries that are affected by the question selected (Sagor, 1993).
1. Who is affected?
2. Who or what is suspected of causing the problem?
3. What kind of problem has been identified? Is it a problem with student learning, meeting curriculum goals, etc.?
4. What is the goal for improvement? What would the outcome be if the action had an ideal impact?
After developing a question, be sure to consider the big picture. A simple plan to organize your study can be seen in figure 2. Organize a study so that it flows smoothly and avoids potential roadblocks along the way. Consider the following areas for the action research study:
• Where was the research conducted?
• What setting and characteristics can be shared regarding a school and students? This should include: the grade level or age ranges, the socio-economic-status (SES) reported as the percentage of free & reduced lunch rates, ethnic composition reported as the percentage of each group represented, gender composition reported as the number of boys and girls, and location reported as urban, rural, suburban. Most of this information can be located with online school databases such as http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/schoolsearch or http://www.schoolmatters.com.
• What was the reasoning that ultimately led to selection of this particular question?
• Why is it important?
• How will the results impact your teaching?
• How may your study help provide insight into the teaching practices of others?

Literature Review: Background Topical Research
A literature review should synthesize themes or commonalities found in similar research studies. A thorough review of the literature related to a research question may open up new ways of looking at a problem. This may show gaps in the research that a study may help to answer. A study will become more focused once other investigators’
examples of research questions, classroom research strategies, data collection procedures, and data analysis methods are reviewed. In brief, reviewing other studies allows one to make the connection between theory and classroom practice (Johnson, 2003). Remember these key points to assist you in your literature review:

- Be clear in your thinking by knowing what you are doing in your study.
- Plan and organize your research well.
- Emphasize connections between the information in the articles or books to the question of your study to ensure relevancy.

**Methodology: Procedures for Data Collection**

One should reflect on what data to collect, when it will be collected, from what sources it will be collected, and how to analyze it. Consider the artifacts, tools, or sources that are going to help find answers and insights regarding a research question. Think of a variety of possible data sources. Sagor (1992) organizes many of these sources according to research goals. The following is a brief list of possible data sources:

- Individual student tests or quizzes
- Student interviews (audio tapes)
- Student writing samples
- Student homework
- Student attendance records
- Student journals or portfolios
- Small group conferences
- Teacher journals/logs
- Teacher field notes
- Teacher interviews
- Classroom observations
- Lesson plans
- Student or teacher checklists
- Videotapes of class activities
- Student surveys/attitude/rating scales
- Graphic organizers
- Student projects, artwork, or performance assessments
- Motor skill performance critical element skill rubrics or task sheets
- Sport skill performance results

It is also beneficial to keep a data log and record when all information is collected, the time, place, and the data itself. Consider the types of data to collect. Triangulation means collecting three different sources of information so that you can determine if they corroborate. It will bolster the credibility of final conclusions. For example, several students may be interviewed regarding their opinion of how Social Studies is taught in the classroom. The conclusion drawn is that they dislike it. Basing results on interviews could be flawed because students may be trying to influence what happens in their classrooms. Perhaps they believe that by saying that they do not like Social Studies they might gain more recess time or have a teacher fired. However, if the teacher is interviewed and the teacher concurs that the students seem bored and inattentive during class, two valid points of comparison are gleaned.
If an analysis of student test scores yields that the class average is very poor in Social Studies, now three sources of evidence all point to the same conclusion. This triangulation makes statements and conclusions credible. Note that triangulation does not have to include three completely different sources. Student interviews, anecdotal notes written during observations of Social Studies lessons, accompanied by a questionnaire of what students do not like about Social Studies class would constitute triangulation. This holds true even though the data is all collected from the same students. Sagor (1992) highlights three key benefits of triangulation. Namely, that it allows for: imperfections or flaws in one of the data sources or collection instruments; increased confidence in the results when all three sources corroborate; development of important questions or insights when sources don’t support the same results.

Another feature to consider while in the planning stage of research is whether data collection methods will be valid. In other words, consider what you plan to collect and then align your artifacts with your question. Will the artifacts aid in answering a research question? Reliability is the accuracy of measurement or assessment and validity is whether it measures what is desired to measure (Gay & Airasian, 2000).

Another essential aspect of methodology should be the data collection timeline. In order to gather the data needed for the study, it is important to schedule what and when collection will occur. Plotting this on the school calendar will help with accomplishment of goals. Planning is everything during a short window of opportunity!

**Data Analysis: Examination of the Data**

Data analysis should be meaningful. In order to accomplish this:

- Record observations systematically, carefully and precisely.
- Describe exactly what was done during the data collection and throughout the analysis.
- Record and report everything of importance.
- Describe and interpret data objectively.
- Use data sources that can answer specific questions.
- Look at data from multiple angles/perspectives.

Sagor (1992) also provides two insightful questions to ask when analyzing data:

1. What are the important themes observed that will help answer the research question?
2. How much of the data supports each of the themes?

Since every research project is unique, there is no one single approach that is best for each study. Become immersed in the information in order to deduce important findings and results.

**Conclusions: Results Drawn from the Study**

Now is the time to draw conclusions. Remember, the process of doing research is as significant as the findings in a study. A teacher should grow in confidence that the tools to solve future classroom problems are available. Remember that research is not going to "prove" anything, but rather it is going to help "improve" one’s teaching.

Deep connections and valuable reflection occur by linking findings to what other researchers have discovered about the topic. Drawing conclusions about work strengthens your credibility when you make recommendations for your plan of action and for other teachers interested in a topic. Research that finds what *doesn’t* work is
just as important as research that finds what does work. Gaining insight into why study results were not optimal is what is most important. Acting on what has been learned is a vital component of action research.

Consider the facts and results of a study. Conclusions are merely a description based on the data that collected. What students learned and what was learned about teaching is vital. What strengths and weaknesses can be concluded about the research? This is the point where everything comes together. It is essential that study conclusions relate to research questions. Did findings answer research questions in full or do results leave only partial answers and other new questions? How do results differ from previous assumptions? It helps bring action research full circle, from the question to the answer. Making connections as a reflective practitioner is key to growing as a professional!

When reflecting on conclusions, think about what was learned from the project by reflecting about the following topics:

- Teaching in general
- Teaching in the targeted academic area
- Your students
- Your teaching style and procedures
- Your assessment strategies

Most importantly, what impact did you have on the students’ learning in the targeted area? How do you know? Support your answers with assessment data and with observations.

Implications and Recommendations: Reflections Regarding How the Study May Assist Other Teachers

Action research is one avenue for bringing teachers together to share their concerns and figure out a way to find answers for them (Caro-Bruce, 2000). Doing this is quite important, but it is often the most neglected part of the action research process. This is called “action” research, so it is where one considers what actions did or did not work in a classroom and what actions will be tried or recommended for the future. Specific details should be taken into consideration in recommendations so that others can easily implement them in their own environments.

What actions might be taken based on study results? A plan of action is a description of intentions or a list of steps to take to improve classroom practice in the topic under study. A plan may result in one of five outcomes: a greater understanding of the topic/problem, the discovery of a new or underlying problem, a plan or method that may be effective in the classroom, a plan or method that may need to be revised or modified or a plan or method that may be ineffective in the classroom. The bottom line is that action research is a mechanism for professional growth for teachers who are willing to devote the necessary time and energy to it. It is an excellent way to link personal professional growth with school change aimed at improved student learning (Caro-Bruce, 2000). In conclusion, one of the purposes of doing an action research study is so findings can be used to enlighten other teachers by sharing specific implications and recommendations which may be of great assistance in enhancing student learning with their own students.
References and Resources


Richardson, J. (February/March, 2000). *Teacher research leads to learning, action.* Tools for Schools Newsletter, 1-8, National Staff Development Council.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List general areas of interest (e.g., math; locomotor movements)</th>
<th>Possibility #1</th>
<th>Possibility #2</th>
<th>Possibility #3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List specific topics under each area (e.g. fractions; skipping)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List factors that impact the topic listed (e.g. use of manipulatives; use of “step” and “hop” as cue words)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write a potential question here (e.g. How does the use of manipulatives impact student understanding of equivalent fractions?; How does the use of the cue words “step” and “hop” impact student learning of skipping?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2. Organizing Your Study

1. State your research question.

2. Identify descriptive information about the students and classroom setting. Include age, gender, grade, socio-economic status, urban/rural, etc.

3. Describe what it was about your students’ learning that prompted a

4. Explain why your question is important to students and other teachers.

5. List the key themes identified in your literature review that impact your study.

6. Share what type data you will collect, how you will collect it, and the time frame for collecting it.

7. Describe how you will analyze the data you collect. List the type of graph, table, chart, or student anecdote will best answer your question.
Social Epidemiology of Chronic Disease in the United States

James A. Johnson
Central Michigan University
James Allen Johnson
Georgia Southern University
James E. Dotherow
Alabama State University
Introduction

As chronic disease continues to rise in the United States and globally there is a significant role for the social sciences in better understanding the causes and potential solutions. Social scientists are especially well equipped with the research tools and perspectives needed to study the social aspects and antecedents of disease. This is uniquely so in the case of chronic diseases, many of which are associated with life-style choices and the social environment of affected populations. Furthermore, as described by Johnson (2009) and Johnson and Stoskopf (2010), social scientists who focus on health, also known as medical social scientists, medical sociologists, and social epidemiologists, are at the fore of efforts by governments and nongovernmental organizations in their pursuit of solutions and interventions.

This paper focuses on several areas of research that informs the work being done in the social analysis of chronic disease. It also helps to promote a better understanding of the role of social epidemiology in meeting the challenge.

Role of Social Epidemiology

Social epidemiology is a branch of epidemiology that studies the social determinates of health and the social distribution of disease. It seeks to understand how society and social organizations influence the health of individuals and populations. Thus, social epidemiology goes beyond the traditional application of epidemiology by studying disease within a social context. However, social epidemiology does not abandon core elements of more traditional forms of epidemiology such as the study of disease distribution and frequency or the analysis of individual risk factors and how they interact; rather, social epidemiology attempts to explain the pathways between exposures to social characteristics and their effect on health by augmenting traditional epidemiologic approaches with techniques and concepts from social science disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, demography and economics. This interdisciplinary approach often encourages social epidemiologist to employ research methods of multilevel analysis in ecological designs. Although this fusion of techniques from different fields may further elucidate the influence of social characteristics and phenomena on health, it also has the potential to create methodological challenges for epidemiologists. One way to abate such challenges may be for researchers to collaborate in multidisciplinary teams that include epidemiologists and social scientists. Although components of social epidemiology overlap with social science fields that study health such as medical sociology, medical anthropology, and medical demography, its approach to studying society and health are fundamentally different from social sciences. In the social sciences, health and disease are typically studied in order to explain social phenomena; whereas, social epidemiology seeks to explain how social phenomena affect the health of an individual or population. For instance, a social scientist may be interested in how the emergence of HIV/AIDS has influenced social norms regarding condom use; however, a social epidemiologist may be more interested in how changes in social norms regarding condom use affect HIV/AIDS prevalence.

Social Determinants of Health

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines social determinants of health as the structural determinants and conditions of daily life that impact an individual’s or population’s health. As described by Stoskopf and Johnson (2010), at the national level, these determinants include income, distribution of power, and the availability of goods
and services. At the level of the individual, they include access to health care, education, employment and their community and home environments (World Health Organization [WHO], 2010). These variables have reciprocal relationships and influence the health of individuals and populations alike. When analyzing the social determinants of health, the socioeconomic status (SES) of a population is an important variable to consider. Education, income and employment are interconnected and constitute the major components of SES. Education level is a predictor of income and employment. As an individual’s education level increases, the more likely they are to secure a safe, higher paying job. Researchers from the Stanford University School of Medicine found that health disparities across the United States are dependent more on social factors than race or geographic region. The nation-wide study compared counties and the likelihood of people living to age 70. The study found that educational opportunities, distribution of income and increased employment contributes to better health outcomes across a given population. The researchers suggest that “in most parts of the country if African-Americans had the same advantages that their white counterparts had, almost all of the racial disparity would go away” (needs citation with page number). The study concluded that education, income and employment have a greater impact on health than risky behaviors like smoking and unhealthy dieting (Cullen, Cummins, Fuchs, 2012).

Human and economic development influence population health in many ways. Development is often characterized by mechanization; urbanization; changes in the type of work performed and the ways in which it is performed; and changes in the way we produce, process and consume food. These societal changes toward urbanization often lead toward increased consumption of energy-dense foods and physical inactivity. The decrease in physical activity combined with energy-dense foods increases the risk of obesity, diabetes, cardiovascular disease and certain cancers (WHO, 2010).

Chronic Disease and Society

Diabetes and obesity has increased to epidemic proportions in the U.S., as well as, much of the rest of the world. In fact, a study from researchers from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine shows that the weight of the global population is around 316 million tons. Of that 316 million tons, an estimated 17 million tons is due to people being overweight or obese. The United States, which accounts for 5 percent of the global population, accounts for almost a third of the world’s weight due to obesity or overweight. The average global body mass is 137 pounds; whereas, the North American average is 178 pounds. The study suggests that “if every country in the world had the same level of fatness that we see in the USA, in weight terms that would be like an extra billion people of world average body mass” (Jamison, 2012, pp. ?). The Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) estimates that in the U.S. 33 percent of the population are overweight and another 33 percent are obese. Obese individuals are at increased risks of diabetes, cardiovascular disease, cancers, and other diseases. There are an estimated 25.8 million people in the U.S. that are affected by diabetes. In 2010, an estimated 79 million (35 percent) adults age 20 or older had prediabetes. If the current trends continue, in 2050 one in three adults is predicted to have a comorbidity of obesity and diabetes.

Increasing rates of diabetes and obesity come with a cost. In 2007, diabetes associated costs in the U.S. were $174 billion: $116 billion in direct costs and $58 billion
in indirect costs (disability, premature death and work loss). On average, per person medical expenses are 2.3 times higher for a person with diabetes than for those without (Center for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2012). In 2012, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimates the costs of obesity and Diabetes to be around $300 billion. In a report entitled Assessing the Economics of Obesity and Obesity Intervention, the CBO states that obesity is ultimately responsible for 10 percent of all medical expenses, and that figure is rising. Obesity was found to be responsible for $34.3 billion in additional Medicare spending and an additional $27.6 billion in Medicaid spending.

Socioeconomic factors have a vital role in the urbanization process. Recent data shows that only 19 percent of blacks have a bachelor’s degree, and the poverty rate for blacks is 24.5 percent. As a result of low educational attainment and poverty, more than a third of food stamps go to blacks. Black and Hispanic neighborhoods have 50 to 70 percent fewer chain supermarkets than predominantly white, non-Hispanic neighborhoods. The lack of grocery stores leads to higher consumption rates of meat and sugars and less fruits and vegetables. There is a strong association between supermarkets and healthy food dieting, higher fruit and vegetable consumption, and lower obesity rates (Akil and Ahmad, 2011).

Education impacts health are not only in regards to socioeconomic status, but can directly affect diabetes and BMI management. Individuals with low educational attainment have higher levels of undiagnosed diabetes and poorer glucose level control. These individuals are less likely to comply with treatments, and as a result, experience more frequent complications. Self-management is an important component of treating and preventing obesity and diabetes, and education is crucial for success. Differences in education levels between doctors and patients can have an affect their interactions. Differences in health knowledge, beliefs, behavior and perception of control are important considerations for health professionals to effectively disseminate health information (WHO, 2010).

Like diabetes and obesity, cardiovascular disease (CDV) is one the leading public health problems in the world, contributing to more than 30 percent of global mortality and approximately 10 percent of the global burden of disease. In the U.S., heart disease is the leading cause of death for both men and women, accounting for almost 25 percent of all deaths. Every year, roughly 785,000 Americans have their first coronary event, while another 470,000 individuals have their second. In 2010, coronary heart disease cost the United States $108.9 billion in medications, health care services and lost productivity (CDC, 2012). CVD includes coronary heart disease, cerebrovascular disease, rheumatic heart disease, and Chagas disease. Rheumatic heart disease and Chagas disease are caused by infections and are a problem in many middle and low-income countries. Coronary heart disease and cerebrovascular disease are the most prevalent forms of CVD. They develop slowly over time and are caused by behavioral risk factors such as smoking, physical inactivity and unhealthy dieting. The WHO has identified six social determinants of health that have the greatest amount of influence over CVD incidence and mortality rates. They include education, employment, addiction, environment, social support and food (WHO, 2010). Of these determinants, education and employment are especially noteworthy, as they directly contribute to the socioeconomic status of an individual.
An individual’s socioeconomic status greatly influences the risks and outcomes of cardiovascular disease. In childhood, the living conditions and social class of a child’s parents affects the health and development of their cardiovascular system. Later in life, behavioral risk factors like smoking, diets high in fats and sugars, hypertension and physical inactivity increase the risk of CVD. Education and employment can greatly influence the ability to improve health behaviors and access medical care (WHO, 2010). Furthermore, people with lower SES have a higher fatality rate from myocardial infarction. People with higher SES are more likely to receive treatment by specialists and be prescribed medication for prevention of cardiac events (WHO, 2010). Likewise, people with low SES have increased risks at the onset of stroke, including higher levels of hypertension, diabetes and smoking. Occupation and income impact lifestyle behaviors both before and after a stroke. After suffering a stroke, individuals with lower SES have worse health outcomes such as disability and handicap. SES is an independent predictor of five-year health after stroke (WHO, 2010).

Environmental factors, both the natural and built environment, contribute to CVD incidence and mortality rates. In economically deprived neighborhoods, the availability, condition, and safety of parks and recreational centers is worse than in more affluent areas. The poor condition and safety of these parks leads to underutilization.

Conclusion
As advocated in this paper, the challenge of chronic disease can only be met by embracing a comprehensive view of the human in society. People are “social animals” and thus make choices and health decisions based on the influence, direct or indirect, of others. Larger population health issues such as chronic disease is just one example of how there is significant overlap of the domains of the individual, the community, and the nation (Johnson, 2013). Thus the social sciences, and in particular social epidemiology, have a unique place in the national and global policy spectrum needed to address rising concerns promulgated by the ever increasing incidence of lifestyle associated chronic diseases such as diabetes and cardiovascular disease. In a recent study by Johnson and Stoskopf (2010) that looked at health care in 20 different countries, there was a common themes across all countries, rich and poor, developed and underdeveloped. The commonality was the projected ongoing increase in chronic disease. Globalization continues to exacerbate the challenge and is expected to continue to do so well into the 21st century (Johnson and Breckon, 2007). Hopefully, with the tools, skills, and perspectives of medical social scientists using social epidemiology to track and understand disease patterns within human populations, we can better meet the challenges ahead.
References
Malinche:
The Revered and Reviled Doña Marina

Patricia M. Kirtley
William M. Kirtley
Central Texas College
Introduction

*If you change the present enough, history will bend to accommodate it.*

-Barbara Kingsolver

Malinche personifies ambiguity. This young, sixteenth century woman changed the history of the Americas by her gift of speech, yet left nothing of her own words. The primary sources that give evidence of her historic role as interpreter come from those who knew her: Hernando Cortés, Francisco Lopez Gómara, and Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Their writings merged quickly into stories, folklore, and myth. They tell us more about the people who wrote them than the woman herself. This paper argues that these multiple interpretations of Malinche are the result of the bias of those who wrote about her in the last five hundred years.

It acknowledges and accepts multiple, often divergent, views of Malinche. It looks at her as revered, reviled, a role model, and an innocent young girl. It employs the theories of Historian Peter Novik, anthropologist Victor Turner, and theorist Gloria Anzaldua to analyze these perspectives as presented in multiple disciplines.

The Chroniclers were advocates and propagandists. They presented Malinche as they wished her to be, rather than as she actually was. Peter Novik argued in *The Authority of Experts* “We know that it (truth) won’t hold under the severest strain, but in high wind and shoal water, even a light anchor is superior to none at all” (x). The Chroniclers agreed on five “truths,” however flimsy their evidence or blatant their bias. Malinche was beautiful and intelligent. She acted as the interpreter, guide, and mistress of Cortés. She accepted Christianity and brought it to the indigenous people. She was the mother of the first mestizo and instrumental in the overthrow of the Aztec empire.

Victor Turner argued that periods of intense Nationalism and Patriotism like Independence, War, Revolution, and Reform are seminal events during which cultural models are “reinvested with vitality” (*Dramas* 98). This section of the paper employs historical fiction, art, and theater to paint a picture of Malinche that conflicts with that of the Chroniclers.

The third section of this paper utilizes art, poetry, literature, and narrative to describe the story of Malinche as recontextualized by the Chicana movement. It uses the theory of Gloria Anzaldua, a feminist who sought to free Malinche from binary interpretations. Her image of Malinche is that of a strong independent woman who stepped outside the prescribed feminine role of her time (Romo 140).

**Malinche and the Chroniclers**

*I replied that if he wished to know the truth, he had only to ask the interpreter with whom he was speaking, Marina, whom I have always had with me.*

-Cortés, Letters from Mexico

Cortés referred to his interpreter as the “tongue” (la lengua) “who is an Indian woman of this land” (72). He credited his success to God and Malinche (Lemchek 2). Malinche advised Cortés to appear more like the incarnation of the god Quetzalcoatl. She muted his brash demeanor, abrasive speech, and cultural insensitivity. She served as a conduit between two cultures in conflict. The combined Spanish and native army of Cortés was ninety-five percent Amerindian (Saylor 2). Malinche convinced the indigenous people to join the Spanish and fight for their freedom from the choleric Aztec empire. She communicated the orders of Cortés to his allies on the battlefield.
Gómara, his biographer and secretary, exalted the Spanish leader in his *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1552). He described Malinche as one of the women slaves that Cortés assigned to his officers to cook and satisfy their sexual needs (Pérez-Lagüenz 7). He pointed out her importance to Cortés as interpreter and secretary. He also related the story of her baptism and contributions in uncovering a Cholulan plot.

Díaz, a Spanish foot soldier, made Malinche a central figure in his narrative correcting what he considered Gómara’s errors. Díaz described her as a heroic, beautiful, and intelligent woman who served Cortés as an interpreter and trusted ally. Díaz stressed that Father Bartolome de Olmedo baptized Malinche in 1519, that she helped Christianize the indigenous people, and lived her life as an exemplary Christian.

Bernardino Sahagún, a Franciscan friar, arrived in New Spain in 1529 and spent fifty years studying Aztec culture. He wrote *The War of Conquest: How It Was Waged Here in Mexico* based on oral interviews, codices, and pictoglyphic books of the Aztecs. Some consider him the first ethnographer and anthropologist (Cypess, *La Malinche* 15). Sahagún related this poignant observation. “Then word came which pierced Montezuma’s heart: that a woman of our own race was bringing the Spaniards toward Mexico, was interpreting for them, a woman named Marina” (20).

The illustrations in Sahagún’s account place Marina or Malinche in the center of the scene. Stylized tongues indicate she is the speaker. She wears her hair in the style of an upper class Aztec woman. Her ornamented huipil reinforces her status. The Aztec artists clearly depicted Malinche’s role in the Conquest as one of leadership.

William Prescott, the English Historian, relied on the accounts of the Chroniclers for his *History of Mexico* (1843). He depicted Malinche as charming and generous, a “lively genius” who learned Spanish in four days. He declared, “She learned it more readily, as it was the language of love” (296). His account stated that the Spaniards “always held her in grateful remembrance for her aid” and that the “natives appreciated the kindness and sympathy, she showed them in their misfortunes” (333). After this assertion, he dropped any discussion of Malinche in favor of a detailed analysis of the military prowess of Cortés.

Historians generally agree that Malinche was born around 1502. Her father was the cacique (chief) of a Nahuatl (Aztec) speaking village. She enjoyed a comfortable life and education befitting a member of the ruling class. This all changed when Malinche was seven or eight-years-old. Her father died. Her mother remarried and had a son. Malinche’s mother sold her as a slave to the leader of Potonchan, a Mayan settlement, to clear the way for her new son’s inheritance.

Cortés landed in the Yucatan in 1519. He used flintlocks, crossbows, cannons and mounted horsemen to frighten and demoralize a much larger force of warriors from the city of Potonchan. In defeat, the indigenous people presented the Spaniards with food, gifts, and twenty women, among them seventeen-year-old Malinche.

Father Geronimo de Aguilar, marooned by a shipwreck in 1511, interpreted for Cortés. Aguilar learned to speak rudimentary Mayan while living among the Mesoamerican population. Folklore relates that Cortés expressed annoyance at Aguilar’s inability to communicate with Aztec emissaries. The leader of the Spanish expedition noticed one of the Native American woman slaves laughing at the situation and questioned her levity. He soon discovered Malinche spoke the languages of both the Mayans and Aztecs (Lizama).
Cortés relied on a cumbersome process in which Aguilar translated from Spanish to Mayan and Malinche translated from Mayan to Nahuatl. The young slave girl quickly learned Spanish and eliminated the need of Aguilar. Cortés promised Malinche freedom for her services. She became his intermediary, interpreter, and inamorata.

Malinche served as translator when an ambassador from Montezuma arrived on Easter Saturday 1519. After the emissary gave Cortés gifts of gold, Cortés asked him if he had more. The envoy answered “yes,” and asked why the Spanish craved gold. Cortés told Malinche, “Tell him my men suffer from a disease of the heart that can only be cured by gold” (West and Gaff 17). Cortés had heard tales of vast amounts of gold in the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan, now called Mexico City. According to Díaz, he burned his ships, told his men that they had to rely on their “own good swords and stout hearts,” and set out in search of these fabled riches (131).

The Spanish expedition met hostility when they encountered various tribal groups. However, Malinche soon convinced these indigenous peoples that they should ally with Cortés. The Aztecs built their empire on war and fear. They offered the lives of their captives to their gods as bloody oblations. Malinche told the indigenous people that a military alliance with the Spanish would defeat Aztec tyranny.

Cortés, like the Aztecs, used violence and terror when it suited his purposes. When the Spaniards visited the city of Cholula, Malinche made friends with a Cholulan noblewoman. The woman told Malinche that Montezuma’s army was nearby and planned a surprise attack. She offered Malinche a place to hide. Malinche reported this to Cortés, who questioned the Cholulan leaders and discovered that the townspeople were complicit in a plot to ambush the Spanish. Sahagún wrote that Cortés ordered the Cholulans to gather in the great square beside their temple to the god Quetzalcoatl where Spanish forces slaughtered three thousand unsuspecting natives (23).

The Spanish reached Tenochtitlan in November of 1519. Montezuma met them on one of the causeways that led to the city. Malinche looked directly at Montezuma and spoke to him, taboo for a woman in both the Spanish and Aztec cultures. She convinced him that the Spaniards would treat him with respect and intimated that Cortés was the reincarnation of the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl.

Montezuma invited the Spanish into the city and provided them with suitable accommodations. He took Cortés to the top of his great temple. Speaking through Malinche, Cortés asked Montezuma if he would remove the pagan idols, so that the Spaniards could erect a cross and an image of Our Lady. Montezuma replied, “if I had known you were going to utter these insults I would not have shown you my gods” (Díaz 237). Eight days later Cortés took Montezuma prisoner. Cortés forced Montezuma to call his chief nobles to a special meeting. He demanded that the Aztecs come under the protection of the Spanish king and took hostages from noble families to ensure they kept their word.

When Montezuma ordered his people to acquiesce to the demands of Cortés, a struggle broke out. In the ensuing melee, the Aztecs killed Montezuma. Cuitlahuac, Montezuma’s successor, continued the resistance. When the Aztecs prevailed, Cortés ordered his soldiers to fill the causeways with debris and led them out of the city at night. During this escape, Malinche separated from the main body of soldiers. When they reunited, Díaz commented, “how glad we were to see our Doña Marina” (302).
The Spanish lost the gold they had looted from Montezuma’s treasure house, but escaped with their lives and took refuge with the tribal groups that opposed the Aztecs. Meanwhile, the indigenous people fell victim to small pox, a disease unknown in the Americas before the arrival of the Spaniards. According to Sahagún, the disease “spread over the people with great destruction of men” and weakened “the brave Mexican warriors” (64). The defense of the Tenochtitlan crumbled. Spanish soldiers recaptured the capital in 1521.

Malinche and Cortés settled in Coyoacan, a village near Tenochtitlan, where she gave birth to the conquistador’s son, Martin Cortés, in 1522. Most Mexicans regard Martin as the first mestizo. In actuality, Gonzalo Gurerrero, a shipwrecked sailor fathered several children before the birth of Malinche’s son. In 1524, Malinche and Cortés journeyed to Honduras in pursuit of Spanish rebels. During this expedition, Malinche reunited with her mother and forgave her, according to Díaz (86).

After his Spanish wife arrived from Cuba, Cortés insisted Malinche marry one of his lieutenants. Díaz stated that Malinche believed, “God had been very gracious to her in freeing her from the worship of idols and making her a Christian, and letting her bear a son by her lord and master, Cortés, and in marrying her to such a gentleman as Juan Jaramillo” (Díaz 86). Gómara noted that Jaramillo was intoxicated during the marriage ceremony and criticized Cortés for allowing it to take place (Cypess La Malinche 32).

Cortés took Malinche’s infant son, Martin, away from his mother and gave him to his cousin to raise. A few years later, he took the boy to Spain and petitioned the Pope to legitimize Martin and the Spanish Court invested the boy with honors. As an adult, Martin died fighting the Moors in the south of Spain.

Malinche gave birth to Jaramillo’s daughter, Maria, in 1526. Maria testified later that her mother died in 1530. Cortés, discouraged with his reception in Spain and rebuffed in his attempts to gain Charles V’s favor, died in Spain in 1547 (Sahagún 94).

Maria lived until 1569 (Lanyon 214). She claimed in court that she was entitled to part of her father’s estate. Her Spanish stepmother, Doña Beatriz de Andrada argued that Malinche was not legally married to Jaramillo and accused Malinche of acting above her station in life. Maria solicited the testimony from a family servant who said, “I saw that she always went about in the manner of an honest woman, and in costume of the indigenous people of this land” (quoted by Lanyon 215).

The story of Malinche as told by the Chroniclers became what Turner called a root paradigm. They described Malinche as the woman who helped Cortés save Mexico from bloodthirsty rulers and helped convert the indigenous people to Christianity. For a long time, this story was more tolerable than the truth. Spanish Conquistadors raped indigenous women, pillaged the Aztec empire, and killed thousands for selfish reasons. They introduced devastating diseases to the Americas that accounted for millions of deaths. They replaced the human sacrifices of the Aztec empire with the slavery of the encomienda (estate) system. The story of Malinche, the revered, persisted into modernity; however, a negative portrayal of Malinche emerged during the 19th century.
Independence, War, Revolution, and Reform

History can clarify the origins of many of our phantasms, but it cannot dissipate them.
We must confront them ourselves.

Octavio Paz 73

Every September 16th the President of Mexico repeats the cry (grito) of Miguel Hidalgo, the father of Mexico, “¡Viva Mexicanos, ¡Viva Mexico!” The crowd on the Zocalo of Mexico City replies, “¡Viva Mexico Carbones!” (Long live Mexico, you bastards!). These words express the desire of Mexican men to think of themselves as tough, obstinate and aggressive. They shout, “¡Viva Mexico, hijos de la chingada!” (Long live Mexico, sons of the violated one!). Koronkiewicz noted in his essay, “La Malinche: From Harlot to Heroine” that those who gather in the Zocalo turn an insult into a badge of honor. They are Malinche’s bastards, the sons of a violated mother.

The term Malinchista is an epithet used by modern Mexicans to describe traitorous behavior, someone who assumes European dress and manners and turns their back on the customs of their indigenous ancestors. The picture of Malinche the reviled arose from four periods of Mexican history characterized by intense patriotism and nationalism: Independence (1810-1821), War with the US (1846-1848), Revolution (1910-1929), and Social reform (1920-1940). The truncated logic of nationalism insisted that the enemies of Mexico were Spanish. Malinche helped them. Therefore she was vendepatrias, someone who sold out her country to the enemy.

Victor Turner called such periods liminal. They provide a threshold for the development of new myths, symbols, and paradigms (Ritual 41). Writers and artists reconceptualized Mexican history, especially the Conquest, after Mexico gained independence from Spain (1810-1821). They valorized the indigenous people and demonized the woman who betrayed them.

Historical novels played an important role in degrading and demonizing Malinche. William Stavely of Philadelphia published Xicotencatl (1826), by an anonymous author. The author vilified Malinche as an “unworthy prostitute,” a “very venomous serpent,” and a “traitor and temptress” (qtd. by Cypess La Malinche, 53). He blamed the Spanish. “This American could have been an admirable woman without the corruption which she mastered since associating with the Spaniards” (qtd. by Cypess, La Malinche 55). He insisted that Malinche sold her brothers and sisters into slavery, and blamed her for the destruction of the Aztec civilization.

Ignacio Ramirez, a well-known writer, poet, and orator, incited nationalist sentiment during the Mexican-American war (1846-1848). He reminded his listeners that Malinche, the mistress of Cortés, consorted with foreigners and that it was “One of the mysteries of fate that every Mexican owes his downfall to a woman” (quoted by Perez-Laguna 25).

Ireneo Paz (1861-1924), a writer, journalist and intellectual, incorporated nationalism and Native American cultural contributions into Mexican identity in his historical novel Amor y suplicio (1873) and its sequel Doña Marina (1883). He rewrote the story of the Conquest in terms of an affair of passion. In Ireneo Paz’s novel, Malinche voices her love for Cortés. “He (Cortés) is my life, and the other half of my soul, my adoration” (qtd. by Cypess, La Malinche 85). He charged that Malinche betrayed her people, but mitigated her actions on the grounds that she was the victim of her own destiny.

Heriberto Frias (1870-1925), author of the controversial novel The Battle of Tomochic, wrote a series of chapbooks for children in 1900. Each book was small (4
3/4" by 3 1/4") and designed to convey the ideals of nationalism to the next generation. He described Cortés as "Challenging and terrible," in Hernan Cortés y Sus Primeras Adventuras (8). Frias portrayed Malinche as "intelligent" in La Noche Triste, as "Ever faithful at the side of Cortés" (6). He noted that Malinche "translated his (Cortés) speech instantly, as soon as she heard it" (7).

Jose Guadalupe Posada (1851-1913), an engraver who drew biting political cartoons for La Patria Ilustrada, a newspaper edited by Ireneo Paz, did most of the chapbook covers. The cover of Hernan Cortés y Sus Primeras Adventuras shows Cortés, sword in hand, framed by a wall of skulls labeled Mexico. The skulls are possibly reminders of the Aztec practice of human sacrifice or, more likely, they represent the thousands of indigenous people killed by the Spanish. The cover of La Noche Triste depicts a defeated and disgraced Cortés and Malinche mounted on horses leaving Tenochtitlan.

The Mexican Revolution (1910–1929) extended nationality to marginalized races and classes. During the social revolution that followed the end of hostilities (1920-1940), the Mexican government expropriated foreign property and brought an end to the system of large landholdings that originated with the Spanish Conquest.

"Artists and intellectuals successfully wrote the savagery of revolutionary violence into a story of national redemption" (Lomnitz 347). Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and Jean Charlot paid homage to Posada as a key influence on their work. Their large-scale murals depicting human life and carrying social messages gave an entirely new dimension to Mexican art.

Rivera included Malinche in several of the murals he painted for the Mexican National Palace. In one mural she stands next to Cortés, illuminated by his fiery destiny. In another, she stands defiant, her white skirt lifted provocatively above her knees. In one striking mural, she looks out from behind Cortés, a blue-eyed baby slung upon her back. Rivera’s murals are complex, whenever Malinche appears in them; it is part of the larger story of the enslavement of the native population by the Spanish.

Human suffering fascinated José Clemente Orozco. He hid his brooding Malinche y Cortés (1926) in the shadows of the sloping underside of a staircase in the National Preparatory School. Cortés, naked, cold and pale, holds an arm in front of Malinche in a gesture of control or restraint. Malinche, naked, enigmatic, and submissive sits passively at his side. The body of a Native American lies at their feet. A maguey plant below the corpse symbolizes new life. Orozco clearly intended the couple to represent Adam and Eve, as well as, the mother and father of the Mexican people.

Jean Charlot began his remarkable career as a muralist working with Rivera in Mexico and ended it painting murals in Hawaii and illustrating children’s books. His engraving Toy Fiesta shows lively young girls in bright green, yellow, and blue dresses dancing a Matachines, a dance celebrating the contributions of Malinche and Cortés. They hold rattles and wooden swords. Charlot’s commentary, written on the border of the engraving noted: "Women win every battle with sword or with rattle" (Charlot Library, University of Hawaii Manoa).

Charlot engraved two pictures of Malinche for a children’s book, The Boy Who Could Do Anything and other Mexican Folktales by Anita Brenner. The story about Malinche describes her as “a person who could talk many languages. She was very lovely too.” Brenner noted that the, “Spaniards were not satisfied with the gold and the presents.
They never had enough. Everyone knows how they are” (135). Brenner conflates the story of Malinche with that of La Llorona (the weeping woman).

Internationally honored Chicano Studies professor Luis Leal maintained that La Llorona and La Malinche are two of the oldest archetypical women in Mexican oral tradition (134). They differ in that La Llorona, who murdered her children, was a pre–Hispanic myth derived from the ancient Mexican goddess Cihuatal, who abandoned her son. La Malinche was a genuine sixteenth century historical figure. Cortés took her son away from her. Captivatingly illustrated by Charlot, the tale combines the stories of two female folk characters. Malinche mourns forever those who died as a result of her assistance to the Spaniards.

Jesus Helguera’s images of strong Aztec warriors and nubile princesses, and yes, Malinche, captured the imaginations of generations of Mexican families and became icons of Chicano popular culture. Engravers used Jesus Helguera’s popular images in calendars and cigar boxes to disseminate nationalist history to the masses. One still finds his renditions in the parlor of the homes of many Mexican families. In Cortés y la Malinche, she rides a white charger seated in front of her lover. The paintings of Malinche, European in features and dress, express Helguera’s classical Spanish artistic training in Spain.

For Ireneo Paz, the grandfather, Malinche is a positive character inspired by love and propelled by destiny. For Octavio Paz, the grandson, Malinche is negative and motivated by selfishness, the victim of her own poor choices. Nobel laureate Octavio believed that myths like Malinche die and are reborn again under new circumstances. His version of the Malinche myth emphasized her treachery, the betrayal of her people, the violence of the conquest, and the birth of the first mestizo. For Octavio, Malinche is the key to the Mexican soul.

Octavio Paz believed that women have an innate vulnerability that transforms them into “chingadas,” (one who is violated). Malinche represents indigenous women fascinated with, and seduced by, the Spaniards. “She is the seed of shame that every Mexican, but especially every Mexican male, carries within him” (86). Octavio Paz argued that Cortés and La Malinche “are something more than historical figures, they are a secret conflict that we still have not resolved” (Paz 87).

Malinche appeared in historical novels and dramas long after the Mexican social revolution. Carlos Fuentes, the influential Mexican novelist and essayist wrote several plays, including the important Todos Los Gatos Son Pardos (1970; “All Cats Are Gray”), a performance about the Spanish conquest of Mexico. Malinche is the first to take the stage. She announces, “I was the midwife of this story because I was the first goddess who imagined it, then the lover who received its seed, and finally the mother who gave birth to it” (quoted by Cypess, La Malinche 118). Fuentes stressed Malinche’s part in convincing Cortés to assume the role of Quetzalcoatl, the god of creation and social justice and thus protect the indigenous peoples from the abuses of the Spanish – “a project that failed” (Cypess, La Malinche 118).

The historians, writers, and artists that reviled Malinche saw things from their own frame of reference. Their works affected the people of their time and those in the future. Pat Mora, a Hispanic author of children’s books reminds us in her poem, “Malinche’s Tips: Pique from Mexico’s Mother” that children are not bastards, they are just children. “I hear your sticks-and-stones: whore, tradora, slut. What happened to Mother?” Mora
argued that we must desist in throwing stones at the indigenous mother and accept miscegenation as a reality of colonization” (Navarez 82). Chicana writers, poets, artists, and commentators of today have done just that.

**Malinche Chicana Archetype**

*Damn! How it hurts to be Malinche!*

Adaliza Sosa Ridell, “Como duele”

The Chicano movement began in the United States during the 1940’s with the Mexican Civil Rights movement. The economic protests of the United Farm Workers organized by Cesar Chavez and his wife, Dolores Huerta, were the most notable. In the fight for civil rights members of the movement sometimes ignored the rights of women. Feminist theory inspired Chicanas to challenge traditional roles and develop a more complete sense of identity. They appropriated the reviled Malinche into a symbol that implied strength, intelligence, and cultural multiplicity.

Gloria Anzaldúa, a Chicana feminist theorist, articulated this post-modern acceptance of multiplicity in *Borderlands/La Fronteria: The New Mestiza*. She suggested that there is something beyond the binary option of either/or. She called for the development of understanding and tolerance for contradictions and ambiguity in matters of race, class, and gender. She believed that such distinctions are intertwined. The end result of this connectedness is “knowing,” the inner power that results from our underworld journeys into consciousness (Gaspar de Alba 55).

Tey Diana Rebolledo, Distinguished Professor of Spanish at the University of New Mexico, detailed four ways in which the Chicana movement considers Malinche one of their own. First, the Conquerors took her and raped her. Second, She is representative of the indigenous groups subjugated by the Europeans. Third, she is a language mediator. Fourth, She is a survivor (quoted by Romero 40).

Maria Herrera-Sobek, professor of Chicana studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, pointed out the measure of Malinche’s resilience. “She survived all the indignities of being a slave as a young child traded from one master to another. Later she survived as best she could the many years she served the Spaniards” (131).

The Chicana movement is inclusive, vibrant, and employs the services of a variety of muses: poetry, art, literature, and commentary. Chicana poets see Malinche as a woman who struggled to be heard in a male dominated world. Dr. Carmen Tafolla, poet laureate of San Antonio, in her poem “Malinche” (Women in World History website) starts with the declaration “Yo soy La Malinche” (“I am Malinche”) (1). She continues:

But Chingada I Was not
   Not tricked, not screwed, not traitor.
For I was not a traitor to myself———
   I saw a dream
   And I reached it
   Another world
   ...la raza
   La raaaaa-zaaaaa...(51-58)

Rosario Castellanos, the Mexican poet and author, spoke eloquently about issues of cultural and gender oppression using Malinche’s point of view. “I was sold to the merchants, on my way as a slave, a nobody, an exile’ (Castellanos). In her book, *El Eterno Femenino* (1975), Castellanos credits Malinche for telling Cortés to wear his
armor because it gave him the aura of a god, and advising him to burn his ships to strengthen the resolve of his soldiers (Cypess, *La Malinche* 127).

Claribel Alegrias, a Nicaraguan poet activist and winner of the prestigious Neustadt International Award for Literature, in her poem “Malinche” asks this question:

To whom must I render accounts?
To whom?
Tell me
To whom? (38-41)

The answer is obvious, “only to yourself” (Romo 151). Artists ask and answer similar probing questions.

Jimmie Durham, a Cherokee artist created an image of Malinche emptied of life and not fully human. He stressed the dark underside of Malinche’s history. Her face is half human, half snakeskin. Her scrawny legs, made of polyester batting, cannot support her torso. She has no heart, no lungs. There is nothing redemptive in Durham’s vision—Malinche may wear jewelry and feathers in her hair, but no beauty surfaces, no hope appears (Women in World History).

In stark contrast, Santa Barraza, a Chicana artist from Texas, portrays a beautiful life-giving image of Malinche. It is small, 8” x 9”, painted on metal, and meant to evoke *ex-voto* devotional images from Mexico. Malinche appears as a beautiful young woman with a demure downcast gaze. Behind her appear representations of the conquest, the introduction of Christianity, and the violence of both. It does not deny the horrors of the Spanish conquest. Rather, it paints a world where beauty and violence co-exist.

Mexican author, Laura Esquivel, re-interpreted Malinche to reclaim positive cultural figures for women. Esquivel observed, “whoever controls information, whoever controls meaning, acquires power” (68). She described Malinche’s belief that Cortés was the reincarnation of a forefather god of her tribe, detailed their passionate love affair, and discussed Malinche’s growing realization that Cortés was willing to sacrifice anything, even their love, in his all too human lust for power.

According to Adelaida Del Castillo, Professor of Ethnic Studies at San Diego State, Chicana feminist discourse began with Malinche and “continues to be preoccupied with her signification” (Encyclopedia of Race and Racism). She wrote that anyone who slanders Malinche defames Chicana women. She chided Diaz, the chronicler, for making Malinche a goddess. She insisted that Malinche was a real person, an actual force in history. She rebuked Carlos Fuentes for misogynistic reasoning that portrays women as evil and thereby, justifiably in need of male domination. Del Castillo excoriated American Novelist Margaret Shedd for her novel *Malinche and Cortés*, a work that characterizes Malinche as a whore and nymphomaniac (Cypess *La Malinche* 142).

Rolando Romero and Amanda Harris in *Feminism, Nation and Myth, La Malinche* note the plight of modern Chicanas “whose lives are characterized by poverty, racism, and sexism, not only in the dominant culture, but also within their own culture” (15). The Chicano movement too often assigns them limited roles. These roles include faithful follower, sexual partner, and nurturing mother. Traditionally Chicanos belonged to groups; Chicanas belonged to men (Romo 140). These limited roles are the results of
stereotypes perpetuated by the heterosexual and patriarchal imagery in Mexican art and literature that start with Malinche.

Chicanas challenged the negative view of Malinche and constructed an alternative “herstory” of this important historical figure. Their Malinche “personifies intellect, ingenuity, adaptability and leadership” (Koronkiewicz 3). They cast off the title of traitor and see her as a figure of valor, an ambassador and strategist. They emphasized that she had no choice in the matter, no agency, and that the notion of patria did not exist. They argued that Malinche is at the root of much of the disdain Mexican men display toward Mexican women; something expressed in the country's high rates of infidelity and domestic violence (Krauss 1).

Sandra Messinger Cypess said that once she conceived of the idea of Malinche as a displaced woman, exiled and disconnected from her own community; she has “not stopped thinking of her since” (“Mother Malinche” 14). Cypess declared that Malinche is a central figure in the Conquest, an emblem of Mexican national identity, and a symbol of all Latin American women. She is more than a national mother; she is the Eve, the mother of us all. Malinche transcended all gender constraints of both European and Aztec societies.

Malinche stands between two cultures. She is strong, adaptable, and a facilitator. Malinche’s story is worth re-examining and re-interpreting because of her central position in Mexican history and mythology. Chicana poets, artists and writers play a unique role in the appropriation and revision of Malinche’s image. They have changed conventional interpretations of Malinche, as well as, perceptions of Chicanas in contemporary American society.

**Conclusion**

*The translator is the carrier of the human spirit.*

Pushkin

Stanna Quiver, a Tiwa speaking member of the Pueris Pueblo in New Mexico, described the Malinche role in the Matachines ritual dance celebrated at Christmas time. A young girl between six and twelve years old is dressed in a white First Holy Communion dress. She wears a crown decorated with silver tinsel garlands (Rodriguez 77). She symbolizes the purity and simplicity of life before the conquest, a state of nature typified by the “noble savage” of romantic primitivism. The story of Malinche comes full circle to a time of innocence, before she was revered, reviled, or accepted as a role model.

The Chroniclers needed a counter-weight to the egoism, violence and unpredictability of Hernán Cortés. She compensated for his weaknesses, taught him to adapt to a new and different culture, was his concubine and bore him a son. She was lovely, intelligent, and helpful. The Spanish wanted a simple and direct way to explain to the people of Mexico their origins in history. They found the answer in the story of Malinche, as a guide, interpreter, Christian, and mother.

Peter Novick said that, “Every group has its own historian” (Novick 469). The Spanish Conquest had the Chroniclers. Periods of intense nationalism had a host of writers who vilified Malinche, including Ireneo and Octavio Paz. The Chicana movement has its own historians, like Adelaida Del Castillo, who defended Malinche from all who would demean her contributions or besmirch her character. Castillo offered graphic
proof of Novick’s assertion that even though historians have long championed objectivity, their research is riddled with bias and blinded by cultural differences.

The Mexican people struggled to understand both the Spanish and the Indian parts of their heritage. Octavio Paz provided an answer in his view of Malinche. She is the violated mother, la chingada (86). Paz argues that only by retreating into solitudes, “the two-fold notion of withdrawal-and-return can one understand the duality of nature and once more, “dream with their eyes closed” (212).

Feminist thought had a profound affect on Chicanas. It promised them liberation from the prevailing white, Anglo-Saxon, male-dominated culture. They, like Malinche, were objects for the survival and comfort of men. They know what it is like to be dishonored by the charge that they were the betrayers. They see Malinche as an avatar, a person who bridges cultures; who is clever, competent, and adaptable. “She has a tongue and used it, has space and occupied it, had knowledge and used it” (Gonzalez 12). In assigning Malinche this status, she becomes not only a Chicana archetype, but also a symbol of Mexico as a whole.

Little is known about the mistress and interpreter for Cortés. No one knows the exact dates of her birth and death. Writers disagree on whether she was Aztec or Mayan. Yet, throughout history, many have put words into her mouth. Malinche spoke only the words of others, leaving none of her own. Historians call her a mother, martyr, and manipulator, kind and generous, sly and cruel. Frightened and desperate, she took advantage of people and events to survive. She had no choice. In the last five hundred years, she has become a potent symbol of the anxiety, anger, and aspirations of generations that followed her.
Works Cited
Charlot Library, University of Hawaii Manoa. Honolulu HI.
———. *La Noce Triste*. Biblioteca Del Nino Mexicano, Mexico City: Maucci, 1900.
———. *Los Espanoles en Yucatan o los Primeros Prodigos*. Biblioteca Del Nino Mexicano, Mexico City: Maucci, 1900.
Quiver, Stanna. Member of Pueris Pueblo, NM. Personal interview. 17 October 2012.
Medicalizing the Second Great Awakening: Physicians, Clergymen, and Temperance Rhetoric, 1800-1860

David Korostyshevsky
University of New Mexico
In 1825, a year before the American Temperance Society became the first national anti-alcohol organization, clergyman Cyrus Yale called intemperance an “infectious poison,” “the serpent whose wily arts and envenomed fang have spoiled many a domestic paradise; the fell monster which, dwelling in darkness, has been second in mischief only to the first deceiver of our race.” With this bold statement, Yale directly equated alcohol with Satan, represented in Genesis as the serpent who tempted humankind into original sin. But the serpent is also a symbol of medical practice, enshrined in the Rod of Asclepius, a single snake coiled around a staff. In this context, the snake signifies the concept of pharmakon, the word from which the meaning of today’s word “drug” descends. This Greek concept of drugs has a dual meaning, the word signifying both poison and medicine. The association between alcohol and the serpent in temperance rhetoric demands attention because it opens a window into the cultural origins of medical authority.

Historians and sociologists generally agree that scientific medicine matured during the Progressive Era, finally inspiring public trust in professional medicine. With the emergence of microbiology and antibiotics, doctors could finally cure the infectious diseases that had scourged humanity through the ages. Managing to win the public’s trust, modern science completed the process of medical professionalization and cemented the physician’s social and cultural authority. However this interpretation of history does not consider the role of physicians in social reform before the Civil War. I want to complicate the established narrative of scientific medicine by considering medical professionalization and authority through the prism of temperance rhetoric. While current medical historiography has accepted scientific medicine as the central cause of modern medical authority, medical temperance during the antebellum period suggests that medical authority is actually rooted in nineteenth century social reform.

Addressing a spike in liquor consumption in the Early Republic, the temperance movement gained momentum during the Second Great Awakening. So named to distinguish it from a similar movement that swept through the colonies nearly a century earlier, the Second Great Awakening was a period of religious revival in which mainline Protestantism sought to increase the morality and piety of the new American nation. Protestant clergy viewed immorality and vice as an existential social threat in the era of Manifest Destiny. Alcohol consumption became a target of religious and medical reformers who left behind a trove of medical volumes and sermons.

From the movement’s very beginning, temperance advocates drew their inspiration from Benjamin Rush, a Founding Father and physician whose signature appeared on the Declaration of Independence. His 1794 treatise entitled Inquiry on the Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Body and Mind defined alcohol as a poison that caused disease both physical and moral. While Rush was a devout Christian who believed that addiction could only be cured through religious piety, he medicalized drunkenness by defining it as a disease as well as a risk factor for all other diseases. On its most basic level, alcohol represented a physical poison, any amount of which would lead to disease and death. On a deeper level, alcohol was also a source of moral poison. As the alcoholic destroyed his physical body with drunkenness, the drinker also destroyed his soul through the downward social spiral in which alcohol led to further vice (gambling and prostitution), poverty, and crime. It degraded morals by promoting frivolity and idleness, cardinal sins against traditional Puritan morality. Worried about its effect on
the new Republic, he pontificated that drunkenness was worse than war, disease, and famine. In doing so, he articulated many of the arguments that would become central in both medical and clerical diatribes against the tyrant “King Alcohol,” whose chief minister was Death.

Even though it had been used as a medicine since its introduction to Europe during the High Middle Ages, the temperance movement heeded Rush’s call to redefine alcohol. Through the metaphor of a serpent doctors and preachers alike coded liquor simultaneously as a poison and a demon. Repeating it constantly, most were fond of the Biblical adage from the Book of Proverbs that strong drink “biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder.” Lyman Beecher, a founding member of the American Temperance League and one of the Second Great Awakening’s loudest voices, combined concepts of disease and poison with serpent imagery and Puritan thunder when he proclaimed, “I know that much is said about the prudent use of ardent spirits; but we might as well speak of the prudent use of the plague—of fire handed prudently around among powder—of poison taken prudently everyday—or of vipers and serpents introduced prudently into our dwellings, to glide about as a matter of courtesy to visitors, and of amusement to our children.” Likewise, another prominent minister John Palfrey merged medical concepts with Puritan rhetoric when declared alcohol a “cup of guilty excess, compared with which war, famine and pestilence, are merciful plagues.” Alcohol thus became a poisonous Serpent in the Household or the Serpent in the Cup. Loaded with medical and religious meaning, the serpent reveals that medical and religious interests aligned under the banner of temperance.

Certainly the renewed emphasis on Protestant piety and revivalist rhetoric during the Second Great Awakening influenced the temperance rhetoric of an emerging medical profession. During the Second Great Awakening, advancing the faith underlined the motivation for all medical temperance efforts. Prominent physician Thomas Sewall made it clear that temperance was part of Christian “efforts to wrest the rising generation from ignorance and vice…to enlighten the ignorant, reclaim the vicious, civilize the heathen, and evangelize those who know not the way of salvation.” Likewise, Daniel Drake, the famous frontier physician, wrote one of his temperance essays in order to promote the “great cause of Education, Morals, and Christianity,” not medicine or health.

Physicians also adopted an evangelistic tone in their literature. Reuben Mussey preached that one must always treat ardent liquor “as a murderer” because it “lurks for the life blood of your children” before invoking the metaphor of hellfire to describe drunken degeneration. As well, Thomas Sewall was devoted “to a consideration of [ardent liquor’s]…effects on the moral, intellectual and physical constitution of man.” Concluding that “pestilence will destroy but the body; but soul and body both, are consumed before [an intemperate physician’s] destructive influence,” physician William Sweetser expressed theological ramifications of drunkenness. The appeal to Christian virtue and medical interest in the fate of the soul resembles the concerns of Protestant church leaders. By appropriating religious rhetoric and style, physicians established a level of social credibility.

Just as physicians adopted clerical rhetoric in their temperance writing, clergymen increasingly incorporated medical arguments into their sermons. They repeated incessantly the medical definition that alcohol was a systemic poison and agreed with
physicians that intemperance constituted a physical and moral disease. Even though they were responding to a social issue, Protestant ministers marshaled the medical language of disease and infection to condemn alcohol and its drinkers by casting addiction as the worst disease of all. “Place intemperance by the side of pestilence, famine, earthquakes: all of these together are a source of less suffering than this single vice,” thundered Cyrus Yale.\footnote{12} Lyman Beecher declared that “Intemperance is a disease as well as a crime, and were any other disease, as contagious, of as marked symptoms, and as mortal, to pervade the land, it would create universal consternation.”\footnote{13} Another preacher thought intemperance a more devastating disease than small-pox.\footnote{14}

Since the social issue of alcoholism was increasingly viewed as a material disease as well as a spiritual condition, ministers often appealed directly to the medical profession for its assistance in fighting the scourge of drunkenness. John Palfrey sought to recruit both clerics and physicians in the temperance cause, declaring that “[t]he divine, in publick and in private, needs to expose [intemperance] in its character of an awful dereliction of the law of God, and suicide of the soul.” As well, he believed that “[t]he physician, from the press and in the family, is called on to make known its terrifick effects upon the system.”\footnote{15} Demonstrating the emerging medical opinion that alcohol was poisonous as well as the clergy’s fondness for this argument, Lucius Sargent joined a chorus of revivalist sermons when he cited an entire list of physicians by name who had declared that alcohol was poisonous.\footnote{16} The adoption of religious rhetoric by physicians and the simultaneous appropriation of medical thought in Protestant oratory blurs the line between strictly religious and secular thought during the Second Great Awakening. Ideas flowed in both directions between the two professions; medical ideas infiltrated the church, while traditional religion influenced medical thought. Moreover, the medicalization of religious discourse provides more evidence that physicians’ opinions garnered respect during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The language of poison, disease, and the serpent combined in temperance expressions of a fear of national decline. Improving the national morality to ensure the survival of an American Republic whose stability was not yet assured was a central goal of Second Great Awakening revivalism. Envisioning the national body in terms of Thomas Hobbes’ *Leviathan*, it should not be surprising that ministers repeated this concern. For example, Horace Mann described alcohol as an injection “of disease into the body politic.”\footnote{17} Elaborating further, Charles Barnett blustered that, “[t]he poison infused into the body by the fang of the serpent flows through the whole system, so this moral and physical venom infects the human race, and spreads through every member of the political body.”\footnote{18} The clerical emphasis on the body and disease reinforces the notion that medical thought regarding mental and social health increasingly gained currency through temperance rhetoric.

That Republican temperance appeals also appear in medical temperance literature is significant, though somewhat less expected. Boston physician Daniel Hopkins Gregg’s treatment resembles a Puritan jeremiad warning of God’s wrath, not a medical article. He blustered that unless corrected, national drunkenness would bring God’s judgment upon the new Republic.\footnote{19} Cast through this Protestant lens, alcohol consumption became a threat America’s national security. Daniel Drake also commented explicitly on the threat to national cohesion posed by liquor. After describing that man is subject to the natural laws of aging and dying, he puzzled that “nations are
not under such a fiat; and, still they rise and fall.” To him, it seemed natural that vices are “an element of national decay…the modes of diseased action, in the great social body.” The essence of Republican citizenship thus became “[t]o look, like prudent physicians, to the forming stage of the moral disease, and arrest its development…” From this angle, the physician now has a solemn patriotic duty as an organ of the national body. That the most eloquent expressions of Republican temperance fears came from the physicians again suggests that medical profession gained a level of respect in public discourse about non-medical matters.

Clearly then, the same medicalized temperance themes appear in both clerical and medical sources. Most significantly, it is religious discourse that embodied increasingly medicalized views of morality. By the Civil War, it is hard to find any temperance sermon that does not rely on medical evidence or testimony to make its case. Medical sermons disclose that medical ideas were gaining traction among the cultural elite and that the medical profession was beginning to garner respect long before the advent of scientific medicine. Temperance seems to be the only social issue in which such an overlap between medical sources and religious sermons can be detected during the antebellum period. The roots of medical authority must therefore lie in the search for social order, of which the temperance movement was a central component.

In the quest to understand the nature and origins of medical authority in the United States today, social scientists and historians must look past the triumphal legacy of medical science. Science is after all a product of human endeavor, subject to individual personalities and psychology. This human dimension of science makes it a socially constructed body of knowledge. While it is easy for us, who pride ourselves on thinking scientifically and objectively, to privilege the role of science in the history of medical authority, we must use our professional objectivity to read early temperance sources outside the box so to speak. Without diminishing the later achievements of medical science, these sources reveal that it was in the arena of nineteenth century social reform that the physicians began their long march as a profession to a position as cultural authority in American society.
3 Benjamin Rush, An Inquiry Into the Effects of Ardent Spirits Upon the Human Body and Mind (Boston: James Loring, 1823).
4 See for example, Luther F. Dimmick, Intemperance: A Sermon, Delivered at the North Church in Newburyport, on the Occasion of the Publick Fast, April 1, 1824 (Newburyport: Charles Whipple, 1824), 28; the passage is a reference to Proverbs 23:32.
6 John G. Palfrey, Discourses on Intemperance (Boston: Bowles and Dearborn, 1827), 5.
8 Daniel Drake, A Discourse on Intemperance, Delivered at Cincinnati, March 1, 1828, before the Agricultural Society of Hamilton County (Looker & Reynolds, 1828).
10 Sewall, Address, 5–6.
11 William Sweetser, A Dissertation on Intemperance, to Which Was Awarded the Premium Offered by the Massachusetts Medical Society (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company, 1829), 76–77.
12 Yale, “On Intemperance.”
14 Eliphalet Nott, Lectures on Temperance (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, 1857), 327.
15 Palfrey, Discourses on Intemperance, 99–100.
17 Horace Mann, Two Lectures on Intemperance (Syracuse, NY: Hall, Mills, 1852), 110.
19 Daniel Hopkins Gregg, Dr. Gregg’s Address Delivered Before the Newton Temperance Society. July 4, 1828 (Printed by True and Greene, 1828), 22–23.
20 Daniel Drake, An Oration on the Causes, Evils and Preventives of Intemperance: delivered and published by request, in the town of Columbus, Ohio, February 12th, 1831 (Columbus: Olmsted & Bailhache, 1831), 20.
21 Ibid., 21.
A Comparison of Indigenous Rationing Policies: The United States and South Australia

Tamara Levi
Jacksonville State University
Food plays a central role in the social and cultural life of a people. It functions as a vehicle for the transfer of knowledge in multiple ways. In addition to knowledge of traditional food sources and their uses, information on food preparation and ritual significance is passed on from one generation to the next. In many cultures, gender roles are partially defined by food gathering, preparation, and eating. Food ways also strengthen kinship ties and help maintain social cohesion within the group. In many cultures, the practice of sharing food, through lines of kinship, not only ensures that all members of the group have access to adequate food but also strengthens family ties and helps maintain the political and social power structures. Food also occupies a seminal position in the indigenous creation of power. Often the process of a man moving into a position of power or chieftainship involved not only acts of bravery, but also acts of charity, such as providing food for those in the tribe who do not have any.\(^1\)

The control of food, therefore, is an effective method to influence or alter the behavior of a people. Beyond the coercive tactic of withholding food with its incumbent threat of hunger or starvation, the type of foods, methods of distribution, and control over preparation and consumption can all be used not only to influence behavior, but also to erode traditional cultural practices and knowledge. When the types of foods eaten and food ways were recognized as being distinctive, changing diets and eating practices became an early step in attempts to force indigenous populations into new societies. Cultural change such as this also provided the stimuli for altering land usage patterns, molding them to fit the ideals of the encroaching society. Colonial governments both provided and manipulated food, in the form of rations, as part of their acculturation practices directed at indigenous peoples. Acculturation and civilization goals for indigenous peoples asserted by colonial governments inevitably involved force, coercion, control, punishments, withdrawals, breakage of promises and written agreements, and death, and food often emerged as an integral assimilative tool.

In the United States and South Australia, colonial acculturation and civilization practices included the manipulation of food ways. The usefulness of food in encouraging or coercing behavior and culture change are alluded to by South Australia Protector of Aborigines Edward John Eyre who stated that the more dependent on Europeans resources Aborigines became, the more an “an almost unlimited influence might be acquired over the native population.”\(^2\) While these food policies had profound effects on the indigenous populations, they alone could not completely change the cultures of Native peoples. If this is the case, then why did so many governments use food as an integral part of indigenous policies? One possible reason is the number of cultural traits that the control of food could influence.

The distribution of goods, including food, has been a part of indigenous policies in North America since the beginning of Euro-American colonization. While often set out in treaties with individual Native nations and regulated by periodic issuances of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, ration policies were often piecemeal in practice. Indigenous peoples were often caught in the middle of rival political factions within the Indian Service and the government at large. The needs of the people were superseded by bureaucratic requirements and political red tape, resulting in requests for rations appropriations being delayed or not approved at all. Competing views of humanitarian groups also affected United States' rationing policies. The focus on acculturation efforts and the ways to go...
about creating cultural and social change involved setting future goals with little consideration of the current needs of the people they were purporting to help.

The relationship between the United Stated federal government and Native nations evolved in the nineteenth century into a program of “civilization.” An integral component of those policies was the control and manipulation of food -- restricting access to traditional food sources through removal, relocation, and restrictions on hunting, as well as the issuing and withholding of the rations on which people had come to depend. Distributions to entire tribes were generally made monthly, bimonthly, or weekly, depending on the supplies available, conditions, and changing Bureau of Indian Affairs policy. Through this practice the government hoped to encourage a specific behavior, the eventual settlement of Native Americans at potential reservations, and the opening of western lands to settlement.

Distributions, or the threat of withholding those foodstuffs, were used to shape life on the reservation as much as possible -- school attendance, labor, and social and political structures. One form of that coercion included the attempt to limit rations to only those families who were considered “civilized,” that is, those who were making attempts to live in houses and establish farms. Widespread poverty, however, made strict adherence to the idea impractical.

Another method used by agents to coerce Indians to comply with “civilization” policies was through the threat of withholding needed rations. This form of coercion was used to ensure school attendance of:

The Secretary of the Interior may in his discretion, establish such regulations as will prevent the issuing of rations . . . to the head of any Indian family for or on account of any Indian child or children between the ages of eight and twenty-one years who shall not have attended school during the preceding year in accordance with such regulations.

The desire of reformers and federal government officials was that once confined to reservations, Native Americans would quickly develop agricultural skills and become self-supporting farmers. A temporary system of distributing rations would support them only during this process. Humanitarians argued for the issuing of rations and distribution of annuity goods to be for as brief a time as possible to avoid the “pauperization” of the Indians. They feared that if Native Americans received food and goods for what was perceived as free for too long it would inhibit their embrace of white civilization. Humanitarians and officials believed that in order to develop a strong sense of individualism, private property and a work ethic, all of which they viewed as essential “American” qualities, the recipients should be required to work for their rations, and only for the period it took for them to become successful farmers or ranchers. Therefore, in 1874, in an effort to quiet the criticism and further encourage the development of a work ethic, an act was passed requiring all capable males, ages eighteen to forty-five, to perform labor on the reservation in return for rations and supplies.

The last third of the nineteenth century witnessed the U.S. federal government using rations extensively to coerce cultural change among Native peoples. An act passed on March 3, 1875, reinforced the previous work requirements and added that rations given in payment of labor could not be sold or exchanged and could only be shared with dependents and their nuclear family. This not only altered the flow of supplies on the reservations, it also disrupted cultural patterns of kinship responsibility. This change in
procedure caused other problems. Many Indians believed that they had already paid for the rations and supplies with the lands they ceded to the United States. They were entitled to those goods through their treaties, and they should not have to pay for them again in the form of labor. It constituted a form of indentured servitude or slavery and often represented violations of existing treaties.

It is evident that some agencies had problems implementing the rations-for-labor policy. In 1882 the Bureau of Indian Affairs issued a circular stating “the former rulings, of this Office, that all able bodied male Indians shall labor for their support, will be observed, and your employees should be such as will best assist them in their efforts.” Unfortunately, work was often difficult to arrange. The remoteness of many reservations along with laws restricting travel beyond reservation borders limited the opportunities for labor. Even around the agencies, work was often hard to find. Although the federal government ordered agents not to hire whites if tribal members could be used, jobs were often limited to fencing, assisting agency farmers, and other minor tasks. The work was tedious and sometimes demeaning, further exacerbating the tensions on the reservations and relations with the U.S. government.

Another policy change, aimed at increasing the “civilizing” influence of rations was made in 1889-1890. On November 1, 1889, the Bureau of Indian Affairs sent a circular to agents addressing the methods used in the distribution of beef rations. The predominant method of issue was for Native peoples to slaughter the cattle themselves and then distribute the meat and hides. The families of the men who did the slaughtering generally received a larger portion of the meat or the hides and offal in payment for their services. On several reservations, such as with the Lakota and Kiowa and Comanche, cattle were killed in ways similar to those used on buffalo hunts, thus maintaining Indian hunting skills and preserving some cultural aspects associated with the hunt. This practice was viewed as barbaric by many government agents and humanitarians, which in July 1890 resulted in the issuing of new instructions to agents concerning the beef ration:

The killing is to be done in a pen, in as private a manner as possible, and by a man who understands the duty, and who uses the most speedy and painless method practicable; and during the killing children and women are specially prohibited from being present. . . .

The consumption of the blood and intestines by the Indians is strictly prohibited. This savage and filthy practice which prevails at many agencies must be abolished, as it serves to nourish brutal instincts, and is, as I am well informed, a fruitful source of disease. Some proper means must be taken for the destruction of the offal, so as to prevent foulness and disease. . . .

The beef will be delivered to men, and not to women, unless in cases of special exigency.

In short, I intend that this branch of the work, which at many agencies has been so conducted as to be a scandal on the service and a stimulus to the brutal instincts of the Indians, shall become an object lesson to them of the difference in this respect between the civilized man and the savage. In addition to turning the beef issue into a lesson on what was acceptable in terms of what parts of the animal were considered edible by a “civilized” society and what the
proper way of preparation was, the policy change effectively tried to end the last vestiges of the hunting culture of many tribes.

Another way in which rations were used to influence social and political structures was the method of distribution on the reservations. Rations were distributed to each head of a household, as defined by the U.S. government. This restrictive definition attempted to negate traditional patterns of family and community responsibility. Treaties and agency laws stipulated that rations could not be shared beyond the nuclear family, excluding grandparents, aunts, uncles, and other extended family members. In addition, removing the distribution from the hands of chiefs lessened their power and further encouraged individualism. Distributing the food in this way also created difficulties in the continuation of tribal gatherings and traditional obligations to help provide for the widowed, elderly, ill and orphaned. However, despite rules prohibiting the sharing of rations, the practice of communal distributions continued in various forms on most reservations well into the twentieth century.

In addition to manipulating social and political constructs on reservations, rationing policies also had significant physical affects on the people. Maintaining a consistent rationing policy and supply was a constant problem for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and for the people being issued the goods. In many instances the flour or bacon issued was rancid, which in turn caused further health problems. In 1871 the agent at the Osage reservation, Isaac T. Gibson, wrote to Central Superintendent Enoch Hoag:

The late purchase of tobacco . . . is worthless. . . . little has been issued. The Indians throw it away in disgust.

The Indians also complain that some of the barrels of sugar are badly mixed with rat manure, and [covered with] clean sugar in each end, evidently a willful fraud.\textsuperscript{13}

The 1928 Meriam Report, which resulted from an investigation into the problems of the federal administration of Indian affairs, found that the “most important single item affecting health is probably the food supply.”\textsuperscript{14} Despite attempts by the U.S. government to inspect the supplies, problems persisted in part due to the remoteness on many of the reservations and their distance from government warehouses.\textsuperscript{15} In an 1892 report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the problems of distance and quality were noted in relation to the beef ration:

The practice long obtained, grounded on the necessity of economizing to the upmost [sic] degree, of purchasing beef on the hoof and receiving in the fall a sufficient supply to last through the winter. No adequate provision, however, was made for sheltering the cattle or for properly feeding them, so that, as a natural result, when they were issued they had deteriorated in weight and very materially in quality.\textsuperscript{16}

At other times excessive transportation costs were charged or scales were rigged, all to the benefit of contractors.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, public outcry over the ration system grew. Reformers believed that many tribes were on the verge of adopting “civilization,” through federal efforts to teach them farming and the system of Indian schools. One of the final steps in this process was the ending of ration distributions. For their part, many tribes fought to receive their annuities in cash rather than in rations and goods. They believed that they could purchase better quality supplies themselves rather than use what the U.S. government’s representatives had been able to procure. The process of
ending rationing and annuity payments was hastened by the signing and implementation of the 1887 Dawes Severalty Act, a federal law prohibiting communal ownership of land and forcing the adoption by individual tribal members of private property. While the distribution of rations ended in the early twentieth century (with the exception of at Indian schools), the Bureau of Indian Affairs continued the practice of distributing food stuffs, now called commodity goods, on many reservations. As with the ration goods of the nineteenth century, most commodity foods come from government surplus and are not designed to be the sole means of subsistence, nor are they particularly nutritious. Commodity foods are high in sugar, fat, and sodium; and contribute to continuing health problems, particularly high rates of diabetes.

The ration policies in South Australia, indeed the entire Aboriginal policy system, were very different from those that were in use in the nineteenth-century United States. Despite drastic differences in outlook and policy implementation, and the cultural differences between the numerous Native American and Australian Aboriginal nations, many similarities between the two regions exist in terms of assimilation, resistance, adaptation, and perseverance. Like the United States, the use of food in Australian Native policy became integral to colonial-indigenous relations.

One of the most prominent differences between U.S.-Native American and South Australian-Aboriginal relations is decentralized nature of the Australian system. Unlike the United States after 1800 where the federal government oversaw indigenous affairs throughout American territorial claims, in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Australia, individual states conducted their own Aboriginal affairs -- directed relations, imposed directives, and began assimilation programs which included rations -- with only some guidance from the British Colonial Office.

Despite drastic differences in outlook and policy implementation, and the cultural differences between the numerous Native American and Australian Aboriginal nations, many similarities between the two regions exist in terms of assimilation, resistance, adaptation, and perseverance. Like the United States, the use of food in Australian Native policy became integral to colonial-indigenous relations.

In most cases South Australia, unlike the United States, did not use a centralized distribution of rations purchased, transported, and distributed by government officials to a specified number of people in particular locations. Rations were predominantly supplied by missionaries, settlers, pastoralists, and farmers (who were compensated by the government) as well as directly by the South Australian government through Aboriginal Protectors and the police. In fact, much of the colonization process depended more on local conditions, economics, and individual settler views than any consistent or systematic application of policy. Part of the reason for this decentralized system was the vast distances between Adelaide and both Aboriginal groups and the isolated settlements of the outback. The South Australian system of rationing also opened the door for those distributing the food to have more control over who the recipients were, the quantity that was provided, and the stipulations made on the people receiving the rations. While there were regulations and guidelines created by the government, the isolated nature of many ration depots made them extremely difficult to enforce on a regular basis.

Since there were no approved treaties stipulating how much and when Aborigines would receive rations, issues varied greatly between locations as did the requirements for receiving the goods. As with rations distributed in the United States, the foods that Aborigines received tended to be nutritionally poorer than their much more varied traditional diet. Quantity and quality were also perennial problems. This created issues with malnutrition, increasing Aboriginal susceptibility to disease, which when combined
with an increasing dependence on new stimulants like tobacco, tea, and sugar, created many more problems, some of which continue to the present day.\textsuperscript{19}

Although they often worked in concert, the government and humanitarians frequently had different objectives. The South Australian government’s first goal with rationing was to prevent theft and control frontier violence.\textsuperscript{20} Humanitarians, on the other hand were more concerned with the moral and spiritual wellbeing of Aborigines. Like the United States, the use of food in Australian Native policy became integral to colonial-indigenous relations. Rations were distributed in part to try to alleviate the starvation of those Aborigines who resided near colonial population centers. Many recognized that settlement had disrupted traditional food supplies. It became increasingly difficult for Aborigines to sustain themselves in their home territories, and much of the force behind early rationing involved a desire to maintain good relations and hopefully prevent attacks, especially on isolated settlers as they spread across the land.

For South Australia rationing served many other purposes as well. Distribution points were established in ways to influence Aboriginal movement. By locating depots at distances from the colony’s Anglo population centers, the South Australian government was able to encourage Aborigines to create semi-permanent settlements away from the corrupting influences of lower class city life while at the same time protect the upper classes from contact with begging and starving Natives. When the government attempted to restrict those receiving rations by location, it was trying to destroy freedom of movement and encourage the abandonment of traditional migration patterns.

The rations were also used to attempt to control Aboriginal behavior. European foods and eating habits were seen as “civilizing” influences. An 1836 letter to Resident Commissioner James Hurtle Fisher and other colonial officers stated

On the cession of lands you will make arrangements for supplying the Aboriginal proprietors of such lands not only with food but with shelter and with moral and religious instruction. With this view you will cause [a] weatherproof shed to be erected for their use and you will direct that the [A]borigines be supplied with food and clothing in exchange for an equivalent in labour.\textsuperscript{21}

Therefore, the primary means at the disposal of the Protector of Aborigines for fulfilling his duties -- promoting friendly relations, educating, civilizing, converting, encouraging adoption of labor -- was the use and distribution of rations.\textsuperscript{22} Additionally, government officials used a reward and punishment system with ration distributions to evoke certain behaviors. Food was often granted to parents who allowed their children to attend school, and in 1844 the Governor of South Australia sanctioned the issue of one pound of flour to each Aboriginal adult who attended church services.\textsuperscript{23} Conversely, rations were withheld either as punishment or to induce certain behaviors. Often an entire tribe’s rations were withheld until wanted persons were captured or turned in.

For most of the second half of the nineteenth century, the majority of ration distributors away from Anglo population centers were pastoral stations. This further decentralization -- government depots, missions, and pastoral stations -- was designed to keep outlying Aboriginal tribes away from cities like Adelaide and to provide the stations with a ready work force.\textsuperscript{24} By the end of the 1850s rations had become a form of social welfare for many Aborigines near the most settled areas of South Australia.
In the 1860s, however, the South Australian government faced an Aboriginal crisis. Due to increasing cases of chronic disease, destitution, and starvation, the government greatly expanded ration distributions throughout South Australia and the Northern Territory. The quantity of rations increased along with the number of depots distributing them, although not necessarily the percentage of Aborigines receiving them. The recommended rations rose from four pounds of flour per adult per month, as suggested in 1847, to a daily ration distributed to the elderly, ill, and destitute that included one pound of flour or rice, 2 or 4 ounces of sugar (depending on whether the staple was flour or rice), and .5 ounce of tea.

The focus on labor in exchange for rations, as in the United States, grew out of a fear that if food was simply gifted to Aborigines they would never develop the work ethic British colonists found so important. The desire to avoid the “pauperization” of Aborigines was evident at both government depots and mission stations, where only the ill and elderly received rations without work. However, there was often very little work to be had, especially after the shortage of white labor ended in the second half of the nineteenth century, and what jobs there were required Aboriginal men to travel long distances from home for low-paying (payment was almost always in the form of rations) seasonal work.

While South Australia never really had a unified rationing system, ration distributions affected most South Australian Aborigines in significant ways. Pastoralists distributed food, subsidized by the colonial government, encouraging Aborigines to live in semi-permanent settlements and ensuring a ready labor pool for the stations. Missionaries also distributed government rations, particularly to the elderly and infirm, congregating Aborigines into mission settlements where Anglo culture, including Christianity and work ethics, were taught.

Periodic ration distributions continued in South Australia, particularly in the more remote areas, well into the twentieth century. However, starting in the 1960s the South Australian government began passing legislation that gradually eased legal restrictions on Aborigines (although they still faced heavy social discrimination). By the end of the 1960s, the distribution of Aboriginal rations had ended and was replaced by inclusion in the larger South Australian welfare system. Similar to commodity foods on Indian reservations in the United States, welfare foods generally came from surplus supplies and were not intended to be the sole means of subsistence.

The governments of both the United States and South Australia used rationing as key elements in their Native policies. Through their sometimes nearly complete control of food, the governments were able to influence and coerce indigenous populations into closer fitting their perceived version of “civilization.” Through the restriction of access to and planned destruction of traditional sources of food, distribution sites chosen to encourage or discourage gatherings in particular locations, and the promise of and threat of withholding rations for particular behaviors, the United States and South Australia sought a means of dealing with their Native peoples in an increasingly colonized environment.

Ultimately, what the governments of both the United States and South Australia created was a state of dependency. Access to hunting grounds was denied. Native game and vegetation was rapidly depleted or scared away. Rations were distributed to supplement the Native diet or to make up for those losses, but they could not keep up
with the increasing need for those provisions. While Native Americans and Aborigines became increasingly dependent on the rations distributed by the governments and mission, the amounts of food received did not keep pace. The results of the lack of quantity, and poor quality, of rations ensured that the Native peoples were kept on the edge of subsistence, and frequently on the brink of starvation. This dependency, the governments hoped, would make the indigenous peoples more pliant and open to the change to “civilization.”

The governments of the United States and South Australia did not seek to create a constant state of dependency, however. While an initial dependency of indigenous peoples on the government for supplies provided a means to manipulate or coerce behavior and life ways changes, once that acculturation was underway continued dependency was seen as an impediment to the development of individualism. The desired outcome was to influence the native population to successfully integrate into the lowers classes of the larger society as farmers and laborers. Continued dependency was viewed as a failure of indigenous policies.

Although the underlying goals of their rationing programs were ultimately similar, the regulations themselves were different. Many of the differences stemmed from the nature of their contact and interaction with indigenous populations. While contact in the United States was primarily with government and military, in South Australia it was primarily through settlers and missionaries. Because of these differences, the implementation of the rationing policies in the United States was more rigid and regimented than in South Australia, where a wider variety of individuals were responsible for the distribution of rations. Instead of just relying on Protectors and Sub-Protectors, the government of South Australia enlisted police, missionaries, and even private individuals to distribute needed rations in different locations. Whereas the United States government tried to keep firm control over their “civilization” and assimilation efforts, South Australia was content to allow missionaries and others to encourage the adoption of “civilization” as they saw fit. This created varying degrees of assimilation, depending on the personal goals of those distributing the rations. Many pastoralists who distributed rations in order to keep a ready workforce nearby often had little interest in converting Aborigines as long as they did not steal or kill livestock. The Sub-Protectors, such as Edward J. Eyre, and police were focused primarily on protecting white settlement and travel lanes from attacks and maintaining the general peace of their areas. Missionaries were the most adamant in their desires to use rationing as a tool in the Christianization and “civilization” of their Aboriginal populations.

Another striking difference in the policies of the United States and South Australia was the use of rations as a tool for confinement. The United States restricted native peoples to reservations, threatening to withhold rations from any who left without permission. This restriction allowed for more land to be opened up to white settlement with a minimum of direct conflict. It was also believed that if they were confined to the reservations, and later forced to accept allotment of the land, they could be more easily persuaded to become self-sufficient farmers (despite the inadequacy of the land itself). South Australia, however, did not try to restrict Aborigines onto reservations until later in the nineteenth century, and then only in the more settled regions. Ration depots were meant to keep peace in the area and to try to keep Aborigines from traveling to cities like Adelaide rather than to congregate the tribes in one location. While rations
could be withheld from those who did journey into the cities, there was no way for the
government to prevent the open migration of Aboriginal tribes. Mission stations were
established in the more settled districts, and therefore they were more concerned with
Aborigines maintaining residence on the station. Even in these instances, however,
Aborigines were not prevented from leaving by threat of violence as in the United
States, particularly when it came to employment.

The rationing programs and policies of the United States and South Australia, as
they affected Native Americans and Aborigines, were a mixture of success and failure
from the point of view of both the governments and the indigenous peoples receiving
the goods. Rationing helped government agents and missionaries on the reservations
and stations influence the behavior and assimilation of their Native residents. Diets and
eating habits were altered, and the corresponding traditional knowledge surrounding
food practices and taboos began to be forgotten.

The manipulation of rations also encouraged parents to send their children to
government and church institutions where they could be indoctrinated in Anglo-
American and Anglo-Australian ideas and culture while at the same time their Native
culture, religion, and language was forced and often beaten out of them. With the
“education” of the children of the communities the governments and humanitarians
hoped to weaken community ties and the power of the elders of the tribes. Knowledge
and ceremony was lost as the next generation was removed and isolated for schooling.

Despite the best efforts of the governments to utilize rations as a tool to enforce
“civilization” and acculturation, however, both Native American and Aboriginal
communities were able to maintain their individual identities. Many important cultural
and social ceremonies and traditions were continued. Much traditional knowledge
continued to be handed down. Indigenous identity retained strong ties to place and
community. While many of the customs that surrounded food ways and taboos in both
the United States and South Australia were lost as traditional sources of subsistence
were lost and replaced by others, some of the social and cultural underpinnings remain.
Ultimately, the governments’ goals of assimilation into the dominant culture, with the aid
of rationing as a tool of influence and coercion, was never completed.

1 Carole M. Counihan, “The Social and Cultural Uses of Food,” in Kenneth F.
Kiple and Kriemhild Conee Ornelas, eds., Cambridge World History of Food
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1513; Carol A. Bryant et al., The
Cultural Feast (Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth, 2003), 203-4; Peter Farb and George J.

2 Edward John Eyre, Journals of Expedition and Discovery into Central Australia,
and Overland from Adelaide to King George’s Sound, in the years 1840-1, vol. 2
(London: T. and W. Boone, 1845; reprint, Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia,
1964), 484.

3 Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka, eds., Indian White Relations: A

4 Garrick Alan Bailey, Changes in Osage Social Organization, 1673-1906
(Eugene, OR: Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon, 1973), 80; Terry P.
Wilson, The Underground Reservation: Osage Oil (Lincoln: University of Nebraska
5 U.S., “An act making appropriations for current and contingent expenses, and fulfilling treaty stipulations with Indian tribes,” 1893, Statutes at Large 27, sec. 612. This regulation was carried out from the 1860s through the turn of the twentieth century.

6 Most Native American nations were receiving rations and goods as part of treaty obligations on the part of the federal government. While many humanitarians, government officials, and United States citizens viewed rations as free handouts, most tribes viewed them as payments for land ceded.

7 U.S., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Procedural Issuances: Orders and Circulars, RG75 (M1121), 17 July 1874, National Archives.


9 Despite these orders, however, the people found ways of maintaining important cultural patterns, as will be discussed in a later chapter.

10 U.S., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Procedural Issuances: Orders and Circulars, RG75 (M1121), Circular #93, Accounts 1882, National Archives.


13 Gibson to Hoag, 28 March 1871, Records of the Central Superintendency of Indian Affairs, RG75 (M856), National Archives.

14 Lewis Meriam, The Problem of Indian Administration (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 221.


19 In the 1990s the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare found that life expectancy for Aborigines was as much as 20 years less than the national average. There are also higher rates of chronic disease such as diabetes as well as problems like depression. For a discussion of present Aboriginal health issues as well as their historical bases, see Justin Healey, “Aboriginal Health and Welfare,” in Healey, ed., Issues in Society (Balmain, NSW: The Spinney Press, 2000), 129: 2-15; Basil S. Hetzel, “Historical Perspectives on Indigenous Health in Australia,” Asia Pacific Journal of Clinical Nutrition 9 (No. 3, 2000): 157-63; and H.J. Frith and Basil S. Hetzel, eds., The Changing Nutrition of Aborigines in the Ecosystem (Melbourne: CSIRO, 1978).

20 Governor George Grey to Lord John Russell, State Records of South Australia GRG 2/5 Governor’s Dispatches, file no. 52 of 1841.
21 State Records of South Australia GRG 48/1 South Australian Colonization Commission, Letters Sent to Officers in South Australia, file no. 16 of 1836.
22 *South Australian Government Gazette* [Adelaide] 11 July 1839, 1.
23 Christobel Mattingley and Ken Hampton, eds., *Survival in Our Own Land: “Aboriginal” Experiences in “South Australia” since 1836, told by Nungas and Others* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing 1998), 21; State Records of South Australia GRG 24/4 Colonial (Later Chief) Secretary’s Office, Letters Sent by the Colonial (later, Chief) Secretary’s Office, file no. 151 of 1844.
24 An example can be seen in a 1866 letter from Phillip Levi to the Protector of Aborigines concerning the withdrawal of the police who had been distributing rations in his area. He requests that he be permitted to distribute the rations from his station so that the area’s Aboriginal workforce would not leave. State Records of South Australia GRG 52/1 The Aborigines Office, Correspondence Files of the Aborigines Office and Successor Agencies, file no. 63 of 1866.
26 State Records of South Australia GRG 52/1 The Aborigines Office, Correspondence Files of the Aborigines Office and Successor Agencies, file no. 305 of 1867.
Africa-EU Partnership on Migration and Mobility: From Unilateralism to Complex Interdependence

Jack R. Mangala
Grand Valley State University
Introduction

Since 2006, the question of migration has been at the forefront of the international agenda—both in Africa-EU relations and globally—through a number of important events and policy initiatives devoted to the migration–development nexus. In addition to these multilateral activities, the EU and Africa have separately produced a number of important policy documents outlining their respective positions in the area of migration. These high level events and policy documents are a reflection of the increased realization that, as then French Minister of the Interior Nicholas Sarkozy put it, “immigration will inescapably be one on the twenty-first century’s essential challenges.”

Long a region of emigration, Europe has become a region of immigration for many migrants around the world, especially from Africa. It has been estimated that immigration accounted for 89% of Europe’s population growth between 1999 and 2000. African immigrant population in Europe is officially estimated at 4.6 million people, with the actual numbers being probably between 8 and 9 million. Around 30 percent of migration to Europe is attributed to Africa. The growing African migrant population in Europe is, first and foremost, the result of the deepening demographic gaps between the two, as illustrated below through a comparison of past and projected population size of Africa and Europe relative to the global population between 1800 and 2050.

To take the full measure of the demographic differential between Africa and Europe, and the economic, social and political challenges—and, if well managed, opportunities—it entails, it is important to note that 60 percent of Africa’s population is under the age of 25, while Europe is expected to see its median age increase from 37.7 years old in 2003 to 52.3 years old by 2050 with a ratio of retirees to workers to double to 0.54 by the same year (from the current four workers per retiree to 2 per retiree).

The Partnership on Migration, Mobility and Employment (PMME) adopted in December 2007 at the Lisbon Summit is one of the eight thematic partnerships included in the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES). It represents an attempt by the Africa and the EU to “provide holistic responses to these various” and “respond to the challenges and maximize the benefits of international migration” within a balanced and comprehensive strategy. The recognition of the need for a balanced and comprehensive approach to migration represents—at least rhetorically—a shift from the part of the EU and its member states whose efforts had been focused essentially on handling migration from a security perspective. The conceptual shift embodied in the PMME must thus be understood and interpreted within the broader context of the aforementioned global dialogue on migration and development, which has been informed by a sustained scholarly effort that has exposed the limitations of the security-only response to migration.

This paper assesses the new approach as reflected in and being implemented through the PMME. It is divided into three sections, the first of which surveys the main policy agendas, conceptual approaches and theoretical frameworks through which the question of migration has been approached. The second section analyzes the core components and objectives of the PMME within the broad framework of the JAES. The third section assesses the operationalization of the PMME. The paper concludes with a few policy recommendations which underscore the fact that the PMME’s premise of a
“balanced approach” represents the only viable response to a sustainable management of migratory flows in Africa-EU relations.

**Policy Agendas, Conceptual Approaches and Theoretical Frameworks**

Conceptually, EU-Africa migration relations are best understood as a process of externalization, which refers to a set of political practices that “come under the common umbrella of designing governance and policy extension beyond borders, between at least two countries sharing a specific asymmetrical relationship, not only in terms of power and socio-economic disparities, but also in their capacities to politically respond to the same phenomenon: the movement of people between one country and the other.”

In economic thinking—where it originated—the concept of externalization, also referred to as “outsourcing,” implies “the transfer of a business function to an external entity, requiring a degree of coordination and trust between the outsourcer and this external entity.” Gemma Aubarellet al. contend that, in the realm of EU-Africa migration relations, externalization seeks fundamentally “to engage countries of origin and transit in the control of migration flows. The result is a growing emphasis on extra-territorial control.”

The process of “externalization” has been made possible and reinforced by the so-called “external dimension.” Although the two concepts are often used interchangeably, they are however analytically different. While the former is concerned with outsourcing, the latter generally refers to all aspects of engagement and policies directed beyond EU borders. As such, “external dimension”, in the field of migration, centers on the building of a common EU migration policy called for by the 1999 Tampere European Council, which highlighted the need for the EU to develop

...a comprehensive approach to migration addressing political, human rights and development issues in countries and regions of origin and transit. This requires combating poverty, improving living conditions and job opportunities, preventing conflicts and consolidating democratic states and ensuring respect for human rights (…) To that end, the Union as well as Member States are invited to contribute (…) to a greater coherence of internal and external policies of the Union.

Since Tampere, and through successive treaties that have solidified EU competencies in the area of migration, externalization has been pursued through two main competing approaches that are reflected in various programming and policy documents. As a matter of fact, the EU has been, for the past decade, a laboratory of ideas, concepts and initiatives— to which Africa has been for the most part reacting— and which have come to shape their mutual as well as the global dialogue on migration. The first approach through which externalization has been pursued is referred to as a “remote control approach.” It represents the EU and its member states’ original approach toward migration. A remote control approach is based on two premises that reflect a mostly reactive and security approach tailored towards the need to use policy to restrict the movement of people and ensure security in receiving countries. The remote control approach’s first premise is based on the idea that, through the use of various instruments, EU receiving countries can be shield from the responsibility of sorting out prospective migrants, which will be shifted to countries of origin and transit and dealt with before migrants reach EU territory. The second premise is informed by the contention that, from a practical standpoint and due to legal and humanitarian
considerations, it is rather difficult to return to their countries of origin illegal and undesirable migrants who have already reached EU territory. The whole logic is to have countries of origin and transit undertake actions intended to have positive security implications on potential EU receiving countries.

Despite numerous calls for a comprehensive and balanced approach to migration, the external dimension of EU migration policies had been dominated, up until 2005, by a security framework which focused mostly on the signing of readmission agreements with countries of origin along with an increased cooperation on border controls. Art. 13 of the 2000 Cotonou Agreement with African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries offers a good illustration of EU’s determination to use all available external relations instruments to advance a security agenda in dealing with migration flows from third countries. The migration clause, as embodied in Article 13, mandates EU and ACP countries to accept back “without further formalities” their own citizens. It also recognizes EU’s right to return asylum-seekers whose application has been denied and other illegal migrants to third countries through which they had transited prior to entering EU territory. Although an attempt to introduce a migration control conditionality clause in EU development aid failed to gain consensus at the European Council in Seville in 2002; Article 13 of Cotonou has become the standard practice in EU cooperation and association agreements, which now mandate a joint management of migratory flows.12

Even though the 2002 Seville European Council attempted to link migration with development, its conclusions emphasized nonetheless a security approach in addressing the migration-development nexus:

The European Council considers that combating illegal immigration requires a greater effort on the part of the European Union and a targeted approach to the problem, with the use of all appropriate instruments in the context of the European’s external relations. To that end [the emphasis in mine]. An integrated, comprehensive and balanced approach to tackling the root causes of illegal migration must remain the European Union’s constant long-term objective.13

The second approach through which externalization has been pursued is referred to as a “root cause approach”. Unlike the remote control approach, whose primary focus is on the security interests of the EU and the imperative to restrict migrations by shifting their control to potential countries of origin; Gemma Aubarell et al. argue that the root cause approach’s conceptual center of gravity is not to restrain the movement of people, but to construct an alternative through political innovation. Its rationale is that we must seek to influence, while also reducing, the push factors motivating people to leave their home countries. This approach is far more centered on the causes than the effects of migrants’ exit option. It has a preventive dimension.14

Empirically, the root cause approach marks a departure from the remote control approach in that it emphasizes innovation in policy design and implementation, and the development of preventive mechanisms aimed at addressing the causes of migration. Through its reference to the protection of the human rights of migrant populations and the fight against human trafficking and smuggling, this approach has also been located within the broad human rights framework and discourse.15
Although a root cause approach had been eluded to or called for in various documents and frameworks adopted by the EU at least since 1992, it remained however on the margins of the migration debate and policy up until 2005. As it has developed since then, the conceptual innovation of the root cause approach has been to link the question of migration with that of development. Lavenex and Kunz assert that, from a EU perspective, this policy reorientation “has been influenced by two factors: first, the intensifying international discourse on the migration-development nexus and, secondly, the crisis of the securitarian frame in EU migration policy.” More specifically, and as it has been indicated earlier, the crisis of the security approach came to full display in September 2005 during the tragic events of Ceuta and Melilla in which dozens of African migrants lost their lives while trying to access EU territory through the Spanish exclaves. It is generally agreed that the graphic violation of human rights that accompanied these tragic events “prompted a reconsideration of the current approach [security] and the realization that a policy based on control and repression exclusively would not only remain ineffective but also violate the Union’s very own values and thus do harm to its external image in the world.”

Ceuta and Melilla provided the political impetus to place the management of African migration at the top of the European agenda and initiate a multi-level dialogue with Africathat emphasizes a root cause approach through the migration-development nexus. This policy reorientation has been endorsed and is reflected in various documents that have been unilaterally adopted by the EU and the AU, as well as in those that have resulted from their political dialogue and other processes devoted to migration and development over the past years.

As noted by the OECD, “By furthering dialogue and co-operation with African partners to implement the global approach, a consensus has emerged—theoretically, if not for the moment practically—on the strategy linking ‘migration and development’.” We shall now see, in the following section, how this strategy has been reflected in the PMME, which has become the main policy framework through which EU-Africa migration cooperation has been pursued since the adoption of the JAES in 2007.

**The PMME within the JAES**

The JAES has already been thoroughly addressed in the first part of the book. It suffices, at this juncture, to underline its vision of providing “a solid framework for long-term, systemic and well integrated cooperation” which is structured along eight thematic partnerships, among which the PMME. The Lisbon Declaration frames the question of migration as a key political challenge that underscores the two parties “vital interdependence” and requires them to work together in the global arena. The JAES approaches migration both as a common and a global challenge. The former invites the two sides to “reinforce and elevate the African-EU political partnership”, while the latter calls them “to jointly promote and sustain a system of effective multilateralism” through the UN and other key international institutions. As a global challenge, migration is—interestingly enough—listed among other threats and concerns such as malaria, tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, fair trade, climate change and the proliferation of weapons of Mass Destruction. To achieve its objectives, the JAES promotes a set of new approaches intended, among others, “to encourage the full integration of members of migrant communities/disporas in their countries of residence, while at the same time
promoting and facilitating links with their countries of origin, with a view to providing concrete contributions to the development process."\textsuperscript{22}

The JAES outlines four strategic priorities: peace and security, governance and human rights, trade and regional integration, and key development issues, the latter representing an omnibus category that includes migration and development as well as a wide array of other policy issues such as development cooperation, human and social development, gender equality, environmental sustainability and climate change, agriculture and food security, infrastructure, water sanitation, energy, development of knowledge-based societies, cultural cooperation and communication. In outlining its strategic framework, the JAES emphasizes the need for “interactions and positive complementarities between sectoral policies and strategies.”\textsuperscript{23} It is within this broad framework that complementarities are sought between the question of migration and development one the one hand, and peace and security on the other, through a recognition of the need by “the two continents (…) to promote holistic approaches to security, encompassing conflict prevention and long term peace-building, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction, linked to governance and sustainable development, with a view to addressing the root causes of conflicts.” In the same vein, the two parties also express their concern for human trafficking, along with a host of other issues related to transnational crime, as “a major factor in triggering and spreading conflicts and undermining state structures.”\textsuperscript{24}

Further elaboration on the migration and development nexus in the JAES indicates what has been termed a “balanced approach” through which the parties seek to harness the positive impacts of the migration and mobility phenomena while addressing their down-sides. In pursuing the former, the parties intend “to promote and better manage legal migration with a view to supporting the socio-economic development of both countries of origin and countries of destination.”\textsuperscript{25} The concept of “circular migration” is thus mentioned as a policy tool in migration management. While recognizing the positive sides of migration, Africa and the EU also express their commitment to deal with its negative sides through efforts and coercive measures aimed, among other things, at fighting illegal migration, combating trafficking in human beings, and mitigating the negative impacts of the brain drain, especially on Africa’s health and education sectors. Lastly, given the political nature and sensitivity of the migration question, one shall certainly welcome the parties’ desire to “work to deepen their frank and constructive dialogue” within the framework of Tripoli and other regional processes discussed earlier.\textsuperscript{26} In regard to the financial resources needed for a proper implementation of this broad agenda, the JAES makes only a vague reference to a commitment of both parties to ensuring the availability of such resources. The JAES vision and general policy framework on migration and development was put in music through the First (2008-2010) and Second (2011-2013) Action Plans. An overview of the PMME as articulated in the two Action Plans is warranted before considering its implementation in next section.

The PMME outlines a very ambitious agenda which addresses a wide range of issues intended to reflect a “balanced and comprehensive approach” to the migration question. It is aimed at providing “holistic responses” to issues of migration, mobility and employment, which are supposed to be addressed within a unified policy framework that emphasizes interactions and synergies. The PMME’s policy center of gravity is,
however, on managing migration flows. It is within the broad framework of this policy imperative that the question of migration is linked with employment, poverty reduction, and other national development and co-development strategies. The PMME is structured around three priority actions, which are intended to implement broad interrelated agendas adopted by various processes and frameworks devoted to questions of migration and development, trafficking on human beings, and employment and poverty alleviation. Under each priority action are listed concrete objectives and expected outcomes, as well as implementation actors and possible financial resources and instruments. The following overview will focus only on the most important features of each priority action under the aforementioned components.

**Priority Action 1: Implement the Declaration of the Tripoli Ministerial Conference on Migration and Development**

Four broad objectives are pursued under this priority action: to facilitate mobility and free movement of people in Africa and the EU and to better manage legal migration between the two continents; to address the root causes of migration and refugee flows; to find concrete solutions to problems posed by illegal or irregular migratory flows; and to address the problems of migrants residing in EU and African countries. These are, to say the least, very ambitious objectives whose formulation remains, however, intentionally vague.

In pursuing these objectives, the parties expect to achieve, among other things, the following outcomes: a better utilization of potential synergies between migration and development, concrete progress towards tackling the critical human resource situation in the health sector and other sectors of concern, enhanced cooperation on migration management in Africa and the EU, improved cooperation in the fight against illegal or irregular migration, a better integration of African migrants in their respective EU and African countries of residence, further reduction of obstacles to free movement of people within Africa and within the EU, and enhanced mechanisms to facilitate circular migration between Africa and the EU.

A host of activities are suggested to achieve these outcomes. Among the most important ones related to migration are: the integration of relevant issues concerning migration, mobility and employment into poverty reduction strategies and country strategy papers, the creation of a network of migration observatories to collect, analyze and disseminate data on migration flows, the facilitation of safer, faster, and cheaper remittances, and the fight against illegal immigration, human smuggling and human trafficking, and the examination of the feasibility of setting up a Fund as provided for in the Tripoli Declaration. Other activities deal more specifically with the question of mobility. It is thus suggested that the parties: promote dialogue and cooperation on visa issues, promote ‘ethical recruitment’ policies in the EU and in Africa to minimize brain drain pull factors in critical sectors, scale up education and vocational training in critical sectors, set up and maintain appropriate incentive mechanisms which will encourage the retention and return of key qualified personnel, facilitate the mobility of members of the diasporas and/or migrant communities to allow them to act as agents of development, set up Migration Information and Management Centers in Africa, and support partnerships and twinning initiatives between institutions in Africa and the EU, such as hospitals and universities.
Priority Action 2: Implement the EU-Africa Plan of Action on Trafficking of Human Beings

The second priority action is centered on three objectives, which seek to effectively combat trafficking in human beings through a victim-centered approach, to address the root causes of trafficking in human beings in countries of origin and destination, and to contribute to the empowerment of women and children. More specifically, the parties would like to see measurable reduction in trafficking of human beings (in particular women and children), enhanced awareness on trafficking, protection of victims, and the adoption of legislative frameworks and instruments aimed at apprehending and prosecuting the traffickers. To that end, a number of activities are suggested such as the signing and ratification of relevant international instruments, the establishment of enforcement mechanisms (law enforcement, regulatory and legislative frameworks), the strengthening of preventive measures in countries of origin, transit and destination, and the provision of legal, medical and social protection and assistance to victims of trafficking.


The overall objective of the third priority action comes across as awkward. It reads: “to create more, more productive and better jobs in Africa, in particular for youth and women in line with the UN ‘Decent Work for all’ Agenda.” In many ways, it illustrates a problem that runs throughout the JAES and other thematic partnerships and to which we shall rerun later: an overly ambitious agenda that seems, at times, out of touch with reality. At a time when Europe itself is facing high employment, especially among its youth, should it really be an objective of the PMME to create “more, more productive and better jobs in Africa?” Shouldn’t this responsibility be left to African governments within the ambit of national economic and development strategies?

If the objective appears ambitious, the outcomes are watered down in that the parties expect to see only: progress towards creating an enabling non-discriminatory business environment for private sector development, improved employability and productivity of workers and a better match between supply and demand labor, improved understanding of the informal economy, enhanced understanding and implementation of internationally adopted Decent Work Principles, and the implementation of EU’s commitments on Policy Coherence for Development, particularly in the areas of trade, fisheries and agriculture. The suggested activities underscore the gap between the ambitious objective of this priority action—to create more, more productive and better jobs in Africa—and the means through which it is being pursued: integrate full and productive employment and decent work for all into national development strategies, strengthen the capacity of employment agencies and of other labor market actors and institutions, create a more direct link between skills training and the needs of local labor markets, encourage the elaboration of Decent Work Country Programs, strengthen the quality of local tertiary-level education, revitalize African universities, and promote investment in private sector and microfinance schemes.

In 2010, the Summit of African Heads of State and Government adopted the Second Action Plan (2011-2013) which fine tuned the First Action Plan based on a review of implementation achievements and challenges since the 2007 Lisbon Summit. We will
return to question of implementation in the next section. For now, the goal is to show how the PMME has been recast in the Second Action Plan.

The Second Action Plan retains the same policy and conceptual underpinning of seeking “balanced and comprehensive” responses to migration, mobility and employment challenges by addressing both the negative and positive impacts of these phenomena. However, unlike in the First Action Plan, the Second Plan is structured in a more concise and simplified way. The first part of the Plan addresses its overall objectives, while the second lists a number of specific initiatives and activities to be undertaken throughout 2013. Another important highlight of the Second Action Plan is its focus on higher education, which has become a more visible and integral part of the PMME.

The chief objective of the partnership is to “strengthen inter-regional, continental and inter-continental dialogue and cooperation in the area of migration, mobility and employment among countries of origin, transit and destination.” In pursuing this dialogue, the parties seek to enhance coherence and synergies between these various policy areas, to which have been added education policies and development/poverty reduction strategies. More specifically, the agenda on political and policy dialogue on migration is expected to focus on the following topics of interest, while taking into account the concerns of countries of origin, transit and destination: diasporas, remittances, brain drain, migrants rights, social consequences of migration; regular migration, including circular migration, mobility, and visa issues; illegal migration, trafficking in human beings, smuggling of migrants, readmission and return; and refugees, asylum and protection. The dialogue on employment, for its part, includes topics such as strategies and initiatives targeting job creation and sustainable and inclusive growth, and the role relevant stakeholders, especially the private sector, in these processes. The role of higher education in employment and mobility strategies is particularly emphasized through the parties’ commitment to dialogue on “ways of supporting the mobility of students and scholars and the realization of the African higher education harmonization process.”

The second part of the Action Plan identifies twelve concrete actions and initiatives to be pursued in 2011-2013. They are concerned with: the facilitation of political and policy dialogue through the constitution of a € 3 million support project; the establishment of the African remittances institute; the development and implementation of a human trafficking initiative and a diaspora outreach initiative; the operationalization of an observatory on migration; the launching of a decent work initiative; labor market governance and capacity building; the strengthening of regional and sub-regional for a on employment, labor, social protection and labor migration; the improvement of access to financial services and guarantees, especially for the poorest and underserved; the strengthening of the Nyerere Program whose aim is to contribute to high level African human resource development and retention; support to AU’s Pan-African University project, which is aimed at exemplifying excellence, relevance and global competitiveness of African higher education and research; and finally, the launching of the African higher education and harmonization and tuning initiative, which seeks to review the state of implementation of mutual recognition of higher education certificates and qualifications in Africa.
Compared to the First Action Plan, the list of activities appears concise and targeted in the Second. However, like in the First Plan, there is no pledge of any additional financial resources to undertake this ambitious agenda, only a reference to available resources followed by an agreement “to make efforts to increase the visibility, transparency and accessibility of these resources.” How has this ambitious agenda been operationalized?

PMME Operationalization

Since its adoption in 2007, the JAES has been the subject of number of official progress reports and independent reviews, especially in the context of the discussions and consultations leading up to the third Africa-EU Summit in November 2010 in Tripoli. The present section will briefly discuss some general dynamics related to the operationalization of the JAES before delving more specifically on aspects pertaining to the PMME.

First, it is important to maintain some perspective when discussing the implementation of the JAES, which represents an innovative framework for EU-Africa relations whose added value resides primarily in its ambitious political agenda. The implementation of such an ambitious framework will inevitably go through a transition period. But, for the long run, such a transformative agenda can only succeed if the whole process is sustained by a substantive political dialogue among the partners that indicates a strong political commitment at the highest level. In short, success will ultimately depend on whether or not the politics remain engaged in the process which must not shy away from contentious issues.

Second, although the eight partnerships articulated in the First and Second Action Plans are intended to infuse a result-oriented approach to the JAES, the latter’s center of gravity is in its long-term political vision which can’t be reached if the JAES loses its political relevance and get transformed into a mere technocratic exercise—left to low-level bureaucrats and experts keen to show quick results; while the whole process becomes apolitical and disconnected from the long-term vision of EU-Africa relations embodied in the JAES. Overall, and while there has been progress on some fronts—such as on institutional dimensions—the implementation of the JAES seems to have been characterized by increased “political dilution,” a dynamic that underscores a technocratic management of what was supposed to be an ambitious political framework in pursuit of a transformative agenda. This dynamic, which is perfectly reflected in the technocratic—almost accounting—official reporting on the JAES, underlines what Jean Bossuyt and Andrew Sherriff call a focus on “‘downstream’ (technical) implementation issues vs. ‘upstream’ (political) bottlenecks.” High level officials and experts have tended to highlight specific projects and show results while there has been no attempt at any serious political analysis of the interests at stake. The result of this “political dilution” of the JAES has been a schizophrenic selectivity by which some sensitive matters (e.g. EPA negotiations) are being dealt with outside of the JAES mechanisms, while others (e.g. migration) have been incorporated within the process but are largely left to a bureaucratic treatment by high level officials in national governments and EU/AU institutions and experts seating on various working groups. We shall now see how the technocratization of the JAES has been reflected into the implementation of the PMME. The question of migration is, to say the least, one of the most sensitive, contentious and sometimes divisive issue in EU-Africa relations—one which calls first and foremost for
an open and frank political dialogue among the parties. While it is true that, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the issue of migration has been at the center of some high profile meetings since the tragic events of Ceuta and Melilla in 2005; it also true that the question has not benefited from the level of political attention one would have hoped for, given the JAES stated political agenda. Official reporting on the PMME manages to convey a largely apolitical and bureaucratic tone on a highly sensitive and contentious policy area. Reading PMME progress reports, one finds plenty of information on activities and funding opportunities as well as challenges encountered in the implementation, but official reporting on the partnership suffers from a chronic lack of a genuine assessment of various interests at play on the migration debate and the zones of tension between European and African partners. In other words, and contrary to reality, migration is often approached and assessed as a technical issue. This institutional dynamic, which extends to various degrees to other partnerships, represents a worrisome phenomenon in that, as the Europe Africa Research Network (EARN) asserts, “The partnership risks becoming estranged from its political content.”43 Along with the general question of political dilution discussed above, the implementation of the PMME has also been impacted by a number of other challenges and shortcomings. Among those identified in various progress reports, it is worth noting: the lack of reliable data on and analysis of migratory flows; the absence, up to the end of 2009, of an operational coordinator or lead country on the PMME on the African side; the limited involvement of non-states actors and international organizations in the work of the JEG; the lack of facilitating mechanisms for dialogue and exchange of information; the lack of strong commitment on the part of the EU and African states to take the lead of specific actions pertaining to the partnership; the slow path in the implementation of agreed upon priority actions in the area of employment; and the low visibility of the partnership and the need to ensure its long term sustainability.44

What is striking is the technical nature of the assessment regarding a policy area which is highly sensitive and contentious. The various implementation challenges are presented in a bureaucratic undertone without ever hinting to the processes and core political issues that sustain those challenges, and which come down to the core issue of “political dilution” whose dynamic has been brilliantly captured by Jean Bossuyt and Andrew Sherriff through an examination of six central questions that need to be addressed in carrying forward the JAES: to what extent has the political leadership of the implementation process been sufficient? To which degree are parties prepared to reconcile diverging interests through political dialogue? What is the best way to achieve an inclusive partnership without overburdening the institutional mechanism? What are the incentives for effective implementation? Are both parties open for a real change in the “culture” of cooperation? And were the asymmetries in capacities between the EU and the AU adequately considered?45 It seems as if, left to themselves and under pressure to meet “deliverable” targets, bureaucrats and experts have been more than willing to catalogue activities that indicate “significant progress” in the implementation of the PMME. The reader will refer to various progress reports for a complete inventory of activities.46

A substantive review of implementation activities listed in progress reports calls however for a few comments. First, the reporting includes a large number of activities that are not—strictly speaking—part of PMME. These are often activities supported and
financed by individual EU states and which are thought to “add value” to the PMME—
e.g. France and UK funding for research program led by the World Bank on
remittances. Second, consultation and information type of activities (workshops,
conferences, research and feasibility studies) represent a significant share of the
reporting. Third, even though the EU has allocated about € 266 m to the PMME in
recent years, most of the funding has been used primarily for capacity building in
individual African states, e.g. € 3m for an expert facility and multi-regional initiative to
fight illegal migration, € 3,5m for cooperation with Libya to prevent illegal migration, and
€ 1,8m to Ghana to counter document fraud. Fourth, of the three segments of the
partnership, migration related projects and activities—especially in the fight against
illegal migration and, to a certain extent, human smuggling and trafficking—have
received the most attention and attracted the lion share of funding.

Fifth, the implementation of the mobility and employment components of the
partnership has been, to say the least, totally overlooked to the extent that one must
wonders why were they added to the partnership at the first place, and if the EU and its
member states are really willing to engage their African partners on issues of mobility
and employment. As indicative of this state of affairs, it is worth noting that as recently
as 2010—three years into the partnership—the two sides had yet to agree on visa
issues related to the mobility of AU officials that frequently travel to the EU. At a time,
when EU countries are faced with high unemployment, is the objective “to create more
and better jobs for Africa” still a priority? A review of the PMME implementation seems
to indicate otherwise. It exposes a rift between stated goals and the reality of the
partnership, a rift that might—if left unaddressed—call into question the relevance and
legitimacy of the whole edifice.

The PMME was conceived of as bargain whereas African countries will increase
their efforts and work closely with EU countries on illegal migration while expecting, in
return, more cooperation from the EU side on mobility and employment/development
within the broader context of a root causes approach to migration. Almost five years into
the implementation of the PMME, this bargain has not been fulfilled and the partnership
seems to have lost its equilibrium by reverting back—for the most part—to traditional
preoccupations around illegal migration and security issues and the pursuit of bilateral
approaches.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Historically and politically, migration represents one of the most important questions
in EU-Africa relations. Long approached primarily through a security and unilateral
framework by the party at the receiving end (the EU), the question of migration has
been—for the past few years— at the center of an intense EU-Africa political dialogue
which has developed in parallel to the global dialogue on migration and development.
Conceptually and policy wise, the PMME represents the first attempt by the EU and
Africa to move the migration question away from a security approach to a root causes
approach which—many would concur—constitutes the only sustainable response to a
problem whose implications are of upmost importance and whose political sensitivity
weights significantly on the relationship.

The relevance and significance of the PMME must be assessed within the broader
context of the JAES whose added value lies in the importance it places on the centrality
of the political dialogue, which has been posited as a cardinal principle and modus
operandi of EU-Africa relations. Given its sensitivity and contentious nature, the migration question should—in theory—benefit from the kind of frank and open political dialogue the JAES calls for. However, the operationalization of the PMME has seen a growing “political dilution”, an institutional dynamic that underscores the fact that the partnership has been, for the most part, subject to a technical and bureaucratic management under the responsibility of various levels of officials and experts who have tended to focus on projects rather than processes, and highlight activities that indicate some measure of “quick progress” while contentious and sensitive issues remain off the table. This dynamic is clearly visible through various progress reports on the PMME which give a detailed accounting of “deliverables” and even a listing of the shortcomings in meeting those targets without offering any political analysis of the dynamics and processes at play. The technicalization of the PMME might, over time, empty the partnership of its political relevance, a development that would go against the original vision and ambition of the JAES. The implementation of the PMME must be anchored in the JAES vision which remains—in spite of the shortcomings that have been identified—relevant to meeting the challenges ahead because it offers a model of the kind of political and institutional engagement needed to deal with increasing complex interdependencies of the nature posed by the migration question in EU-Africa relations.

Notes

5 JAES Action Plan 2008-2010-Partnership on Migration, Mobility and Employment, Rationale.


17 Lavenex and Kunz, “The Migration-Development Nexus,”450

18 See, Bosh and Haddad, “Migration and Asylum,” 6-7.


20 Lisbon Declaration, EU-Africa Summit, 8-9 December 2007.

21 The Joint Africa-EU Strategy, § 8 i and iii.

22 Ibid., § 9 i).

23 Ibid., § 11.

24 Ibid., § 13 and 23.

25 Ibid., § 68.

26 Ibid., § 70.

27 JAES Action Plan 2008-2010-Partnership on Migration, Mobility and Employment, Priority Action 1, Objectives.

28 Ibid., Outcomes.

29 Ibid., Activities.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., Priority Action 2, Objectives.

32 Ibid., Outcomes and Activities.

33 Ibid., Priority Action 3, Objective.

34 Ibid., Activities.


36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., Initiatives and Activities.

39 Ibid.


42 Ibid., 6.


Hawaii’s Twentieth-Century Working Women: Labor Feminists In Their Own Right

Megan E. Monahan
Fordham University
**Introduction**

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

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

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

**Hawaii’s Working Women: By The Numbers**

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

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

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

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

Harriet Bouslog, an ILWU labor attorney who fought tirelessly not only for workers’ rights, but also for basic human rights, was only the eighth woman to join the Hawaii Bar in December 1941. In fact, Bouslog rapidly became the voice of the working class in Hawaii’s courts, often the lone attorney willing to represent workers against employers, like the “Big Five” plantations in Hawaii, the group of five plantations who dominated Hawaii’s agricultural markets until the 1950s (Puette, 1991, p. 41). Furthermore, she helped to create fair labor laws for Hawaiian workers, and successfully defended those two Native Hawaiian men falsely accused of murdering a white woman in the Wilder case, with Kanahele describing her as the “only lawyer who would touch the case” (Clarke, 1956, p. 6). In addition, Bouslog successfully gathered public support for abolishing the death penalty in Hawaii in 1957. In the “Hawaii Seven” Trial, Bouslog defended seven Hawaiian ILWU members accused of being communist co-conspirators under the Smith Act, also known as The Alien Registration Act of 1940, a federal statute that set criminal penalties for advocating the overthrow of the U.S. government, requiring all non-citizen adult residents to register with the government, which specifically focused its prosecutions on highly politically charged organizations and figures, such as labor unions (Seventy-Sixth U.S. Congress, 1940). Temporarily disbarred from the practice of law for openly questioning if people charged with communism could receive a fair trial in the starkly conservative environment of post-WWII, martial law Hawai‘i, Bouslog was reinstated when her appeals led to a landmark decision in her favor by the U.S. Supreme Court In Re Sawyer (1959). Among the controversial comments about the Hawaii Seven Trial, which led to her temporary disbarment, were:
• “There is no such thing as a fair trial in a Smith Act case...that would be virtually, if not literally, impossible...in wartime Hawaii where martial law rules the day...” (Bouslog, 1951, p. 5).

• The U.S. government, had “overthrown” the Bill of Rights, “purposefully denying” the Hawaii Seven’s “right to a fair hearing and a fair trial...simply because their ideas were unacceptable...automatically branding them criminals...and essentially conspiring to silence all opposition...” (Bouslog, 1951, p. 6).

Attorney Bouslog had a genuine passion for her work, and a communal conception of democracy, of which she spoke, when she said she was inspired by workers in the Great Sugar Strike of 1946:

“Whenever I think of democracy, I think of a meeting...of about 600 to 700 people at Lahaina, Maui, in 1946, who, after a 79 day strike...people whose children needed clothes and shoes and food...refused to return to work until the eleven men {who were the strike leaders...charged with unlawful assembly and riot} were guaranteed reinstatement without discrimination” (Arrinaga, 1997, p. 3).

Ah Quon McElrath

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

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

McElrath often said that Hawaii’s labor movement “should never forget the history that made us (the ILWU) an important force,” such as when it won almost equal pay parity with West Coast longshoreman in the Great Dock Strike of 1949 (O'Farrell & Kornbluh, 1996, p. 135). Therefore, she sought to raise workers’ consciousness about their rights and about the “vast possibilities of an economic system...that treats people with dignity and respect, giving them a measure of control over their lives...and the ability of trade unions to give that to working people...a stronger sense of equity and justice {in the capitalist marketplace}” (Mast, 1997, p. 305). Despite being accused of communism herself as such a strong labor advocate, McElrath made social activism a way of life, working tirelessly for the poor and workers’ rights, namely for universal healthcare in Hawaii during the 1970s, and on the Committee of Welfare Concerns until her death.
By exploring the experiences and lives of more prominent labor activists like Kanahele, Bouslog and McElrath, and the lives of lesser known, but no less heroic, female foot soldiers, who were either advocating for equal pay for themselves as field workers, or were supporting their husbands at the grassroots level through tense moments of labor strife with pickets, protests and soup kitchens, this project seeks to assemble these stories into a new, comprehensive history of Hawaiian women’s labor activism. **Hawaiian Women Education Labor Activists**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Feminist Messaging**

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

In those three strikes over twelve years bet. 1974-1986--the first strikes in Hawaii led mainly by women, all of which lasted anywhere from 2 weeks to 2 months--a total of 1,200 nurses brought a dozen hospitals in Hawaii to their knees, crippling bottom lines and cutting patient occupancies by half-directly challenging hospital administrators’ power (HNA Newsletter, May 1974).

However, they emerged with something more important than higher wages and more vacations--a new sense of respect from doctors and administrators about the crucial role they played in patient care--not simply as glorified doctors’ assistants, but as knowledgeable medical professionals and skillful negotiators in their own right.

**Hawaiian Women: Tourist Labor Activists**

By the time the U.S. annexed Hawaii as a state in 1959, tourism economically surpassed the pineapple industry for the first time in history, earning $130 million for tourism in profits, compared to $127 million for the pineapple industry, respectively (Stern, 1987, p. 99).
So, as tourism expanded, while the pineapple industry contracted, the Local 5’s role increased as well...setting high standards for wages and benefits that helped all of Hawaii’s workers. Chartered in 1938 as its fifth local union by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE for short), Local 5 is one of the most successful SEIU’s nationwide...growing from a few hundred members up to the current 11,000 members (Stern, 1987, p. 100).

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

This moment in the organizing of tourist workers reflected earlier moments in the initial organization of Hawaii’s service workers into unions, as well as the prominent roles played by such female HERE labor leaders as Arlene Ilae, Berna Iousa and Sherrie Chiesa.

In short, the transformation of Hawaii’s economy from an agricultural to a service (tourist) economy fundamentally changed how Hawaii’s workers organized into unions, and how women’s labor advocacy, particularly during the 1990 strike, played such a major role in this transition.

**Conclusion**

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

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

**References**


In Re: Sawyer, 9th Circuit, 260 F2d, 189.(1959).
Monahan, Megan. (July 2011). “Interview with Joan Husted.”
Monahan, Megan. (July 2011). “Interview with Odetta Fujimori.”
Seventy-Sixth U.S. Congress (June 29, 1940). The Smith Act, also known as the Alien Registration Act of 1940.
U.S. Census Bureau (1940). “Preliminary Figures in Employment Status, Occupation Industry, and Income, for the Territory of Hawaii and Honolulu City-Sixteenth Census of the U.S.”
The Care of Aged Parents by the Igbo of Nigeria and the Gusii of Kenya

Benjamin C. Ngwudike
Tabitha N. Otieno
Jackson State University
Introduction

The Igbo (written as Ibo by the British) are one of the three largest ethnic groups in Nigeria (Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, and Yoruba). These three ethnicities are referred to as the tripod of Nigeria. The Igbo predominantly inhabit the Southeast geo-political zone of Nigeria which consists of the states of Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo. Also, they are found in significant numbers in Delta and Rivers states where they consist more than 25% of the populations of the two states. Traces of Igbo language and culture are found in Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Benue, Cross River, and Kogi states. Because of their enterprising nature, the Igbo have migrated to all parts of Nigeria where they engage in commerce, transportation, construction, and industry.

Gusii people live in southwestern Kenya on the Eastern part of the continent of Africa and are a part of the Bantu-speaking people of Africa (The Kisii tribe, n.d). The Gusii people are mainly mixed crop/cattle keeper farmers. Land is important property for the Gusii people and they protect it with all their might against anyone interfering with family land boundaries. Most of the food used in the households is locally produced by family members from the family land. The Gusii society is socially organized according to a strong patriarchal system that favors traditional practices even in modern times. The community enforces treating all elders with respect, and places great value on the responsibility of good family-based care as age starts to take its toll.

Gray hair is a symbol of wisdom and many young people seek advice from older members of the family/clan. Traditionally, old parents are cared for by the youngest son and his family. The youngest son and his wife have the responsibility of caring for the old parents (mostly mothers because fathers tend to die early). In return, he inherits the parents’ share of land and their personal belongings. The father of the family also divides the land amongst the sons. However, division after division of land over the years has led to smaller and smaller family land. As a result, many sons have moved from patriarchal homes to seek land among other less populated ethnic groups. Others have moved to other countries in search for further education and jobs not readily available in their ancestral lands.

The African continent is diverse and rich in cultural practices. All across the continent 52 ethnic groups practice their own culture including speaking their own languages apart from the country’s official language. The Gusii people live in the eastern parts of the continent some 3,000 miles from the west coast where the Igbo people reside yet they share similar views as far as how the elderly should be treated.

This part of the paper will analyze some of the past and present old age care cultural practices among the Gusii of Kenya. The discussion on old age care will also include the growth of urbanization and international immigration that have changed the nature of old age care. The paper is based on the personal knowledge and experiences of the authors, their relatives, and current members of the Gusii and Igbo ethnic groups.

The Aged in Igboland

Aging in Nigeria is occurring against the background of widespread poverty, social disharmony, and economic hardship (Global Action on Aging [GAA], 2009). Despite its oil wealth and plentiful natural resources, poverty is widespread in Nigeria. Nigeria is now considered one of the 20 poorest nations in the world. About 35% of the 70% of the Nigerian population classified as poor live in absolute poverty (GAA, 2008).
Like in other parts of Nigeria, the aged in Igbo land live mostly in rural communities where social services and essential infrastructure are non-existent or highly limited. For example, most rural areas lack pipe-borne water, well-equipped hospitals, and steady supply electricity. The lack of these social services and infrastructure create hard conditions for people who dwell in rural areas, especially the aged. For example, people in rural areas have to walk miles to fetch water from streams, traverse forests for firewood, and purchase food items from village markets that are largely operational once in four days.

The Aged in Gusiland

Like in Igbo land, the aged in Gusiland are mostly in their ancestral land in rural areas. Because of the level of their education, the older people did not work away from their homes. They worked in the farms and provided food for their families, educated their children who have now moved and work in big towns and even out of the country. It is not uncommon to find that many of the aged have no education beyond elementary level. They live in small grass-thatched houses with no running water. However, their hard work and belief that education for their children will make a difference has paid off in one way and it has changed the care of the aged completely.

Care of Aged Igbo Parents in the Past

The hard conditions under which people live in rural areas in Igbo land highlight the need for the care of the aged in these rural communities. The aged in Igbo land have for long depended primarily on their children and extended family members for their care. The primary purpose of marriage for the Igbo is to bear children. The Igbo see children, especially male children, as a contract of indemnity against old age. Igbo parents expect their sons to care for them in their old age. This may account for the fact that the Igbo place a higher premium in the education and training of their sons than daughters. However, the Igbo parents' reliance on their sons to care for them in their old age is not to the exclusion of their daughters.

Many Igbo parents lived in the same households with their sons and grandchildren. The sons, with the help of their children, took care of their aged parents. Usually, the Igbo parents give their daughters in marriage and expect them to integrate themselves into the families of their husbands. In order not to distract their daughters from their husbands' families, the aged Igbo parents relieved their daughters of the responsibility of being the primary caregivers in their old age. Therefore, the sons were the primary caregivers of their aged parents and they have traditionally fulfilled this responsibility.

In the past, while many aged Igbo parents were subsistence farmers, some of them were either successful business tycoons or worked as civil servants, teachers, and public servants who retired on state pension. The successful business tycoons and retirees on state pension had the means to provide for their needs and even helped to support their children and grandchildren. The rich parents had the means to hire domestic help who provided the services they needed. The aged Igbo parents who were poor depended on their sons to provide for their needs. Under this condition, the sons provided food, medical care, and other services needed by their aged parents. The grandchildren fetched water and firewood, herded flock, worked on farms, washed clothes at streams, helped to cook food, and did other domestic chores as necessary. The daughters of the aged Igbo parents visited from time to time to provide help as needed.
Care of Aged Gusii Parents in the Past

The Gusii people are patriarchal as stated earlier, and that renders the old age care of parents to sons, particularly the lastborn son. Parents in Gusii try hard to stay in their own homes rather than in their children's homes in order to avoid "interfering" with their children’s privacy. During this time the youngest son assumes some responsibilities from their aging parents that they can no longer handle on their own. Each step must be taken carefully because no parents want to completely surrender their activities to their children as long as they are able to do it. If they are not able to cook for themselves, the wife of the youngest son cooks in her house and feeds the aged parents in their own home. Much as this is a good gesture, aged parents do not get over what they used to do for themselves. They will compare the services provided by the children and grandchildren to what they could have done when they were of good health.

Soon enough the aged parents get to the stage where they are not able to safely spend a night by themselves. The grandchildren are assigned the responsibilities of staying at their home to watch over their aged grandparents. These responsibilities are a way of preparing the grandchild for the greater responsibilities to come. During this period they bond with their grandparents by listening to never ending stories of the old days and how key traditions remain the same even as generations pass and times change. They give advice to their grandchildren of what worked for them and what did not work and how to avoid making the same mistakes they made. Grandparents are freer with their grandchildren because they are required to listen to them even more than they listen to their own parents.

Care of Aged Igbo Parents in the Present

The way of life for the Igbo of the Southeast geo-political zone of Nigeria has dramatically changed since the 1970s. With urbanization and the need for gainful employment, the aged Igbo parents have witnessed their sons migrate to urban centers. This rural-urban migration has placed the burden of care on the aged parents themselves. To relieve the parents of this burden, some sons will send their children to the rural areas to attend school and live with their grandparents. The grandchildren provide care for the grandparents before and after school. The grandchildren rise from bed as early as 5:00 am to prepare for the day. They go to the stream to fetch water, collect firewood, and prepare food for their grandparents before departing to school. With drilling of boreholes in many rural communities, the grandchildren now fetch water from nearby boreholes for a fee. Those who have no money to pay for water from boreholes continue to rely on the stream as their primary source of water supply. The sons of aged Igbo parents who have the means hire houseboys or maids to provide care for their parents. Those who hire houseboys and maids to care for their parents relieve their children of the burden of caring for their grandparents.

Care of Aged Gusii Parents in the Present

In Gusii, the lastborn son and his wife have the automatic responsibility to take care of the parents when they become old and unable to meet their needs. Care takes place in stages as the parents become older and weaker or their health worsens, the lastborn son and his wife make plans to start providing cooked meals to the old and sickly parents, cleaning after them and at the same time assigning one or more grandchildren to sleep within the elderly parent(s) homes and keep them company. They will help unlock and lock up the door in the morning and evening, assist them in using the
bathroom, fetch them drinking water, or any other needs they may have. In doing this the family members gradually take more responsibility over elderly care. As the parents become weak and unable to live in their own home alone, it becomes imperative that the next step is to move the parents to live under one roof with the youngest son and his family.

Moving parents out of their home is a very difficult situation for both parents and family involved. The elderly parent(s) are used to being on their own, and doing things their own way at their own pace. As they move to live with their children and grandchildren, it is almost always against their own wishes. From what I have observed many parents do not live much longer once they move out of their homes to that of their children. I suspect some explanations for this, their routine changes, they have no control of what goes on in their new residence, not much control what they eat and time they eat, the noise from grandchildren, visitors to that home are different with different agendas. They feel like they are intruding in their children’s privacy and they view their stay as a burden to their children.

Times have changed and care for the elderly has changed as well. The belief that sons will take of the old parents is no longer a community enforced requirement. Urbanization has encouraged an exodus of many to seek employment in large towns leaving countryside residences and the care of elderly parents is left in the hands of hired strangers. Also, caregiver of the elderly is no longer a prerogative of sons alone. Girls and married women have started to become the more common caregivers of their elderly parents for reasons that are not very clear other than times are changing. Most of these women are working in big towns where medical help is readily available and quality hospitals are at hand. They also feel that they are better placed to take care of their parents than their in laws. In their homes in the city they seek help by hiring help to lives with the family and whose main responsibility is the care of the elders under their supervision.

This trend has increased and the parents, who do not like to move away from their homes in the country to the big cities, have no room for argument when their failing health worries family members. After the initial reaction towards moving and getting used to the new environment where there are no animals, farm work, and many neighbors coming by to say hello, they soon realize that they would need a lot of adjustments, such as letting go of materials things and property that they have held for so long, and leave it to the next generation. This is a challenging soul searching activity for all elderly people and is a difficult one to overcome. Their fear is that those that will be in charge may not take good care of what it has taken them and their lifetime of sacrifices to accumulate - so they think. Sometimes they are right. The new generation does not know what kind of sacrifices their parents made to acquire the materials things they now enjoy. No wonder the parents feel that they are losing all they had grown to appreciate from their past. At times they are right; some of those who have inherited property have lost it to foolish ventures. The elderly people have genuine fear but there is nothing that can be done to change that. The new generations attach different values to the materials things their parents acquired for them.

Care of the aged under the supervision of their children is becoming more acceptable to the once severely opposed Gusii aged parents. Under these circumstances the aged have grandchildren around though at times they may be noisy
but their presence cheers the elderly and their stay is made better than being alone in their homes. Better still, the family members do not have to make a trip to the countryside to check on their loved one after work or weekend.

It is therefore, very convenient for the caregiver and gives the rest of the family peace of mind. For some, the resident where the elderly is being taken care of becomes a focal meeting place for the rest of family members. As they gather each week or on special occasions/holidays to check on their aged parent(s) family members strengthen their bonds among themselves. The family members have adequate time to reflect on their past lives when their parents were strong. They discuss what they loved and hated while growing up, how problems were solved, methods of discipline for the young, how special occasions were remembered, and the good food that they enjoyed as children in the home, the chores that they did not like to perform and many more. These are moments of joy that our parents gave us the opportunity to enjoy while growing up and sacrificed their time and resources to provide for us.

As family members reminisce, tears of joy and laughter are evident. One of the ways family members enjoy their youth is by reflecting on it with siblings using talk about turning back the clock, appreciating their parents and the things that looked like punishment then but were responsible for making them who they are. It is a full circle of understanding when the realization that all that our parents required of us while growing up was in preparation for us and our future roles in society. Then and only then do we acknowledge that when you look your elderly parents being unable to speak nor understand anything you’re trying to say and want to tell him or her how much you appreciate the enforced routine, the training in different chores, the little talks, even the discipline that they gave you. All that can only be summed up by a tight hug and hot tears running down the cheeks to express all that and hope they get your point. Taking care of aged parents brings up the past and makes sense of the present.

Aged parents care among the Gusii has evolved and continue to evolve to keep up with this world's changing trends. Care for the aged has changed overtime and it is often difficult to discern. In the eyes of the aged parent their perceptions of the past are perfect and the knowledge of their imperfect children (caretaker) results with parents having disagreements on how things should be done including their own care. It becomes a negotiation process to keep peace. However, care of the Gusii aged parents are done where their children live and work away from family residence. At times care is provided overseas where the children have migrated and have taken their aged parents to be with them for closer supervision and care. Like other changes that follow development and urbanization, care of the aged among the Gusii has adapted as well. It is no longer the youngest son and his wife who have the sole responsibilities of providing care but any of the siblings who is better placed to do so financially and whose work schedule permits. The elderly give advice regardless of whether they are less likely to be listened to today than a generation ago. At death they are likely to be honored by elaborate funeral services. Bad things are not welcome to be said about the dead due to the belief that they are not able to defend themselves and a funeral is not the place to do.

**Future Trends in the Care of Aged Parents in Igboland**

The traditional way of caring for aged parents in Igboland is drastically changing. It is no longer the sole responsibility of sons to provide care for their aged parents. Igbo
parents are now provided equal education for their sons and daughters. In many cases, daughters are now staying longer in school and many are becoming successful professionals. As a result, the burden of caring for aged parents in Igboland is gradually shifting to the daughters.

A good number of the Igbo now prefer to live with their parents in the urban centers rather than leave them in the rural areas. The parents who traditionally did not want to leave their rural homes to live with their children in the cities are readjusting to the reality of the time. Increasing poverty due to high unemployment rate, transportation difficulty, and absence of social amenities have combined to hinder the continued care of aged parents in rural areas.

With the aged parents living with their children in the cities, daughters are now playing a more prominent role in the care of their aged parents that was once the prerogative of the sons. When parents live with their daughters, their daughter personally take care of them. But when they live with their sons, the son relies on the wives to care for their parents. While the aged parents’ daughters see caring for their parents as a payback for nurturing them, many daughters-in-law generally regard caring for their parents-in-law as undue burden. In many cases, this creates friction between husbands and their wives. As a result, sons prefer that their aged parents stay with their sisters while providing financial support to their sisters.

**Future Trends in the Care of Aged Parents in Gusiiland**

As things stand, old age care among the Gusii is changing with the changing trends of global community. Gusii old people accept any care they will get anywhere their children will take them, even if it is abroad. They realize and accept that their children have work that is outside the areas they were raised. In the near future nursing facilities will be considered to provide care for the aged parents in large cities in the country. Like the western world, it is a matter of time and there will be no difference in elderly care between developed countries and developing countries. Change in care of elderly is inevitable. How fast the whole Gusii people will embrace the change in care of the elderly wholly is difficult to predict but it will eventually happen. One thing will remain constant respect and appreciation for the words of wisdom elderly people provide.

**References**


Map of Nigeria's Geo-Political Zones

Source: [www.who.int/pmnch/countries/nigeriaplan_execsum.pdf](http://www.who.int/pmnch/countries/nigeriaplan_execsum.pdf)
## Comparison of care between the Igbo and Gusii people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Igbo people</strong></th>
<th><strong>Gusii People</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Former British territory</td>
<td>Former British territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Engage in commerce, transportation, construction, farming, and industry.</td>
<td>Engage in food crop &amp; cash crop farming and cattle keeping.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Polygamist</td>
<td>Polygamist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Igbo parents expect their sons to care for them in their old age.</td>
<td>Gusii parents expect their last son and his family to take care of them in their old age.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Old people are respected for their wisdom and advice.</td>
<td>Old people are respected for their wisdom and advice.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 6. Old age care begins with minimal care to full scale care.  
  (a) Grandchildren live with grandparents and provide help for the grandparents. live in their own homes and receive help.  
  (b) A son’s ife may be sent to live in the village to care for aged parents-in-law. | Old age care starts in stages depending on parents’ health situation.  
  a) Help parents while living in their own house by sending a grandchild or a hired worker.  
  b) Move aged parent(s) into their last son’s house for close supervision and care. |

### Changing Trends

**Igbo people**

(a) The children who become more successful take care of their parents who stay in the village. Sometimes, female children take their aged parents to live with them in the cities.  
(b) Future Trends:  
  Care of the aged parents has changed to include daughters playing prominent roles in caring for the aged parents. Because of Igbo culture, caring for aged parents in nursing homes may not gain a foothold in Igboland in a foreseeable future.

**Gusii People**

Changing Trends  

(a) Parents are taken care by any of their financially able children girls or boys. In the rural home or in their children’s homes in town or out of the country.  
(b) Future trends:  
  Care of the aged parents has changed and will continue to change to include nursing home facilities or home care medical visits.
Selected Readings
from
ALBU DE LA CIBOLA

Lem Londos Railsback
Railsback and Associates

William M. Kirtley
Central Texas College
From the first time that I heard of her—about fifty years ago, I fell into deep fascination with Albu. From that time forward, that same degree of fascination with her allure has always drawn me toward her and to her bosom and to herself. During all of that time, I have tried to go see her every time I even got close to where she lives. As some of you who have known me well over the years may remember, every time I got ready here in Laredo to go see Albu, I got so excited that I had trouble packing even my clothes. As one of you may still remember, you had to help me pack for a particular trip, and you had to chauffeur me to the airport because I was so nervous. And her appeal has always been so strong for me that it was always hard for me to leave her.

For those of you who really know my Albu, I suspect strongly that you have felt the same pulling force, the same need that I have always suffered to return to visit the wonderful, golden, beautiful Albu. That dire yearning made me believe early on in our relationship that I had drunk some sort of substance that had placed the yearning throughout my bones and tissue. This special brew, this elixir had fastened itself into me so that I could never quit longing, after the first touch, to see my sweet-smelling, expansive, inviting, colorful, and spicy Albu. Whatever chemicals were put into this magic drink blended together to form a liquid force that continually pulled me, again and again, toward my mysterious, majestic, mystical, ancient, perennial, everlasting, dream-like Albu. And even though I drank deeply of this magic elixir on every visit with wonderful, mysterious, and scented Albu, I seemed to never have enough. My blood would burn for more and more and more.

Even before I saw her the first time in all her natural glory, I had been captured by her mystique. After our first contact, I was enamored forever! Each time thereafter that I saw her, I felt an uncontrollable impulse to stay with her forever. The mysterious spell had been cast, and I had drunk deeply from it.

Over these many years, each time that I have had to leave her to return to Laredo, I have felt an unsatisfying emptiness in my stomach and in my heart. For days and days after I had returned to Laredo, my body still felt a tingling longing to return to my affectionate one. Without a doubt, on every one of my trips to experience Albu, I had surely drunk my elixir down to the last marvelous drop.

In October 2001, barely a month after the terrible tragedy of those souls in the twin towers, I fell into deep depression. I finally came to the conclusion that I needed to repair myself. I determined that it was time to be with my beautiful golden Albu. As I stepped off the plane, I knew that I was so close to my Albu, and that realization made my heart race fiercely.

I saw my delightful Albu. Her compelling attractiveness worked its full charm on me, and I fell into a coma of exquisite joy. Her splendor was just as majestic as I had remembered. Her wild vivaciousness, her boundless energy, and her rare individuality were as remarkable and tempting as they had been over all of these decades. Outspokenness, honesty, and commitment to honor were still omnipresent and marked in her manners. Her world-class preparation of her unique foods, especially the spicy long and red peppers, her alluring and enchanting smells that change all through the day, and her expansive and extensive visual displays charmed me throughout my short stay. My adorable, delicious Albu smells good all of the time, but she smells best, to me,
in the early spring and in the early fall seasons. All through this brief trip, my nostrils stayed filled and thrilled by the splendorous, earthy aromas of my satisfying Albu. Albu’s feel, Albu’s sights, and Albu’s smells captivated me into the old ecstasies.

Albu’s sounds also excited me tremendously and then soothed me and calmed me. Albu’s sounds galloped all through the sonic spectrum. Her loud and raucous laughter at the dances, her booming “stomach” singing of the mariachi canciones, her high-pitched moans at night, her sweet murmuring throughout the night, and her morning greetings bathed me in all their glory. Regardless of the language that she happened to be using at a given moment—She knows seven, so far.—her moods rang through her words clearly and beautifully. The surging sounds of Albu reverberated throughout my soul.

When it came time to go, I did not want to go; instead, I wanted to linger and to touch and to taste and to smell my Albu. And this time, the longing was almost overwhelming! I did not understand my feelings. Albu and I have enjoyed each other through all these years. We had exhausted each other every night that we had spent together. And in the early morning, on every single occasion, we would feed into each other again. Whenever we have been together, I have felt that I have been flying! But whenever I have had to return to my Laredo commitments, we have simply parted without a harsh word, a blaming word, or a mean word. And not a single tear was allowed. The tears came later after we had parted and gone back to our established lives. But neither of us every allowed a single tear to break up our quiet, sensual, wordless ecstatic mood.

I have always known whenever I have gone to see Albu that I would eventually have to return to Laredo. But that need to stay with Albu was stronger this time than it had ever been. It was powerful and permeating to my very being. It was nearly devastating. My blood seemed to boil, my eyes grew hazy, my palms and my insteps started to sweat, my heart shook my shirt, and I was in dire need.

After my crisis was over, I prepared to look toward home.

Inside the airport, I walked a’ways.

I walked over and took a long, long drink from one of the wall-fountains. Then I started toward my gate. On the way, I stopped and took another long drink from another fountain. I purchased a strong cup of coffee and sat down to wait a bit. As I sat and sipped, I began to feel the same old longing as before, so many times, to stay with my most desirable Albu. Although I was sitting perfectly still, I could feel a magical movement inside my body. My shirt began moving again. my insteps and palms flooded with sweat. I could barely see for my eyes had also flooded. Again, my blood boiled. I wanted to run back through the doors and into the arms of my beloved Albu. I didn’t want to get on that plane. I wanted to stay. And my longing was almost unbearable. I walked over to another wall fountain and took another long, long swig, and then another and another and another. I went back to my seat, finished the last gulps of coffee, used the empty cup to catch water from the fountain and gulped three cupfuls down. I threw the paper cup into the debris bin and started once again toward my gate. With every step I took, my feet moved forward, but my heart tried to turn me in the opposite direction. I drank deeply from the last fountain just before my gate.

With every step I took, my feet moved forward, but my heart tried to turn me in the opposite direction. I drank deeply from the last fountain just before my gate. I was really struggling. I was really sad. I didn’t want ever to leave my wholesome, warm, golden,
one-of-a-kind Albu! I got to the gate, got my boarding pass, and picked a seat for waiting until it was my turn to be searched. A long line ahead of me was slowly being electronically scanned, as if the airport security really knew what they were looking for. The passengers’ cary-on’s were being opened and surveyed. Grim faces and public thoroughness were definitely in style for the airport security.

I glanced around me. I got up, walked quickly over to the last fountain and drank a whole lot more, my last drink before I got on the plane. Then I returned to my seat.

On the floor about two seats and across the aisle to my left someone has left a beautifully colored brochure of some kind on one of the chairs. The warm “desert colors” of the brochure were appealing to me. So I got up, walked over, picked up the brochure, and began to read. As it turned out, an annual local extravaganza was being announced. The massive celebration was scheduled for the very next week. The locals had planned to hold a very long parade and all-night dances and a special memorial to honor the local river. Apparently, the celebration has descended from pre-historic times when the local ancients—some of Albu’s long-ago relatives—used to worship the river as a life-giving god (What a wonderful idea—the notion that life came from the water. Of course, that is really not a new idea.). I immediately began to wonder if I should not go ahead and stay with Albu for just another week. My inner longings had grown stronger ever since that last fountain break. My heart was pounding heavily, and I was beginning to sweat again. Just then, my thoughts were broken off by the security guard’s motioning for me to come over to be scanned. I looked around and suddenly knew that I was the last boarding passenger. I was scanned. I was admitted to the plane. I found a seat, sat down, and buckled my safety belt. We left the ground quickly. Only after we had settled and leveled off in the air did I realize that I was still clutching the brochure in my hand. I began to look at it again. And then it struck me—a blinding, flashing, thunderous insight!!

You see, Dear Reader, in Laredo, my home, we have a saying that “If you ever drink the water of the Rio Grande—also known as ‘Rio Bravo’—and then leave Laredo, you will always come back to Laredo.” According to our local legend, which I truly and firmly believe, our river water provides a potent elixir that draws its inhabitants and its visitors back time and time again. After all, I have lived in Laredo, right next to the Rio Grande, for forty years; I have drunk the waters from the local Rio Grande for forty years; AND I AM STILL THERE!!

So I understood at last. All that adolescent physical longing for so many, many years was now discernible, now speakable. I could actually express in words what must have been happening for all of those decades. From now on, I will still love my sweet amour Albu with all my heart and being and possibilities. All of those wonderful memories will warm my soul during the aging years. Until my dying day and, hopefully, beyond, I will appreciate, respect, honor, cherish, and love my Albu with an abiding mature kinship. I will adore her.

However, now that I know how that magical spell was cast on me every single time that I was with Albu, I will take precautions. As the brochure proudly proclaimed, the ‘Rio Bravo,’ or the ‘Big River’—as the gringos call it (You know, the “Rio Grande.”)—was going to be honored! So, I have been drinking water here with my beautiful Albu from the same river that I drink water from in Laredo! The Rio Grande/Rio Bravo begins north of but not too far from Albu, moves along beside her and winds its way through El Paso,
down and around the Big Bend of the Rio Grande, down to Del Rio and Cuidad Acuna, through Piedras Negras and Eagle Pass, on over to Laredo and Nuevo Laredo, and on down through the Valley to the Gulf of Mexico, passing several more cities—San Ignacio, Zapata, Roma, Rio Grande City, Brownsville and Matamoros—along the way. And if the strong spell works in Laredo, which it does, then the same strong spell works in the same way whenever I am with my wonderful Albu. After all, it’s the same river and the same water, the same magical elixir! When I am with Albu the same spell descends on me, and the same longing and helplessness overwhelm me! That same hot desire rises up in me! That old need to return and to stay with her grabs me! After all, the water that I drink with Albu is the same water, miles and miles further down, as the water that I drink in Laredo! The flowing tangy elixir that I share with Albu tastes the same, is the same, and will always remain the same as the flowing tangy elixir that I consume in Laredo! The same longing to stay with Albu is the same longing that I have to stay in Laredo! That strong magic of my sweet Albu’s magnetic pull on me arises from the same source as that strong magic of my sweet Laredo’s magnetic pull on me. So, on my next trip to my true Senorita Albu De La Cibola, or, as the old Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdez used to call her, “Albequerque,” I SIMPLY WILL NOT DRINK THE WATER!!!

REFERENCES
Multiple real-life adventures over five decades in Albuquerque, New Mexico.
Assessing Restorative Justice and Balanced and Restorative Justice in Introduction to Criminal Justice Textbooks

Judith E. Sturges
Penn State Fayette
Abstract

The theoretical frameworks of Restorative Justice (RJ) and Balanced And Restorative Justice (BARJ) have made significant inroads in practices and programs within the criminal justice system and as an international reform dynamic. The present study attempts to determine whether these topics are found in introduction to criminal justice textbooks. Twenty-three textbooks were reviewed, and the coverage of RJ was found to vary across textbooks. It was also found that coverage of BARJ was lacking in the majority of textbooks. Recommendations were made to expand the coverage of RJ and BARJ in introduction to criminal justice textbooks.

For the upcoming academic year, I was assigned to teach an introductory course in criminal justice. Therefore, I began to compare numerous introductory textbooks in order to select an appropriate textbook for students. Textbook selection involves assessing the context of chapters to determine what material is presented and assessing whether the material fits with current issues and present day policies driving criminal justice. Upon review of the textbooks, I was impressed with the broad range of coverage provided about each component of the criminal justice system. Generally, each text presents an overview of criminal justice chapter followed by chapters on policing and law enforcement, courts and sentencing, corrections, juvenile justice, and present and future trends. Texts varied in chapters covering specific topics such as victims, terrorism, cyber crime, and homeland security, among others.

With my preliminary examination of the texts, I was interested in whether the theoretical frameworks of Restorative Justice (RJ) and Balanced and Restorative Justice (BARJ) were presented. This topic is of interest to me since my state, Pennsylvania, in 1995, implemented BARJ as the underlying philosophy guiding the juvenile justice system. Also, RJ sanctions are evident in Pennsylvania sentencing guidelines. In addition, during the last decade, numerous local criminal justice professionals have been guest speakers in some of my classes. Many of the speakers said students need to understand BARJ in order to be hired by their agencies. One speaker stated that without being able to explain BARJ, a potential candidate would not make it through the interview process.

My further investigation revealed that, in the past two decades, RJ and BARJ has made significant inroads not only on the local and state levels, but also nationally and globally. Presently, RJ is evident in many components of the criminal justice system. For example, restorative justice is shaping thinking about policing (Nicholl, 2010) and is being incorporated into American sentencing and corrections (Kurki, 1999). Bazemore and Schiff (2005) list 773 programs for juveniles in the United States based on RJ principles.

Scholars have investigated how RJ principles have been implemented at local and state levels. O’Brien and Bazemore (2006) noted that in a 2000 study all fifty states have implemented restorative practices at either the state, regional, and/or local levels. More recently, Pavelka (2008) found that “a majority of states has incorporated restorative justice language in legislation, policy, mission or program” (p.1), and that every state is implementing restorative justice at local, regional and state levels both in programs and with policy. Nuzum (2009) reviewed state legislation and found that 29 states either address restorative justice directly or articulate its philosophy. In other words, the focus is either on defining the mission and implementation or on infusing and
restructuring the justice system itself to reflect restorative justice values and practices. Also, on the federal and national level, RJ has had an impact. For example, in 1997, RJ was the focal topic at the Federal Department of Justice National Conference (Van Ness & Strong, 2010). Overall, programs based on RJ principles have proliferated in the United States (Kurki, 1999).

Restorative justice also has a broader application globally as an international reform dynamic. Multinational bodies, such as the United Nations, Council of Europe, and the European Union have endorsed the potential of RJ and have urged their members to utilize restorative processes (Van Ness & Strong, 2010). In addition, many countries have codified RJ into policy and law (O'Brien & Bazemore, 2006) and their governments have modified legislation to provide restorative intervention and develop and expand programs. (See Van Ness & Strong [2010] for significant RJ advances.) In 2000, the United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders unanimously passed a resolution for all nations to encourage RJ (Braithwaite, 2007). Thus, it is evident that the RJ perspective has been adopted in diverse cultures, economies, political systems, and legal systems (Van Ness & Strong, 2010).

Practitioners and scholars have discussed RJ as a theory, articulated principles, and identified programs. Restorative justice has been referred to as a theory of justice, a normative theory of criminal justice, a changing of lenses, a shift of thinking, a new pattern of thinking and as a new model in comparison to retributive justice (Druz, 2003; Van Ness & Strong, 2010; Zehr, 2010).

To date, there are no clear cut principles on which all scholars rely. Instead, core principles are defined ranging from broad definitions to principles that are either enumerated or analyzed. For example, Zehr, considered the grandfather of restorative justice (Van Ness & Strong, 2010), in the monograph Changing Lenses (2010) compared RJ to retributive justice. He explains the RJ perspective as follows: “crime is a violation of people and relationships. It creates obligations to make things right. Justice involves the victim, the offender, and the community in a search for solutions which promote repair, reconciliation, and reassurance” (p. 181). Similarly, advocates from Justice Fellowship (“What is Restorative Justice?”) state that:

The principles of restorative justice are simple. Restorative justice recognizes that crime harms people. It does not simply break a law [sic]. The justice system should aim to repair these injuries. Crime is more than a matter between the government and an individual offender. Since crime victims and the community bear the brunt of crime, they, too, must be actively involved in the criminal process (p. 1).

In comparison, Kurki (1999) enumerates five basic RJ principles as follows:

1. Crime consists of more than violation of the criminal law and defiance of government authority.
2. Crime involves disruptions in a three-dimensional relationship of victim, community, and offender.
3. Because crime harms the victim and the community, the primary goals should be to repair the harm and heal the victim and community.
4. The victim, the community, and the offender should all participate in determining the response to crime; government should surrender its monopoly over the process.
5. Case disposition should be based primarily on the victim’s and the community’s needs – not solely on the offender’s needs or culpability, the danger he presents, or his criminal history (p. 2).

The author states that “most advocates of RJ agree that it involves [these] five principles” (p. 2). Still others, such as Van Ness & Strong (2010) define principles, such as encounter, amends, reintegration, and inclusion and refer to them as corner posts of RJ. In their monograph, they present an in-depth discussion of each concept as it applies to RJ.

RJ is also viewed as “a process that involves bringing together all stakeholders... to decide what should be done about a criminal offense” (Braithwaite, 2000, p. 293) and as an “evolving reform movement” (Dzur, 2003, p. 279). Restorative justice, as a process and reform movement, is evident in numerous types of programs. Scholars and professionals identify the following programs as based on RJ concepts: Victim-Offender Mediation, Victim-Offender Reconciliation Programs, Family Group Counseling, Circle Sentencing, Reparation Boards, among others. Overall, RJ programs have become more important in the criminal justice systems in western societies (Braithwaite, 2000) with BARJ emerging as a new mission guiding changes in juvenile justice systems (Freivalsds, 1996).

The BARJ model is an alternative to existing practices in juvenile justice systems (Bilchik, 1998) and provides a framework for systemic reform (Bilchik, 1997). The balanced approach provides guidelines for administrators to attain balance in their attempt to meet the needs for community safety, repair harm done to victims by imposing sanctions that hold offenders accountable, and to provide offenders with rehabilitation and to help them reintegrate into the community (“Balancing Client Needs”). Thus, the goals of BARJ can be defined as accountability, competency development, and community protection or safety (“Balanced and Restorative Justice;” Bilchik, 1997; Bilchik, 1998). Overall, “balance is achieved only when the needs of victims, offenders, and the community are considered in each case and within the system as a whole” (“Balancing Client Needs,” p. 1). Currently, sixteen states have articulated BARJ in statute and code references, seven states have conveyed the balanced approach in statute and code references, and three states are models of RJ reform and implementation (Pavelka, 2008).

Due to the expanding implementation of RJ and BARJ, it can be argued that students should be taught about RJ and BARJ in order to understand its principles which guide programs. This topic is important for students whether they are taking an introduction to criminal justice classes as an elective to fulfill a university requirement or as a class to fulfill a requirement within a major or minor. Since RJ is shaping policies and programs both nationally and globally, introducing students to this perspective is beneficial because criminal justice policies and practices affect their everyday lives. Thus, it is important to expose students to these perspectives in an introduction to criminal justice course so they are prepared to either work as professionals in the field of criminal justice and/or participate in the world as global citizens.

In the past, scholars have examined introduction to criminal justice and criminology textbooks to determine how and/or what material is presented. Withrow, Weible, and Bonnett (2004) analyzed the similarities among introduction to criminal justice textbooks. Shichor (1982) examined citations of criminology textbooks to determine
which social scientists are the most influential in the field. Rhineberger (2006) conducted a systematic study of the nature and extent of research methods and ethics coverage in introductory criminal justice and criminology textbooks. Miller, Wright, and Smith (2000) examined citation patterns in introductory criminology textbooks. Burns (2002) assessed the coverage of jails in introductory criminal justice textbooks, and Welch (1992) examined the topic in correctional textbooks. Wright (1997) reviewed criminal justice textbooks and ranked how they cited scholars in comparison to criminal justice journals.

Relevant to RJ and BARJ, to date, no analysis of textbooks has been done. However, the topic of RJ was discussed in a journal article written by Smith-Cunnien and Parilla in 2001. These scholars argue that it is important to educate students about RJ, and they explain how to implement the topic in classroom instruction. In the article, the authors state that RJ is covered in mainstream criminal justice textbooks. However, only three textbooks were mentioned in the article. Since then, no systematic study has been done of the leading introductory to criminal justice textbooks to determine the extent and general focus of RJ and BARJ coverage. Thus, this study fills that gap in the literature.

The study

This study examines whether introductory to criminal justice textbooks discuss the topics of RJ and BARJ, the actual amount and location of the topics, and a general focus of what was covered. In order to conduct this study, publishers’ websites were searched to see which introductory criminal justice textbooks were currently available to instructors. If an author/s had more than one textbook published, only the most current edition was selected. Based on this method, 23 introductory textbooks were identified which covered the period between 2003-2011. (See Appendix A for a list of textbooks used in this study).

After identifying textbooks, the following information was collected for all textbooks that resulted in four stages of analysis.

1. Presence/Absence: Were the topics of RJ and BARJ indexed? The researcher examined the index of each textbook to determine the presence or absence of the terms RJ and BARJ. Burns (2002) and Welch (1992 note two possible limitations in their studies examining textbooks that are relevant to this study. Burns (2002) states that it is possible for some texts not to have thorough indices that may unintentionally exclude a topic under study. Welch (1992) notes that it may be possible for the subject matter to exist in chapters outside of the sections examined. Both of these limitations are possible in this phase of the study.

2. Location: Where in the textbook are the topics discussed? The pages and chapters where RJ and BARJ are discussed were identified.

3. Total paragraphs: How many paragraphs and tables/figures were devoted to these topics? Examination of the text revealed that there was sparse coverage of the topics of RJ and BARJ. Therefore, the third level of analysis was to determine the number of paragraphs and tables or figures devoted to RJ and BARJ. In order to be consistent in tabulation, bullets were counted as paragraphs, and paragraphs within boxes were counted as paragraphs. Definitions in margins and/or in summaries were not counted. Tables and figures were counted separately as one item for each occurrence.
4. Content Analysis: This stage of analysis was based on four questions. Utilizing a table or figure, was RJ compared to retributive justice? Was RJ and BARJ discussed as a theory? Were its principles discussed? Were programs discussed? McSkimming, Sever, & King (2000) state that assessing the quality of a specific topic in textbooks is not something a researcher should feel competent in doing. Instead, assessing quality of a topic should be done by other means, such as surveying introductory to criminal justice instructors. Therefore, this phase of analysis is limited to a general focus of RJ and BARJ and measures the depth and the extent of coverage. The intention was not to assess the quality of the topics of RJ and BARJ.

Findings

As stated, the first stage of analysis consisted of determining whether the text covered the topics of RJ and BARJ. The term RJ is found in the majority of textbooks. Only four textbooks (Incardi, 2010; Myers, Myers, & Samaha, 2010; Reid, 2008; & Territo, Halsted, & Bromley, 2004) did not reference the term (See Table 1). All of the other textbooks (n=19) discuss restorative justice in varying degrees relevant to theory, principles, and/or programs. In comparison, only two textbooks (Bohm & Haley, 2010 & Schmallenger, 2009) refer to the term BARJ. Bohm and Haley present a box featuring the career of a BARJ coordinator. Schmallenger states that “restorative justice is also referred to as balanced and restorative justice” (p. 386).

The second stage of analysis consisted of determining the placement of the topics in the texts. Chapters in introductory text are similar. As stated previously, the first chapter of textbooks usually presents an overview of topics relating to criminal justice. Subsequent chapters include policing, courts and sentencing, corrections, juvenile justice, and present and future trends. These topics are evident in the textbooks under review. However, other chapters relevant to this study are causes, community corrections, and victims. The placement of the topic of RJ range from one chapter to five chapters (see Table 2). The majority of authors (n= 8) discuss RJ in only one chapter of their text. Of these eight texts, five of the authors place the topic of RJ in a chapter about sentencing. Based on assessing the nineteen texts, the most prevalent placement of the discussion about RJ is in chapters covering community corrections (n=8) followed by chapters on sentencing (n=7) and juvenile justice (n=7). Only two texts (Masters, et al., 2011; Siegel & Senna, 2008) discuss the topic in five chapters. However, upon review, Masters et al. (2011) reference the topic of RJ “as intermediate sanctions” (p. 552), but the authors do not use the term RJ on that page. This is also the case with Fuller (2010) who references page 286 but does not mention the term RJ on that page which covers drug courts, conflict resolution programs, family courts and magistrate courts. Therefore, one can questions whether these references should be counted. This will be discussed later on in the discussion section of this paper. Relevant to BARJ, Bohm & Haley (2010) discuss the topic in the chapter “The Future of Criminal Justice” and Schmallenger (2009) summarizes BARJ in a chapter entitled “Sentencing.”

The third stage of analysis consisted of determining the length of coverage. Length of RJ coverage range from one paragraph to 48 paragraphs and zero table/figure to one table/figure. Total paragraphs tallied from all text were 281 paragraphs and seven
tables/figures. It may be noted that Siegel & Senna (2008) discuss the topic of RJ with the most paragraphs and in the most number of chapters. In comparison, texts addressing the topic in one chapter (n=10) range from one paragraph to 19 paragraphs. As stated, only two texts discuss BARJ. Total paragraphs tallied from the two texts are ten paragraphs and one table.

In the fourth stage of analysis, the researcher reviewed each text to determine whether the topics of RJ and BARJ were covered from four different focuses: with a table or figure comparing restorative justice to retributive justice, as a theory, its principles, and programs. Six texts provide readers with a table or figure comparing RJ with the retributive perspective (See Table 3). A majority of texts (n=12) describe RJ as a theoretical perspective by using terms such as model, philosophy, paradigm, perspective, concept, shift in focus, and vision. Discussions about RJ as a theory ranged from one sentence to numerous paragraphs explaining the historical background behind the theory’s evolution. All nineteen texts discussed RJ principles which range from one paragraph consisting of three sentences to numerous paragraphs with the principles enumerated. The discussion of programs based on RJ principles is found in most texts (n=15). Program discussion range from generalities about different types of RJ programs to identifying specific programs presently in practice, both nationally and globally. Relevant to BARJ, findings reveal that Bohm & Haley (2010) focus on the career of a BARJ coordinator, coverage which would fit under programs. As mentioned earlier, Schmallenger (2010) states that RJ is also referred to as BARJ and discusses the topic from the RJ perspective.

In summation, most texts discuss RJ as a theory, its principles, and programs. In comparison, the discussion of BARJ is very limited. Overall, how material about RJ and BARJ is presented varied greatly.

Discussion and Conclusion

Since Smith-Cunnien’s and Parilla’s (2001) research where they found scanty coverage of RJ in introductory text books, this study reveals that the majority of textbooks now discuss the topic. However, the amount of material and general focus of what is presented varies greatly across texts. As stated, the amount of material ranges from one paragraph comprised of three sentences to several pages with subheadings across several chapters. One observation is that variance in material presented can lead to a different understanding about the topic. For example, Albanese (2008) discusses the topic of forced birth control as a means to prevent abuse of new victims. The author states that “from a perspective of restorative justice, use of Norplant [a birth control device] may prevent abuse of new victims, but does not address the current or future harm done to present victims.” (p. 414). Kurki (1999) cautions that “RJ has evolved from a little known concept into a term used widely in divergent ways” (p. 2). This seems to be the case with this presentation. Even though this perspective has value, it is not a typical RJ perspective. Another example of variation is with presenting historical information supportive of RJ. Sheldon, Brown, Miller, and Fritzler (2008) mention how the views of Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr. and the English poet Alexander Pope intersect with RJ concepts. In comparison, Boyes-Watson (2003) present a typical explanation of how the RJ movement emerged in the 1970s based on non-western justice traditions, namely, the Maori Tribe in New Zealand. Thus,
instructors cannot assume that all textbooks are alike with material presented. Therefore, educators should carefully review each text to determine which presentation best suits the needs of his or her students.

Furthermore, it could be argued that students are not being given a full vision of RJ, especially as it relates to theory and within the profession of policing. As stated earlier, most authors discuss RJ in chapters about community corrections, sentencing, and/or juvenile justice. However, RJ is also considered a theory which is being compared to other criminal justice perspectives, such as retributive justice. Smith-Cunnien & Parilla (2001) state that it is essential to teach about crime policy so students can develop critical thinking skills about the existing criminal justice system. Therefore, students benefit by being introduced to RJ the chapters that discuss theory and compare criminal justice perspectives so they develop the skill of evaluating how these views affect policy.

As stated, students would also benefit by understanding how RJ is influencing policing. Restorative Justice is helping to shape thinking about what policing should look like by 2019 (Nicholl, 2010). Law enforcement’s exposure to RJ can promote peacekeeping, aid in prevention of crime, and be the core of community policing. Therefore, students need to be familiar with the newer trend of restorative policing (Smith-Cunnien & Parilla, 2001). With such a vision, it is critical to expose students to RJ as it affects policing administration, mission, policy, and future trends.

Another concern is about the general focus of RJ discussions with the texts under review. Kurki (1999) states that some people still associate restorative justice primarily with victim-oriented services. Overall, most texts focused on the topic of reparation of harm to victims. Length of discussions varied ranging from a one line explanation to a lengthy discussion in a chapter specifically addressing the topic of victims. For example, Gaines and Miller (2010) state “Restorative justice strategies attempt to repair damage that a crime does to the victim, the victim’s family, and society as a whole” (p. 263). In comparison, Adler, Mueller, and Laufer (2009) present a chapter entitled “Justice for Juveniles and Victims.” In this chapter, there are numerous subheadings and a table that focuses on victims and restorative justice. However, offenses occur within a three-dimensional relationship of victim, offender and community (Kurki, 1999). All parties are stakeholders in the RJ process (O’Brien & Bazemore, 2006) who are obligated (“Foundational Concepts of Restorative Justice”) to participate in rebuilding relationships and decide responses to crime. Thus, a suggestion is for authors to better explain this three dimensional relationship.

Relevant to offenders, the texts generally focused on how they can make amends to repair harm done so they can be reintegrated into their communities. However, the importance of how to help offenders or how to initiate change in offenders’ lives was not explicit. Restorative justice means restoring offenders (Braithwaite, 2000) by addressing their needs and competencies (“Foundational Concepts of Restorative Justice”). The balanced approach, which derives from RJ, includes accountability, competency, and public safety (“Balancing Clients Needs,” 2010; Bilchik, 1997; Bilchik, 1998). Accountability implies an offender is made aware of and held responsible for loss, damage, or injury to a victim. Competency development addresses an offender’s needs and developmental problems. An offender’s particular talents and deficiencies are identified so appropriate steps can be taken to teach the offender life skills and
social competency (Sturges, 2003). Many students taking an introduction to criminal justice course are preparing themselves for careers requiring them to work directly with offenders as probation and/or parole officers. With the ever increasing number of programs based on either the RJ or BARJ perspective, it is imperative for students to understand how RJ and the balanced approach apply directly to initiating changes in offenders’ lives.

Furthermore, Druz (2003) emphasizes the importance of community members’ participation in RJ programs. The results of this study indicate that, when discussing community, the general focus is on how family, friends, and/or interested parties may participate in different types of RJ programs, such as Family Group Conferencing and Victim-Offender Reconciliation Program. However, RJ places responsibility in the community (O’Brien & Bazemore, 2006) as part of the reintegrative shaming process (Braithwaite, 1989), which implies holding the offender accountable while providing encouragement and support (O’Brien & Bazemore, 2006). Thus, the justice process belongs to community members in the attempt to prevent harm to others (“Foundational Concepts of Restorative Justice”).

In addition, the need for community volunteerism is essential. Lay person’s participation in programs empowers communities to resolve problems through collaboration (Nicholl, 2010) and help return criminal justice dominion to the citizens (Druz, 2003). An example of this concept is evident with volunteerism in the Westmoreland County Youth Commission program that relies on citizens supervising youths in their communities. Volunteers act as tutors, mentors and role models which establish bonds as the offenders are reintegrated into their communities. Establishing these bonds strengthens community protection and public safety (Sturges, 2003). Overall, communities are strengthened when citizens participate in crime (Kurki, 1999). Therefore, it is essential that students, regardless of major, understand the importance of citizens participation in RJ and BARJ programs. Exposing students to this perspective early in their academic careers may instill in them a sense of community where they will want to volunteer in RJ or BARJ programs. Voluntary participation not only enriches students’ academic experiences, but will assist their communities with making alternative programs possible.

Review of the texts also revealed the lack of discussion about BARJ. Thus, the question should be asked, Why did only two textbooks discuss BARJ? Of the two texts, only one (Schmallenger, 2009) discussed the BARJ concepts of accountability, competency, and public safety. Recall that currently there are over 770 programs in the United States (O’Brien & Bazemore, 2006) and BARJ and/or the balanced approach is visible in many states’ statutes and code references (Pavelka, 2008). Since BARJ is evident in many juvenile justice programs and this perspective is continuing to be implemented in more programs (Freivalds, 1996), students should be introduced to these concepts at the beginning of their educational careers so they have a sufficient knowledge base as potential criminal justice employees.

Clearly, there is a need for more research on the topics of RJ and BARJ. One suggestion is to conduct similar research by examining subtopic textbooks, such as juvenile justice, community corrections, etc. to determine how authors present material about these topics. However, a word of caution about conducting research based on reviews of indices is in order. As stated earlier, Burns (2002) thought some text might
not have thorough indices and Welch (1992) thought that subject matter may exist in chapters outside of the sections examined. A concern that emerged from this study is that some authors indexed the term RJ but did not use the words on the page cited. Authors should be careful not to use the term RJ as a “catchphrase” (Nicholl, p. 90) even with indexing. Thus, a suggestion is for authors to use the words restorative justice on pages cited and explain how the concept ties into the discussion. In another instance, one author (Fuller, 2010) discussed the concept of RJ as it related to peacemaking (pp. 547-548). However, this RJ reference was not found in the index. Even though it was not the purpose of this research to find discrepancies of inclusion or exclusion of the terms RJ and BARJ in this study, it is important to acknowledge this as a limitation with future research projects of this nature.

Another suggestion is to conduct research to determine what educators think about RJ and BARJ. Do they think textbooks should focus more on these topics? Where do they think the information should be placed? The same type of research can be conducted with professionals working in different components of the criminal justice system, such as police, probation/parole officers, and/or correctional officers. How do they perceive RJ and/or BARJ as impacting their careers? What do they think future criminal justice employees should know about the topics?

In conclusion, RJ and BARJ represent fundamental changes in the criminal justice system and in our global community. Based on the findings of this study, it can be argued that more attention should be given to RJ and BARJ. Students will benefit by being exposed to these perspectives early in their academic careers. An understanding of the RJ and BARJ enable students to think critically about the strengths and weaknesses of these perspectives as they relate to sanctions and policy decisions within the discipline of criminal justice. Students also benefit by knowing they can participate as responsible community members in RJ and BARJ programs, both locally and in our growing global community. Overall, it is critical for authors of introductory to criminal justice textbooks to include and to consider expanding discussions of RJ and BARJ so educators have the materials available to prepare students not only for careers in criminal justice but as potential participatory citizens in programs based on these perspectives.

References


**Appendix A**


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/s, Publication Date</th>
<th>Restorative Justice</th>
<th>BARJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adler, Mueller, Laufer, 2009</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanese, 2008</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohm, 2008</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohm &amp; Haley, 2010</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyes-Watson, 2003</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cole &amp; Smith, 2011</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fagin, 2011</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller, 2010</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaines &amp; Miller, 2010</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inciardi, 2010</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab, Williams, Holcomb, Burek, King, &amp; Buerger, 2011</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters, Way, Gerstenfeld, Muscat, Hooper, Dissich, Pincu, &amp; Skrapec, 2011</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myers, Myers, &amp; Samaha, 2010</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollock, 2008</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regoli &amp; Hewitt, 2010</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reid, 2008</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samaha, 2006</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schmallenger, 2009</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siegel, 2011</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siegel &amp; Senna, 2008</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheldon, Brown, Miller, &amp; Fritzler, 2008</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territo, Halsted, &amp; Bromley, 2004</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travis, 2008</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL YES 19 2
Table 2: Coverage of Restorative Justice in Introduction to Criminal Justice Textbooks by Chapters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/s, year</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Juvenile</th>
<th>Policing</th>
<th>Sentencing</th>
<th>Overview</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Courts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Victims</td>
<td>Trends</td>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>Corrections</td>
<td>Corrections</td>
<td></td>
<td>Correction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adler, et al., 2009*</td>
<td>10/0</td>
<td>16/1</td>
<td>41/1</td>
<td>11/1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanese, 2008</td>
<td>14/0</td>
<td>3/0</td>
<td>11/0</td>
<td>3/0</td>
<td>20/0</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohm, 2008</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>31/0</td>
<td>15/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohm &amp; Haley, 2010</td>
<td>11/0</td>
<td>13/0</td>
<td>3/0</td>
<td>3/0</td>
<td>20/0</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyes-Watson, 2003</td>
<td>11/0</td>
<td>13/0</td>
<td>31/0</td>
<td>15/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cole &amp; Smith, 2011</td>
<td>11/0</td>
<td>13/0</td>
<td>31/0</td>
<td>15/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fagin, 2011</td>
<td>11/1</td>
<td>3/0</td>
<td>3/0</td>
<td>3/0</td>
<td>20/0</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller, 2010</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaines &amp; Miller, 2010</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab, et al., 2011</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters, et al., 2011</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollock, 2008</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regoli &amp; Hewitt, 2010</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samaha, 2006</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schmallenger, 2009</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siegel, 2011</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siegel &amp; Senna, 2008</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheldon, et al., 2008</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travis, 2008</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>25/1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL TEXTS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16/1</td>
<td>41/1</td>
<td>11/1</td>
<td>3/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1/0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Adler, et al. combines juvenile justice and victims in one chapter. Paragraph and table count split according to topic.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/s, Publication Date</th>
<th>Comparison Table</th>
<th>Theory</th>
<th>Principles</th>
<th>Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adler, et al, 2009*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanese, 2008</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohm, 2008</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohm &amp; Haley, 2010</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyes-Watson, 2003</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cole &amp; Smith, 2011</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fagin, 2011</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller, 2010</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaines &amp; Miller, 2010</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab, et al, 2011</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters, et al, 2011</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollock, 2008</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regoli &amp; Hewitt, 2010</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samaha, 2006</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schmallenger, 2009</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siegel, 2011</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siegel &amp; Senna, 2008</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheldon, et al, 2008</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travis, 2008</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: Yes 6 12 19 15
Sovereign Citizens—the Newest “Gang” to Threaten the U.S.

Sharon Tracy
Georgia Southern University
Catherine Burton
The Citadel
This paper defines the Sovereign Citizens Movement, their illegal actions, the threats they pose, especially to law enforcement and other public institutions. As foreclosures have multiplied, few neighborhoods may be safe from the entry of these individuals—without legal rights. This movement endangers the future of many communities, especially large metropolitan areas. Atlanta, GA will be highlighted as one of the study areas.

Hate and extremism is once again at the forefront of our society. The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) counted 1,018 hate groups in 2011. This connotes a growth in these groups, especially the antigovernment “Patriot” movement. This movement views the federal government as their primary enemy. The movement is fueled by bank and auto bailouts, declining economy and widespread unemployment. In 2011, two Patriot groups had created major terrorist plans aimed at police and others—a plot to kill Alaskan state troopers and a judge (Alaska Peacemakers Militia) and a plot by members of a Georgia militia who were planning to assassinate public officials, bomb federal buildings and do mass murder in four U.S. cities by throwing ricin dust from the windows of cars.

Adding to the hate groups’ rapid increase is the issue of non-white immigration. Among these hate groups are the: anti-gay groups, Christian Identity groups, Ku Klux Klan groups, Neo-Confederate groups, Neo-Nazi groups, Racist Skinhead groups, White Nationalist groups, Sovereign Citizens groups and “Nativist Extremist” groups. The latter groups (Nativist Extremists) are those who go further than lobbying and other political activities to restrict immigration. They harass and confront individuals they suspect are undocumented immigrants.

The group under study is the Sovereign Citizens. The accepted definition of Sovereign Citizens is: A subculture of far-right extremists who believe that they—not judges, juries, law enforcement or elected officials—get to decide which laws to obey and which to ignore and who don’t think that they should have to pay taxes. J.J. Macnab, Southern Poverty Law Center Intelligence Report, 2011.

This is considered the most serious adult group in this Patriot movement and the largest threat to law enforcement in the U.S. currently. This movement is growing fast. Most Sovereigns are not violent, but when pressured, some will react with rage, frustration and, in extreme cases, deadly violence.

This is what occurred on May 20, 2010 in West Memphis, Arkansas. Two police officers, assigned to a drug interdiction team, stopped a white minivan with unusual Ohio license plates.

Jerry Kang, 45, got out of the minivan and stood in front of the police SUV, arguing. Kane’s 16 year old son remained in the vehicle. The father pushed one officer into a ditch at which time, the son jumped from the van, firing an AK47 and killed that officer. The second officer began firing his gun, but the son gained advantage and shot this officer several times in the back of the head. The boy then returned to the first officer and fired repeatedly.

Both Kangs left the scene but were found later and were killed as they attempted to initiate a “shootout” with other law enforcement officers. Undoubtedly, there are those Sovereigns who are prepared to defend their beliefs “to the death”.

No one knows how many Sovereign Citizens are in the U.S. This is due to the fact that there is no central leadership and very few cohesive groups that they can join.
Instead, there is an array of local leaders who have their own ideology and behavioral techniques.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) has, however, estimated 100,000 hard-core Sovereigns in this country. According to this center, another 200,000 Sovereigns are testing techniques for resisting everything from speeding tickets to drug charges. While many Sovereigns own guns, their weapon of choice is paper. They submit dozens of court filings containing hundreds of pages of pseudo-legal nonsense.

Originally, the movement mostly attracted white supremacists and anti-Semites. The latter was based in their belief that Jews were playing a role in manipulating financial institutions and controlling the government.

In more recent time, most new recruits are people who have found themselves in a desperate situation and are searching for a quick fix. Unfortunately, some of the members of the Tea Party have become attracted to the Sovereign movement, largely because of the anti-government beliefs of the Sovereigns.

Another recent phenomenon is that many self-identified Sovereigns are African-American and they are apparently unaware of the racist origins of their ideology. Sovereigns have devised a process that they utilized to hold law enforcement agencies at bay. The process relies heavily on the idea of “redemption”. This is the act of splitting the “strawman” (the corporate or government shell) from the “flesh and blood” man. Once separated from the “corporate shell”, the newly freed man is outside the jurisdiction of most laws. The “redemption” scam is a bizarre technique that supposedly allows participants to tap into huge amounts of cash that the government is thought to keep in the Sovereigns’ names.

Sovereigns demand that government officials produce an oath of office or bond before they will communicate—this is most often utilized with traffic stops. They also use fraudulent forms of identification, such as license plates and driver’s licenses that are titled International Driver’s License or a Right to Road Travel. These documents claim that a person has the right to travel without government regulation.

There are a number of Sovereign Citizens’ indicators. These include:
- Strange license plates
- Unusual comments about the Federal Reserve and other government agencies
- Bizarre use of language: Example: Where are you going? Sovereign’s answer: I am a free man, traveling upon the land.
- Antigovernment bumper stickers
- Unsolicited anti-Semitic comments
- Anti-Federal Reserve or banking comments
- Odd punctuation of names
- Absence of a zip code
- Arrogant or belligerent attitude (Sovereigns believe that they have secret knowledge about a complex government conspiracy that most Americans, including law enforcement officials, are too stupid to comprehend.

The Sovereign Threat in Georgia

Several Sovereign Citizens groups are present in Georgia, most are in the metro Atlanta area. Interestingly, however, recently a resident of a small southeastern community (population: 2300) informed one of the authors that there were two
Sovereign Citizens in his community. This is certainly an indication that the movement is growing.

Since early 2010, several Sovereigns have filed Quit Claim Deeds and Affidavits of Adverse Possession with county clerk’s offices in order to occupy homes. They target foreclosed and/or abandoned homes that they do not legally own—therefore, they are “squatters”.

There are three prominent groups in Georgia:

1. Moorish Nation, a.k.a. Mfur Nation—the largest groups include: Nuwaubian Nation of the Moors, Yamassee, Washitaw, Moorish Science Temple, Azizan Moorish Nation and International Society of Indigenous Sovereigns (ISIS). Some members of the Nation also claim affiliation with the Nation of Islam, Black Hebrew Israelites and the New Black Panther Party.

2. Republic for the united States of America (RuSA). The term “for” and the small letter “u” in RuSA signify that the group is made up of independent “free state” republics loosely joined together. Members claim to represent the “real” American government which the United States officials allegedly abandoned and replaced with a corporation, the United States of America. RuSA plans to transform the U.S. back to a Republic based on hard currency (gold/silver), common law and Christianity. Members often identify themselves as Rangers, carry firearms and other weapons and conduct counter-surveillance against law enforcement and government officials. They use false identification as well.

3. Pembina Nation Little Shell Band—this group claims to be a Native American tribe that rejects the legitimacy of the U.S. government. They have created their own government, including a chief, court officials and law enforcement entities. Some claim to be members of the Moorish Nation as well and have fictitious forms of identification for both groups.

What is the outlook for the Sovereign Citizens movement?

While there have been no reported violent episodes involving the Sovereigns in Georgia, there does exist that threat, especially as more individuals become disenchanted with the government and the financial crisis. This does add fuel to the fire for Sovereigns who already harbor anti-government sentiments.

At the end of 2011, the FBI reported that they expected to see a continued increase in Sovereign Citizen activity, specifically targeting the housing market, in an effort to exploit the weak economy.

References