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Al-Nakba (the Catastrophe) and The Palestinian Diaspora: A Socio-Historical Account

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The 1948 Arab Israeli War: Independence or Catastrophe?:

While May 15th, 1948 marked the establishment of the independent Jewish state of Israel in a region of the Middle East known as Palestine, for the mostly non-Jewish, Arab Palestinians this was their *Nakba*(catastrophe) (Khouri, 1985; Sayigh, 2000; Kahlidi, 2006).The Arabic term, Nakba, has been primarily used to refer to what the Palestinians deem literally as their "catastrophe" or "disaster" focusing on their plight and struggle forsocial justice over the past six decades. The magnitude of this human catastrophe has been manifested over the years by subsequent series of chaotic events, wars, and global socio-political instability that transcend the Middle Eastern region. Consequently, the eruption of 1948 war has become a turning point in shaping the geo-political map of the region for decades to come. The aftermath of this war is highly visible in the deterioration of the Palestinian people in many different aspects of life. Therefore, despite many subsequent armed conflicts between the Palestinians and Arab neighbors and the Israelis (including 1965, 1968-1970, 1973, etc…) (Bard, 1999; Aloni, 2001), the 1948 conflict that immediately followed the establishment of the state of Israel was a turning point for the Arab people of Palestine in terms of oppression, ethnic cleansing, internal and external refugees, the partitioning and usurpation of their land and living under occupation (Pappe, 2006; Howell, 2007). A conflict-ridden dual society with two peoples striving for nationhood on the same land became a disaster for one and fully realized independence for the other (Tessler, 1994). Therefore, 62 years after the conflict began, the friction between the Palestinians and Israelis has only worsened and become difficult to disentangle.

It is worth noting that the history of the Palestinians and Jews in Palestine prior to 1948 had been in flux. For the Jews, their population grew from approximately 10% of the population to almost 30% in 1939-1940 (which was approximately 467,000 out of about 1.528 million) (Smith, 2007). The majority were recent immigrant Jews. Many have been victims and survivors of the Holocaust, which contributed to the genocide of over six million European Jews during the 1939-1945 World War II (Zertal, 2005). As for the Palestinians, their numbers increased roughly from 660,641 to about 1,060,750 during the same period. The increase of the Arab population at the time was primarily due to an increase in birthrates among their women and a decline in infant mortality (Smith, 2007). Despite, or perhaps due to the growth in population on both sides, the longer the Arabs and Jews lived side by side, and particularly under British Rule prior to WWII, the more mutually separate hostile and divided they grew (Segev, 1999; Bregman, 2002).

During WWI and with the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and rise of British Rule, interests in Palestine flourished from both the Arab side as well as the Jewish. For the Jews, they hoped to gain support from the Great Powers to establish sovereignty in Palestine. For the Arab nationalists, they hoped for an independent state (Smith, 2007). It was in 1914 when Herbert Samuel first suggested that Palestine may be considered a home for the Jewish people, though with little support received at the time. In fact, Palestine, compared with Iraq for instance at the time, was of little interest to the British only until the war began progressing. By 1916, interests in Zionism and Palestine grew among the British, building up the first draft proposed draft of the Balfour Declaration in 1917 (Zipperstein, 1993).

The 1917 Balfour Declaration or so-called "promise" intended to establish an independent Jewish state in Palestine without threatening the rights and civil liberties of non-Jews, provided security for the Jewish community and lack of political and national stability for the Palestinians.

The Balfour Declaration addressed by the British Conservative politician and Statesman (cited in Laqueur& Rubin, 1995) addressed to Lord Rothschild (1917) stated:

[I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in the Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR]

Predictably, the declaration only resulted in a more hostile divide between the Palestinians and the Jews. Subsequently and under U.S. leadership and initiative the State of Israel was established, but the Palestinians remained stateless (Sayigh, 2000; Khalidi, 2006). Perspectives on the conflict resulting from the original partitioning of the land in 1948 differ. Geopolitical clashes between the two local actors andeven among the two superpowers of the Cold War era over who should own which part of the land and why, have been disputed ever since.(Bickerton, 2003). On one hand, endless accusations were made that the Palestinians had no intention of sharing land and resources to begin with, especially when the Jewish minority in Palestine was under 27% of the total population (in 1937) and even as late as 1947 when it rose to 33%. Today, however, that argument is moot: there are approximately 7.5 million inhabitants in the Palestinian-Israeli territories combined, 75.4% (5.66 million) of which are Jewish, 20.3% (1.5 million) are Arabs and the remaining are classified as "others" (Tessler, 1994).

Though the British made efforts to limit Jewish migration to Palestine due to scarce resources available to support immigration and other economic hardships, the Zionist movement only strengthened and Jews primarily from Europe continued to find refuge in Palestine (Masalha, 1992; Segev, 1999). Those changing demographics in the region created resentful attitudes from the Arab Palestinians toward the Jewish settlers. It later became particularly important and significant in the lives of Palestinians when their expulsion from their homes became a reality (Lesch, 2007).

Despite the Palestinian Arabs being the majority in 1947 (approximately 740,000), only 150,000 remained in the area following the establishment of the State of Israel and the 1948 war that ensued, the rest were forced into exile and became refugees (Morris, 1988). By 1949, much of the territory mandated by the United Nations National Security Council to return to the control of Arabs in Palestine was controlled by Israel (Gold, 2004). This only increased the confusion between what Israel de facto controlled as a result of the 1948 War and the Palestinian Arabs leaving their homes and land, and the UN partition resolution (Barzilai, 1996; Citron, 2006). The Arabs rejected the recognition of establishing an independent Jewish state in Palestine (Bard, 1999). They opposed the actual and mandated boundaries dividing the Jewish community from the Arab community in Palestine. This made the possibility of establishing two independent states, one Jewish and one Palestinian, become nearly impossible(Tessler, 1994). Since then, the allocation and distribution of all economic resources in Israel/Palestine (including water, education, and work opportunities) have been under the tight control of Israel, and to the detriment of the Arab population of Israel, including the Arabs who were eventually granted Israeli citizenship.

While the Palestinian Arabs were in the process of being evacuated from most cities such as Haifa, Jaffa, and Tiberias during the 1948 conflict, they were promised by the Arab leadership of their absolute "right of return" within weeks of their exodus. As evident in its aftermath, the "promise" of return fell through and the bulk of Palestinian Arab population found itself in neighboring Arab countries and more distant ones as permanent refugees (Morris, 1988; Gelber, 2006). The outbreak of the 1948 Arab-Israeli

war led to almost 750,000 Palestinians leaving their homes, properties and life behind, primarily due to the chaos and disruption that was taking place at the time (Morris, 2004; Gelber, 2006).

The 1948 was truly a historic setback and a *catastrophe* for the Palestinian Arabs, that has prevented them from an independent homeland and created a worldwide Palestinian Diaspora of refugees caught between merciless conditions and false hopes (Morris, 2004). The so-called armistice "agreement" that followed the War between Israel and the Arab States (including Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon) was intended to limit the hostilities between the Palestinians and the Jews by establishing geographic demarcations (also known as the Green Line) to separate Israel from the Jordanian-held West Bank under United Nations supervision and monitoring (Pappe, 2006). But this armistice did not last. The vast refugee population claims only compounded any possible peace talks between the two peoples. While the Arab governments insisted on extending the "right of return" to all refugees, Israel claimed the refugees had forfeited that right and rejected and abandoned their land (Aruri, 2001). The armistice lines, which were initially proposed to provide security and peace between the Palestinians and Israelis, only created a more hostile environment in the Palestinian-Israeli territories, especially after many of the Palestinian villagers' land began to be taken by Jewish settlers (Lustick, 1980). In fact, many new Jewish villages were built on top of demolished Arab villages (el-Asmar, 1975).

Problems of Social Displacement:

One of the main challenges faced by the Palestinians as a result of the 1948 war was their social displacement, internally as well as externally. While some Palestinians were displaced within their own land (creating a refugee population living in camps), others were either forcefully expelled or voluntarily migrated to neighboring countries such as Jordan (Transjordan at the time), Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and others. Jordan took one of the largest flow of Palestinian refugees, granting most of them citizenship status. It was the only Arab country to do so. However, Palestinians who were displaced in other regions, including Syria and Lebanon, remain refugees till this day (Morris, 2004). Experiencing *ghurba*(foreignness)(Smith, 1986) among the Palestinians was most traumatic, not only due to their relocation to different Arab states, but to western countries as well and to their social displacement and the establishment of refugee camps within their *homeland* (Tibawi,1963*;* Smith, 1986). The Palestinian refugee population therefore becomes very vital and significant in shaping Palestinian national identity and connection to their homeland, despite their "right of return" hope being farfetched.

A series of events that highlight underlying issues of the conflict betweenArabs andIsraelis have contributed more to their divisions, alienation, and animosity. For instance, in 1967 the Six Day War, known as the *Al-Naksa* or the "setback" took place between Israel and its neighboring Arab states (including Egypt, Jordan and Syria) (Associated Press, 1996; Gelvin, 2005). The War ended with Israel occupying the Sinai Peninsula, East Jerusalem, The West Bank, Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights. While the outcome of this war has been yet another accomplishment in the remaining task for Israel's political Zionism and aspirations, a new set of problems have been created to the already desperate and gloomy condition for the Palestinians in particular and the Arab nation in general (Masalha, 1992). Hence, the impact of this war continues to shape the geopolitical dynamics in the region until this day.This blow to the Palestinians and Arabs has resulted in significant events during the next decades. Notably the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the October war between Egypt and Israel, the invasion of south Lebanon, the eruption of uprising waves, among many other regional and global developments were seen as manifestation of the continual plight and struggle for the Palestinian nation (Tessler, 1994; Laqueur and Rubin 1995). At the same time, these events underscore the urgency for alternative approaches to solving these conflicts. For example, in the wake of the 1980s uprising in which, the Palestinians began their first uprising or *intifada* against Israeli occupation of the land. Serious efforts were made to make peace and begin negotiations and talks to untangle pressing issues (Tessler, 1994).The conflict during the *intifada* lasted between 1987-1993. Following the uprising, it was necessary for the Israeli and Palestinians to reach a so-called peace resolution to settle the conflict in the region. By 1991, the Oslo Accords became necessary for negotiations between the two parties. The Accords concluded by calling for Israeli Defense Forces' (IDF) withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, as well as establishing a Palestinian National Authority (PNA) responsible for the administration of the Palestinian

territory. By 1993 the Accords were officially signed in Washington, DC by the Palestine Liberation Organization at the time Yasser Arafat, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and U.S. President Bill Clinton (Laqueur and Rubin 1995). Despite attempts to work out the peace process between the Palestinians and Israelis, conflicts and disagreements grew. By 2000, there was second uprising and more violence between the Palestinians and Israelis. Since then, the two peoples grew more apart and political stability and nationhood became very critical issues. As a result of the attempted violent attacks from both sides, a decision to physically and perhaps even permanently separate the two by building a *barrier* became vital.

The Barrier

The so-called barrier built in 2002 by the State of Israel has only contributed to further dividing the Palestinians and Israelis and perhaps even diluting the possibility of any sort of reconciliation between the two. Building of the barrier was initially proposed by former Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin in 1992, in response to an Israeli teenage girl being murdered in Jerusalem. The barrier is built in the West Bank and partially on the 1949 Armistice line between Israel and the Palestine's West Bank. However, the Armistice lines and guidelines used to build the barrier have been argued to serve as further annexation of Palestinian land under the control of Israel. Today the barrier is approximately 400 miles long and the concrete walls extend to almost 8 meters high (26 feet).

Controversies on what the barrier has intended to "construct" depend largely on perspectives originating primarily from two peoples perceiving themselves as victims; the Jews being victims of the Holocaust and the Palestinians victims of the *Nakba*, occupation, loss of homeland and political instability. Victimization within a "victim" society therefore becomes even more complicated in pointing out the main destruction to both. While the Palestinians perceive the barrier as a racial segregation wall or even an Apartheid wall, the Israelis perceive it as a separation fence or security and anti-terrorist fence.
According to Sharansky (2004, p. 214), Minister of Housing and Construction at the time:
When Israel's free society was defending itself against an unprecedented campaign of terror, most of the international community was calling for an end of the "cycle of violence" and a return to the negotiating table. When the Palestinian terrorists struck... Israel was condemned for imposing "collective punishment" on the Palestinian population. When Israel chose to target individual terrorists with precision air strikes, its actions were condemned as illegal extrajudicial assassinations. It seemed that in eyes of many, the Jews had a right to defend themselves in theory but could not exercise that right in practice... our government understood that there were three options to maintain an acceptable level of security for our citizens. The first was to wage a total war against Palestinian terror using weapons that would claim many innocent Palestinian lives. The second was to keep our reserves constantly mobilized to defend the country. The third option was to build the security fence. Had the Palestinian Authority become a partner in fighting terror, as it was obliged to do under all the agreements that is signed, none of these options would have become necessary.

Though many have argued that attempted suicide bombings and other acts of violence against Israel have substantially decreased with the building of the barrier, others have stated that so-called terrorists and suicide bombers have found other ways to attack. There is no doubt, despite the reports confirming a decrease in attacks, that the Palestinian community has been deprived of freedom, loss of land and property and very limited accessibility to health and medical services, water and economic benefits. In a 2005 report, the United Nations stated that:
*[...it is difficult to overstate the humanitarian impact of the Barrier. The route inside the West Bank severs communities, people's access to services, livelihoods and religious and cultural amenities. In addition, plans for the Barrier's exact route and crossing points through it are often not fully revealed until days before construction commences. This has led to considerable anxiety amongst Palestinians about how their future lives will be impacted...The land between the Barrier and the Green Line constitutes some of the most fertile in the West Bank. It is currently the home for 49,400 West Bank Palestinians living in 38 villages and towns…] (*Introduction: UN Report, p. 4)

As a result, and from a humanitarian perspective, the "West Bank" has been harmed particularly in attaining good health services (Adapted from: UN.org). Ambulances traveling from towns close to Jerusalem (e.g. Abu Dis), have increased their travel time to the nearest hospital from 10 minutes to over 110 minutes (Adapted from: BBC News). Deprivation and loss of human life have therefore become inevitable.

Furthermore, from an economic perspective, farming (which has been an important source of income for the Palestinians and in particular the *fellaheen*), has also become very limited. Many of the fellaheen are now required to have permits issued by Israeli authorities to access *their* land, which has now become on the *other* side (Adapted from: http://www.nad-plo.org/facts/wall/WallMagazine%207-2005.pdf).

The Israeli human rights organization B'Tselem notes that "thousands of Palestinians have difficulty going to their fields and marketing their produce in other areas of the West Bank. Farming is a primary source of income in the Palestinian communities situated along the Barrier's route, an area that constitutes one of the most fertile areas in the West Bank. The harm to the farming sector is liable to have drastic economic effects on the residents – whose economic situation is already very difficult – and drive many families into poverty." (B'Tselem, 2007)

Hostility and conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians primarily began in 1948 and continue throughout our present time. The Diaspora of the Palestinian people contributed to victimization of a nation of people who were left stateless and in many instances, homeless. The growing problem since the 1940s demanded creating a refuge to house the expelled Palestinians and particularly those who became permanent refugees in neighboring Arab states. As a result, these rising issues became a precursor to the establishment of the *temporary* organization known as the United Nation Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine refugees in the Near East, that is ironically still in existence today (Adapted from: http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=85). The organization was established in 1949 and has been the primary provider of basic needs and services for the Palestine refugee population since May 1950. On one end, it's a humanitarian organization to assist in providing minimal conditions for survival of displaced people; and on another end it's an approach to save the lives of over 4 million Palestinian refugees. Disputes on the number of refugees post the 1948 conflict ranged from 900,000 according to Arab spokesmen and about 520,000 according to Israeli spokesmen (Morris, 1987). However, it was finally estimated by the United Nations Economic Survey Mission and the UNRWA that the number of refugees was 726,000 (Gabbay, 1959).

The General Assembly's resolution 194, which went back and forth between repatriating the refugees or resettling and compensating them, fell apart. Neither the Israelis nor the Palestinians were in agreement to the so-called resolution. Since then, disagreements, turmoil, and the increase in the number of Palestinian refugee population only made the "temporary" UNRWA organization a relatively "permanent" one so long that the refugee population was in existence (Jadallah, 2009). Since UNRWA is a donor survivor of many countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Japan, the United States and others, it has long suffered from allocating a fair share of resources to the refugees, including health care, shelter, and educational needs (Adapted from http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/483-unrwa-donor-update). However, UNRWA does not have jurisdictional power and/or legislative control over the refugees in its care. It is the responsibility of the "host" country to establish secure measures to ensure that the refugee population is in fact under the control of the host country's government and local police (Adapted from: http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=87).

The status of refugees in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon differ with competing ideologies and struggle for survival and resources. Jordan is primarily rated best particularly that almost 2 million refugees have been granted Jordanian citizenship and have legal rights to work and enjoy other governmental resources (Adapted from: http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=66). However, the flow of refugees in 1967 are only permitted a 2-year passport that is renewable but with no national identity number. In Syria, there are approximately 450,000 registered refugees with permission and access to governmental services (Adapted from: http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=55). Refugees in Lebanon on the other hand, live in more poverty stricken conditions and only since 2005 did the Ministry of Labor granted registered Palestinian

refugees born in Lebanon to work in clerical positions and obtain work permits (Adapted from: http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=65).

The Palestinian refugee problem is one of the oldest and probably most complex humanitarian issues of all times. For six decades, injustices, denial of civil liberties and living in oppression have only been factors contributing to the continual calamities Palestinians living in Diaspora have to endure. The issues surrounding the "refugee" population has long been a topic of great debate in the so-called "peace" process.*Peace* behind the peace process and a resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be "resolved" without addressing the problems associated with the refugee population.

Persistence of the Palestinian refugee displacement is evident in the camps established primarily in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon (Hejoj, 2007). Conscious efforts to isolate the refugees from the remaining of the society within which they're living have been evident in most of them lacking citizenship rights and other living restrictions. Despite the 1948 conflict being a major *nakba*to the Palestinians and the Palestinian refugees, it was followed by the 1967 six day warto add even more to the conflicting international issue of refugees.

There is no doubt that UNRWA continues to "survive" under the generosity of donor countries. The deficits, however, experienced by UNRWA due to the lack of funding have negatively impacted the refugee population in terms of providing them with health needs, education, food and shelter. The existence of UNRWA in the lives of Palestinian refugees is very significant and vital to their survival. Dissolution of UNRWA will not only degenerate the refugee population further, but perhaps even take with it the connecting thread between the Palestinians and their *homeland.* Even more complicated would be the response of host countries to a vanishing UNRWA.

Following is a brief explanation of UNRWA services that have become the "survival" factors in the lives of refugees (Adapted from http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=18):

Health Services:

UNRWA strives to ensure that refugees get basic health services and that children are monitored for healthy living and a longer life span. In 2008 alone, UNRWA medical staff performed 9.6 million medical consultations.

Education:

UNRWA has been providing Palestinian refugees with strong educational background for over 60 years. Their students are one of the best in the Middle East region, and girls make up almost half of the agency's operating schools. There are approximately 700 schools in the Middle East operating under the supervision of UNRWA services. In addition to basic education, UNRWA has also provided opportunities for vocational training, including fashion, carpentry, and pharmacy.

Relief and Social Services:

UNRWA's relief and social services primarily assist those are truly disadvantaged and have little to no access to basic needs such as shelter, basic infrastructure, water, and food. UNRWA staff ensures that data is collected on those individuals and follow up programs make certain that needs are being met particularly by promoting more community based action.

Microfinance:

UNRWA's microfinance programs encourage work opportunities for men and women by providing financial assistance to starting new businesses that can eventually sustain healthy living. It is a way to empower the refugees in generating income to support their families.

Infrastructure improvement:

Considering that camp dwellings are the densest in the world, UNRWA ensures that those living in them are maintaining a good and healthy life, among both the adults and children. UNRWA overlooks the conditions of the camps and the deterioration of infrastructure and makes recommendations to improving their physical conditions. The most fascinating factor about the camps is that they have historically began as tents and transformed into multi story buildings, overly populated and congested.

Conclusion:

A desire to make peace between the Palestinians and Israelis is understandable. However, re-establishing a damaged and expelled Palestinian nation may only become a reality by historically unmarking the divided land, bringing back more than 4.7 million refugees to their homeland, and providing accessibility to resources (including water, education, employment, etc…). Therefore, in search of peace to the current situation may seem a little far from reality given the violence from both sides, oppression of the Palestinians, and inequality. Furthermore, would establishing a sovereign Palestinian State end the conflict and allow for the Palestinians and Israelis to live in peace side by side? In trying to respond to this, one must realize that the conflict is fundamentally embedded in historical differences and disagreements. For both nations to erase or rewrite history is almost unimaginable. In fact, the conflict has become intergenerational and is only likely to impact future generations. That is not to say that the wrongdoing should not or cannot be amended. Also, preserving the "right of return" among Palestinians refugees is essential to bringing them back to their homes and helping in rebuilding stateless Palestine. By no means does the "right of return" suggest the exodus and destruction of the state of Israel.

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Modeling Long-Term Investment Strategy to Meet College or University Mission and Spending Priorities

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Most private and many government-supported colleges and universities receive substantial sums of support annually through gifts and contributions. Donors include businesses, religious organizations, private foundations, alumni and friends. While the institution may receive some gifts and contributions for any current legitimate use, in other instances, donors impose time restrictions on their gifts and/or restrict their use to specific projects or activities. For example, institutions may receive restricted resources to spend in specified future years and/or for the purposes of financing new or expanded physical facilities, faculty fellowship programs, new or expanded academic programs, scholarships and loans for students and for a host of other purposes.

Primary responsibility for raising and managing donor gifts and contributions to complement college or university mission and spending priorities often rests with university-related foundations.[1] Upon receipt of donor-restricted gifts and contributions, the foundation places them in various funds and invest the monies for various periods. Generically, specific purpose funds accommodate donor-restricted monies which permit spending both principal and returns, while endowment funds limit spending to returns only, with maintenance of principal required. Moreover, foundation governing boards may establish quasi-endowments by setting aside or designating unrestricted gifts and contributions for special projects or activities. The foundation may pool these monies for investment purposes where practical and where compliance with institutional policy and fiduciary duties permit.

Typically, a foundation does not serve as manager of its investment holdings,[2] on a day-to-day basis. Instead, its governing board establishes formal, written investment goals, policy and strategy and constraints. Although practices vary, a foundation investment committee often makes investment policy and strategy recommendations, oversees their implementation, selects professional money managers and monitors the results. In turn, the foundation's chief investment officer or college or university vice-president of finance oversees day-to-day execution of investment selection by professional money managers.

The authors of this paper have modified a Historic Income Projector Model (HIPM), previously applied to retirement planning and saving for college (Anthony, Burkette & Sparks, 2007; Anthony, Burkette & Everett, 2008) to aid investment planners in formulating sound investment strategy. We will briefly overview the income projector model and then demonstrate its application to a hypothetical institution.

Overview of the Model

Foundation investment planners will find the model useful in conducting trial runs of different types of investments using different asset mixes (proportions) over different historical periods. Back-testing aids the planner in formulating subjective probabilities, or impressions about portfolio returns and risk (portfolio volatility). "What **if** ?" questions inevitably arise in investment strategy decisions in view of potential political and economic upheavals, financial market booms and bursts, recessions and depressions, and terror attacks and international incidents. While no one can accurately predict the future,

one can gain valuable insights into plausible, best and worse case future portfolio returns and risk by conducting HIPM "back-tests" during different market environments of the past.

The model uses actual yearly (not average) historical returns for its calculations to permit planners to simulate real-life investment experiences over the past 82 years and to develop insights about different investment strategies. Users may "test run" different portfolio strategies—asset types and mixes, annual fund raising rates, desired payout dates and target incomes—to determine outcomes that would have actually resulted over various historical periods. Multiple trial runs allow the foundation to better craft a portfolio strategy, which meets its needs while managing investment risk.

Compared to many available income projector models, HIPM offers at least two advantages. First, it uses actual yearly historical returns, rather than average returns, to better aid users in formulating foundation investment strategy. Averages over generalize and thus obscure the realities of short-term portfolio fluctuations in today's highly volatile financial markets. Second, other projector models which use actual historical returns, such as OPAL (Ortec International USA, 2007 and van Welie, Janssen and Hoogstrate (2004) remain costly). A copy of HIPM is available free of charge from the authors.[3]

The authors constructed HIPM from Microsoft Excel spreadsheet software. Using selected spreadsheet functions and formulas, HIPM accumulates actual (not average) asset returns for each year which a foundation's portfolio would have provided. Then, the program calculates systematic yearly withdrawals of amounts of accumulated assets during distribution to supplement other sources of income to meet the college or university's target income needs. The remaining assets continue to grow the portfolio returns for each year in the distribution period. The program accommodates up to 20 years of asset accumulations and up to 20 years of distributions.

The model generates investment real annual returns, that is, after inflation effects (amounts after removing inflation), and adjusts returns for portfolio management fees and subtracts income taxes, if applicable. Under their 501 (c) (3) tax-exempt status, however, college or university foundation portfolio returns do not normally incur federal income taxes. Because of the approach used to remove inflation effects, the model expresses results in today's dollar value of purchasing power. This negates the need for a user to think in terms of past and future inflated amounts, thus adding convenience and simplicity to the planning process.

To illustrate how the model views returns and asset costs, consider the following examples. Suppose someone invests $1 on January 1, 2009, the investment grows to $1.03 one year later and inflation rises by 3 percent over the period, the model views the return for 2009 as 0 percent in January 1, 2009 dollars of purchasing power, or in real returns. Similarly, if a widget costs $1 on January 1, 2009 and after one year costs $1.10, and inflation rises at 3 percent over the year, the model would count the cost of the widget in inflation-adjusted terms (or real cost) at approximately $1.07. Thus the model would recognize a 7 percent real annual increase for 2009, again in January 1, 2009 dollars of purchasing power. In both examples, returns and costs must increase at rates in excess of inflation to produce the real increases used by HIPM.

The historical returns for the individual investment classes or types run from 1926 through 2008 and reside in files marked by separate tabs at the bottom of the spreadsheet. The returns for U. S. stocks (both Large and Small Companies), bonds (20-year U.S. Treasuries), money (3-month U.S Treasuries, which approximate money market funds), and the Consumer Price Index—All Urban Consumers, come from Ibbotson Associates (2009). Real estate returns come from the National Association of Real Estate Investment Trusts (2009) (equity category) data from 1972 through 2008. We used general references to the finance literature to estimate earlier returns. Returns on gold bullion and returns on foreign stocks (ex-US) were obtained from Global Financial Data (January 2009). Foreign stock returns (World-ex U.S.) measure performance corresponding to developed foreign country markets.

Example

To demonstrate the model, the authors assume a hypothetical foundation at Excellence University, a private institution, which received a cash bequest a few years ago from one of its prominent alumni. The alumnus stipulated that the foundation use the money to help finance a new building complex for student physical education and recreation (PER Center). The donor had founded a successful business

manufacturing physical exercise equipment and wanted to share some of his wealth to improve the health of future generations. The Center ranks high on the future capital spending plans of Excellence.

Construction will begin 19 years from now, and the construction period will take three years, for a total 22-year planning period. The estimated cost of the PER Center in 2009 equals approximately $21,003,000, but the University architect estimates that future annual construction cost increases will equal 1.5 percent in real terms, that is, after inflation. The University plans to pay for the construction in three equal installments over the construction period. To finance the project, the foundation currently holds the bequest and related donor-restricted gifts and contributions in a specific purpose fund, presently with a market value of $5,000,000. Moreover, university foundation officials estimate that they can raise additional restricted gifts and contributions for the project of up to $800,000 per year over the remaining 19-year accumulation period. University administration also plans to impose a special fee on the student body of $250,000 annually during the estimated three-year construction period to help finance the project.

Excellence's foundation initially invested the available funds in a moderately conservatively way, with bonds dominating the portfolio, but with recent membership changes in the foundation's governing board, they want to explore the option of investing in a more stock-oriented portfolio to produce better potential long-term returns. In either event, the committee plans to continue investing in low cost index mutual funds and to buy and hold as implied by modern portfolio theory,[4] except for annual rebalancing of the portfolio. They value sound investing principles of broad portfolio diversification, risk control and stability and minimization of investing costs. Jim Varsity, a member of the foundation governing board, and friend of one of the co-authors of this article, recently heard about the authors' research using HIPM and asked for a copy to back-test alternative portfolio risk/return profiles. While we assume Excellence University foundation does not self-manage any of its long-term investments, the model would provide vital information to formulate sound investment strategy for others involved in the investing process.

Model Input

To apply the model, the user, "Jim", must engage the University planning mode by entering the Number "2" ("1" engages the retirement planning mode) in the upper part of the "INPUT-OUTPUT" worksheet, reproduced here in part as Table 1. Most of the other input remains self-explanatory. To clarify a few of the input questions pertaining to Jim's first trial run, he enters the present market value of the PER Center specific purpose fund of $5,000,000, assumed deposited at the beginning of this 22-year trial to back-test the competing portfolios under consideration. Next, he enters the estimated annual restricted gifts and contributions the foundation must raise in today's dollars of purchasing power of $50,000, averaged in over each year. (Note that to obtain the amount of annual gifts and contributions to fully finance the PER Center construction requires trial and error after entering the remainder of the input.)

Jim then enters a "1"to signify the start of the assumed asset accumulation period and "20" to mark the end. Takeouts of income will begin at the start of year 20, the assumed date construction will begin, and run for each of "3" years during PER Center construction, for a total planning period of 22 years. For other income expected during the construction period, Jim enters the $250,000 annual special student fee assessment planned by University administration.

To estimate the future annual cost of the PER Center in today's dollars of purchasing power, Jim applies the embedded construction cost calculator, as shown in Table 1. The calculator automatically renders the future real, annual cost for the new PER Center of approximately $9,500,000 for each of the three years of construction. To generate this number, Jim enters the estimated current cost of $7,001,000 for each of three years and the estimated real, annual construction cost escalator of 1.5 percent. Since Excellence's foundation holds tax-exempt status, the input cell for the tax rate requires no entry.

Jim chooses the starting date of 1983 to begin the first 22 year trial run for the portfolios under consideration. That means the accumulation period will end in 2001 and the 3 year distribution period will begin at the start of 2002 and end in 2004. Then, at the bottom of Table 1, Jim enters the current bond-dominated (Conservative) portfolio and an experimental stock-dominated (Aggressive) portfolio, with the respective investment types and mixes for each, along with investing fees and expenses. Jim may now test run these competing portfolios to determine whether either provides income to fully fund

the PER Center construction and their relative risk profiles over the market environment starting in 1983 and ending in 2004.

In addition to income from portfolios of actively traded investments and supplemental income during the distribution period (e.g., special assessed student fees, special fund raising events, and sales of advertising space.), the model possesses limited capability to evaluate assets lacking ready marketability and their income streams. For example, the model accommodates fixed annuities,[5] directly owned parcels of real estate (such as personal residents and farmland), antiques, artwork and similar assets which donors might contribute to finance the PER Center. We did not demonstrate these applications here because of space limitations

Model Output

Table 2, "MODEL-OUTPUT" provides the results of Jim's first test run (1983-2004) using the input data above after assumed investing fees and expenses and in today's dollars of purchasing power. To highlight some of the results (bottom of Table 2), note that the Aggressive (stock-dominated) portfolio handily outperformed the Conservative (bond-dominated) portfolio. Its average annual returns excelled by around 1.43 percent (8.63 percent vs.7.2 percent) and its portfolio value by more than $6,720,000 ($25,875,245 vs.$19, 154,500) by the construction start date, beginning of 2002 in this trial. Moreover, average annual income from the securities portfolios favored the Aggressive portfolio by an amount exceeding $2,333,104.

To obtain the superior returns of the Aggressive portfolio entails a cost--additional volatility, and thus risk. The standard deviation--a statistical measure of these fluctuations—of the Aggressive portfolio income variation greatly exceeded that of the Conservative portfolio by over $2,881,000 ($3,630,985 vs. $749,951). Moreover, the standard deviation of returns differed by 1.87% (11.47% vs. 9.6%) for the respective portfolios. Nevertheless, the "up" and "down" years numbered the same for each portfolio, albeit at a greater magnitude for the Aggressive portfolio "ups" and "downs."

In short, the two sources of income available for financing Excellence's PER Center-- portfolio income and special student fees—slightly exceeded the target for the Aggressive portfolio while the Conservative portfolio fell short of the target by over $2,316,862 annually. The decisively better performance of the Aggressive portfolio over this planning period stems primarily from the excellent overall run stocks experienced during the roaring secular bull market (long-term trend) of the 1980s and 1990s. In spite of the severe cyclical bear market (short-term trend) in stocks that began in 2000, the admonition to invest in stocks for the long run, (Siegel, 2002), was validated at least over Jim's initial 22-year trial run, 1983 through 2004.

In addition to the tabular data in Table 2, HIPM provides 3 figures (charts) to permit the user to better visualize essential portfolio outcome differences. In Figure 1, the user may visualize the pattern of income distributions for each portfolio during the PER Center construction period. The chart clearly depicts the larger average annual income or distributions of the Aggressive portfolio over the Conservative portfolio, along with the additional volatility.

The next chart, Figure 2, demonstrates the total values of the Current and Aggressive portfolios over the 22-year planning period--accumulation and distribution periods combined. Notice that both portfolios' values tracked each other reasonably well up until around the early 1990s, when the Aggressive stock-oriented portfolio began to widen its lead substantially with the commensurate booming market in stocks. It continued its rapid growth until around 2000, when it peaked and began to decline in response to the severe cyclical bear market in stocks which began that year. Meanwhile, the less volatile Conservative portfolio generally grew and peaked about 1999, and then remained essentially flat until the distribution period began in 2002.

The final chart, Figure 3, depicts the annual returns of the respective portfolios over the 22-year planning period to give the user another perspective of relative portfolio performances and risk. Over this period, the Aggressive portfolio produced noticeably superior returns for nine years, especially from 1996 through 1999 as "irrational exuberance" prevailed in the stock market. On the other hand, the Conservative portfolio excelled discernible better for four years and particularly from 2000 through 2002 as investors fled stocks for bonds and other safe-haven investments during the major cyclical bear market

in stocks which began in 2000. By 2003, however, the Aggressive portfolio regained its leadership as stocks began a new bull market.

To obtain more reliable perspectives of competing portfolio performances and risks over long historical periods, planners should conduct runs of different portfolios over different historical periods under varying economic and market conditions. These multiple trial runs enable the user to better fathom how risk/return tradeoffs impact portfolio income and portfolio asset values, and thus the amount of financing available for college or university projects and activities.

In fact, at Jim's request, the foundation's investment committee conducted 22-year rolling trial runs of various portfolios, starting in 1927 and running through 1987,[6] using the basic input data from Table 1. Highlights from some of those portfolios runs appear as Table 3. Note that the best performing portfolio in terms of real, annual average returns was the Aggressive (stock-dominated) portfolio demonstrated in Tables 1 and 2 above, albeit with the highest ranges of returns volatility. The standard deviation for these returns spiked for this portfolio occurred during trial runs spanning the Great Depression and during the 1970s, with the resignation of a U.S. president, severe energy shortages and horrific inflation.

Table 3 also shows that Jim's initial trial run of the Aggressive portfolio, used to demonstrate HIPM above, proved unrepresentative. The real, annual average returns (8.63%) of that trial run, beginning in 1983, proved only slightly less than the best returns (9.08%, Col. 2) experienced for that portfolio over all of the 22-year rolling trial runs conducted—1927-1987. Further HIPM tests to also revealed a much larger annual fund raising requirement to increase the odds of fully financing the PER Center construction. In fact, using a target to achieve full financing over at least 70 percent of all rolling trial runs (1927-1987), the annual fund raising requirements equaled $427,000 annually (Column 4). That amount far exceeded the $50,000 requirement needed for Jim's initial trial run. Nevertheless, the annual fund raising requirement for the Aggressive portfolio remains the lowest of any of the portfolios shown in Table 3.

The Conservative (bond-dominated) portfolio produced the worst performance of any shown in Table 3, yielding an average annual real return of only 3.05% (Column 1) over all trial runs. Moreover, the portfolio required the largest amount of annual foundation fund raising ($786,500, Column 4) to fully finance the PER Center over at least 70% of the 22-year rolling periods. While it experienced relatively low volatility levels, discernible increases did occur in rolling trial runs spanning the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and much of the present decade. Once trial run periods progressed beyond a majority of the 1970s horrific inflationary years, annual real returns improved dramatically to produce the best returns for the Conservative portfolio over all periods tested.

The remaining portfolios' performances fall between the extremes of the Aggressive and Conservative portfolios. In terms of the portfolio's relative average real returns, risk (Column 3) and fund raising required to reach the 70% financing benchmark, the Balanced portfolio ranked second in overall appeal of all the portfolios shown in Table 3. The portfolio consisted of a 50:50 allocation of debt and equity types of investments. Finally, the Well-Diversified portfolio produced a more stable real annual returns range (Column 2) than any of the portfolios shown in Table 3, with volatility levels (Column 3) roughly paralleling those of the Conservative portfolio. The portfolio consisted of an allocation of each investment asset class or type listed in Table 1, with larger weighting assigned to the traditional bonds and equities. Volatility levels for both this and the Balanced portfolios spiked noticeably during trial runs spanning the Great Depression and the challenging investing period of the 1970s.

The 22-year rolling trial runs from1927 through 1987, shown in Table 3, suggest that the Aggressive portfolio would more likely achieve the foundation's plan to fully finance the construction of the PER Center. But, can the foundation tolerate the additional volatility? The results of trial runs of portfolios shown in Table 3, and variations thereof, over different time periods may persuade the foundation to settle for very broadly diversified portfolio strategies or to continue with strategies, such as the Conservative portfolio. As alluring as more aggressive portfolio returns remain, many foundations may sacrifice higher returns for portfolio stability. High risk portfolios may lead to accusations of portfolio mismanagement by donors, college or university faculty and administrators and other stakeholders, especially during severe bear markets, e.g., 1973-74, 2000-03 and 2007-09.

After the investment committee completed its trial runs of different portfolios over different time periods, Jim presented the results to the foundation's governing board. The findings were accompanied by a recommendation, with concurrence by the investment committee, that the board adopt the Aggressive portfolio strategy. After extensive and careful analysis and discussion in a joint meeting with the foundation investment committee, the governing board voted to increase exposure to stocks and adopt the Aggressive strategy. They plan to adopt the strategy in all of their long-term specific purpose funds, except where donors' restrictions precluded its application.

Summary and Conclusion

College and university-related foundations often raise large sums of money annually for many colleges and universities to aid the institution in meeting its mission and spending priorities. The foundation often invests much of this money for long periods before use, which requires a prudently crafted investment strategy. In this paper, the authors have demonstrated the application of a historic income projector model (HIPM) to aid in the formulation of sound and effective investment strategy.

Enlisting HIPM allows back-testing of different portfolios over different historical periods to gain valuable insights into plausible and worst and best case portfolio outcomes. This exercise, for example, provides strategy planners with subjective probabilities, or impressions that they should find useful in estimating returns versus risk trade-offs. This information should prove vital whether the foundation self manages its investments in part or engages outside professional money managers exclusively for the day-to-day task. Planners with basic EXCEL skills and investment knowledge, such as members of the foundation's investment committee or the foundation's chief investment officer, can realistically understand and adapt the model to a particular college or university's needs and circumstances.

Refinements to the model would add to its versatility and applicability. The model needs more asset classes or types, such as more metals and other commodities, more representative foreign stocks and foreign bonds. Quality data, however, remain difficult to find and expensive. Moreover, reprogramming to permit changes in investment classes or types and mixes during trial runs would appeal to some investors in spite of the widely held admonition to buy and hold a diversified portfolio over the long run.. Nevertheless, the model remains a reasonably effective tool of avoiding many of the pitfalls of foundation investing for the long term.

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Footnotes

[1] College or university-related foundations, organized under Internal Revenue Code 501(C) (3) often exist as the entity of choice to raise and manage money from donors, rather than the college or university. Key reasons include the following: (1) Foundations ensure separation of donor-provided funds from other financing sources, such as taxpayers for government institutions and churches and other religious organizations in the case of private institutions. (2) Foundations can avoid constraints on fund raising and money management of laws, regulations and policies imposed on colleges or universities operations. (3) Foundations can often better enlist the support and sphere of influence of the most powerful and financially successful alumni and friends anywhere in the world. Donors feel more secure in dealing with foundations, where the governing board typically consists of esteemed individuals with extensive legal, business and financial management skills. Jennifer Hurwitz (2005).

[2]For example, Harvard University, the most heavily endowed U.S. institution of higher education, practices self management of some of its investments. In fact, Harvard has recently decided to self manage more of its illiquid investments (e.g., hedge funds and private equity firms) internally. The university made the move to increase investment agility, improve transparency into the multi-billion dollar portfolio and increase portfolio liquidity. Reuters (August 2009).

[3] For a copy of the program, contact Dr. Gary Burkette at the Department of Accountancy, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, TN, (burkette@etsu.edu)

[4] Modern portfolio theory was first proposed more than fifty years ago to develop portfolio investment strategy. It emphasizes portfolio diversification, utilizing statistical techniques, to achieve the best risk/return tradeoffs. Early works on the theory include Markowitz, 1952 and Sharp, 1964. Also see basic investment textbooks for more information.

[5] Fixed annuities are investment contracts sold by insurance companies that pay out a fixed number of dollars to the investor over a period of years.

[6]To explain, the first, second and last rolling trial runs would span 1927-1948, 1928-1949 and 1987-2008, respectively, for a total of 61 runs, given the time span of the available data series and the 22-year period covered by each trial run. If a trial run extends beyond the start date of 1987, then HIPM will start inserting average, not actual, returns for each asset type in the portfolio tested.

Tables

HISTORIC INCOME PROJECTOR MODEL (HIPM)

TABLE 1: USER INPUTS--GENERAL

This income projector model allows the user to run different investment portfolios over different historical time periods to see what actual income would result in today's dollars with their current purchasing power.

GENERAL MODEL APPLICATION

Enter 1 for Retirement Planning ***or*** **2** for College and University Investment Planning	2
Enter input data here (Yellow cells=required; orange cells=optional; green cells=output cells	
Name of individual or entity for whom you are conducting trial run	**Excellence U.**
Present fair value of individual's or entity's financial assets of all types	**$5,000,000**
Amount individual or entity plans to save or receive each year in today's dollars before payouts begin	**$50,000**
Beginning year of the accumulation period (NOTE: Model handles 1 to 20 years before payouts begin)	**1**
Year individual or entity expects first income or payout	**20**
Years individual or entity expects income or payouts (Note: Model handles 1 to 20 year payout periods)	**3**
Other income expected during payout period in today's dollars, e,g., Gifts, Social Security) 1) Expected income per year	**$250,000**
Fees, and Scholarships 2) Expected change in real purchasing power value/year, if any	**0**
Individual's or entity's total, before tax, projected income or payout needs in today's dollars:	-

Annual Need Now **$7,001,000** *at* Expected Real Yearly Growth Rate of **1.5%** *Equals* **$9,499,789**

(Note that this equals a real purchasing power income into the future given inflation-adjusted investment returns.)

Start year for trial run (Note: User can start in 1927 or later, but if a trial period exceeds 2008, the program uses average 1926-2008 returns for the years past 2008)	**1983**

Asset Classes or Types (use decimals)	**Bond-Dominated Conservative**	**Stock-Dominated Aggressive**	**Fund and Other Fees**
Money (3 mo T. bill)	**5%**	**5%**	**0.25%**
Long term bonds (20 yr. U.S Treasury)	**60%**	**25%**	**0.50%**
Real estate	**10%**	**10%**	**0.75%**
Large cap stocks (S&P 500 index)	**20%**	**55%**	**0.65%**
Foreign stocks (World-ex U.S.)	**5%**	**5%**	**0.85%**
Gold Bullion	**0%**	**0%**	**0.75%**
Small cap stocks	**0%**	**0%**	**0.70%**
Column totals should equal 100%	**100%**	**100%**	
How would you categorize your portfolio mix or emphasis?	**Bond**	**Stock**	

Table 2: Model Outputs—University Investing

(Notes: (1) If selected period runs beyond actual historical yearly returns data (2008), the program will use average returns for each asset.

Client: Excellence University	Trial Starts	1983	Trial Ends	2004	**Target Funding Needs**	**$9,499,789**
Portfolio Strategy		**Conservative**	**Aggressive**	**Difference**	**Initial Financial Assets**	**$5,000,000**
		Bond	Stocks		**Annual Savings**	**$50,000**
Average income from portfolio		**$6,932,927**	**$9,266,031**	**$2,333,104**		
Standard deviation of portfolio income		$749,951	$3,630,985	$2,881,033		
Average annual supplemental income (e.g. Social Security, Student fees, Scholarships)		$250,000	$250,000	$0		
Total project funding provided		**$7,182,927**	**$9,516,031**	**$2,333,104**		
Target annual funding needs		$9,499,789	$9,499,789	$0		
Annual Excess (Deficiency)		**-$2,316,862**	**$16,242**	**$2,333,104**		
Securities Portfolio — Other Data						
Securities portfolio at start of payout date		**$19,154,500**	**$25,875,245**	**$6,720,745**		
Average annual real returns		**7.20%**	**8.63%**	**1.43%**		
Standard deviation of returns		**9.6%**	**11.47%**	**1.87%**		
Number of up years		**16.00**	**16.00**	**0**		
Number of down years		**6.00**	**6.00**	**0**		

Table 3

Summary of Additional Trial Runs

(Basic input data same as in Table 1)

	Col. 1	**Col. 2**	**Col. 3**	**Col. 4**
Portfolio Strategy	Average Returns Of All 22-Year Rolling Trial Runs	Returns Ranges Over All Trial Runs	Ranges of Standard Deviations of Returns Over All Trial Runs	Annual Donations Needed to Fully Finance PER Center in at Least 70% of Trial Runs
Aggressive(a)	5.54%	9.08 to 1.09	16.64 to 9.72	$427,000
Conservative(a)	3.05%	7.98 to -.66	12.47 to 5.24	$786,500
Well Diversified	4.32%	7.06 to 2.00	12.12 to 5.72	$609,000
Balanced	4.85%	9.03 to.66	15.09 to 8.47	$510,000

a. Same portfolios used above in Tables 1 and 2 to illustrate HIPM.

Figures

Figure 1: Income from Portfolio

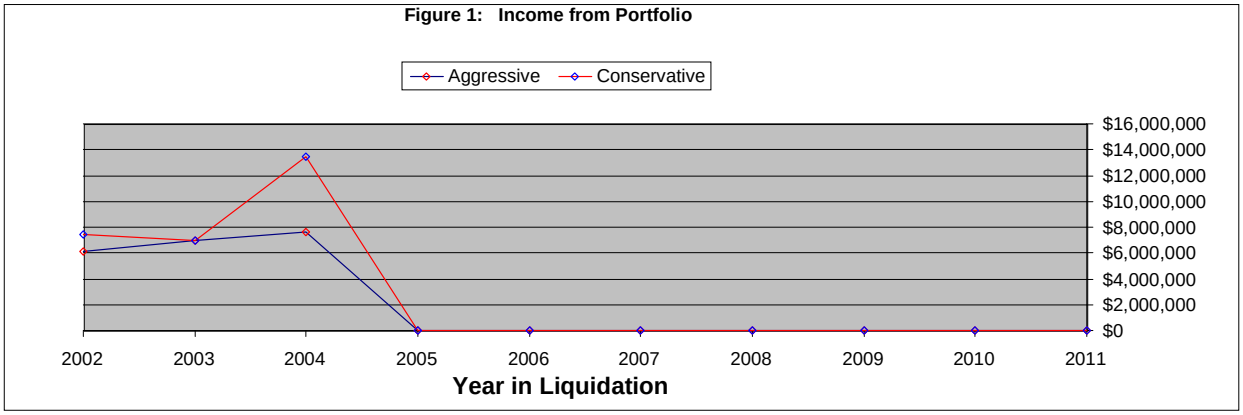


Figure 2: Securities Portfolio over Entire Planning Period

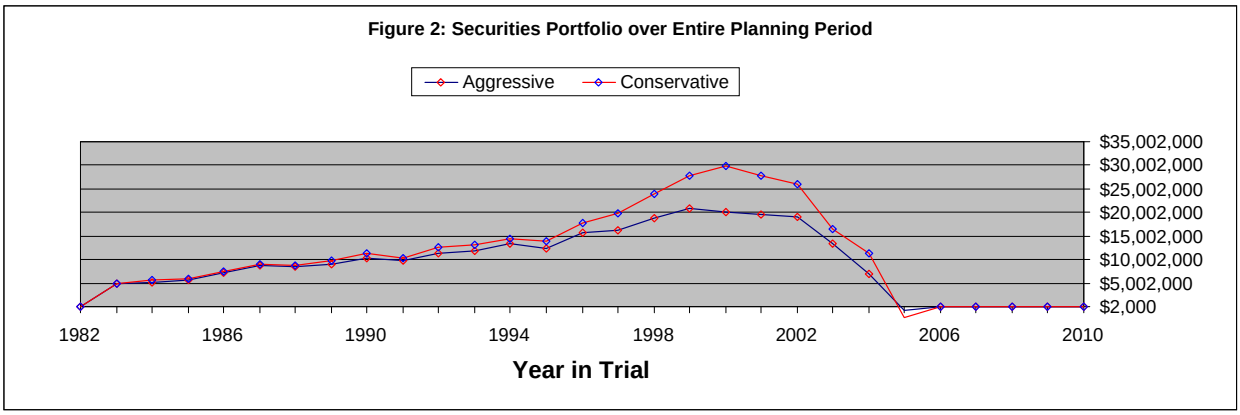
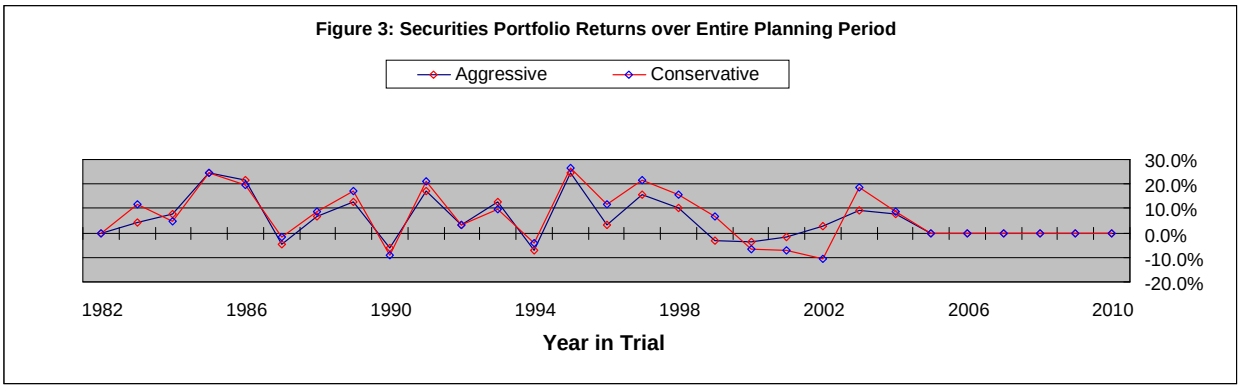


Figure 3: Securities Portfolio Returns over Entire Planning Period



Biographical Data

Murray S. Anthony

Murray S. Anthony holds a Ph.D. degree from the University of Missouri-Columbia and is a Certified Public Accountant in Tennessee. In addition to conducting research and publishing papers as a professor—several in the non-profit area--he has held positions in public accounting and in internal auditing for a university. He currently serves as Stewardship Committee Chairman at a local church and, at various times, has served as treasurer and has conducted internal financial audits for the church.

Gary D. Burkette

Gary D. Burkette earned his Ph.D. degree from Virginia Tech. He was an auditor with a Big Four public accounting firm for six years and has experience as the head of financial reporting for a university-related foundation. As a professor, he has published articles in academic and professional journals and frequently makes presentations to professional groups related to auditing and professional standards and currently serves as Chairman of the Accountancy Department at East Tennessee State University.

Shelby G. Sparks

Shelby G. Sparks is a Certified Public Accountant (inactive) in Tennessee. She holds a Master of Accountancy degree from East Tennessee State University. In addition to teaching at the university level, she has served as controller for a privately held corporation and served on the finance committee for her local church.

Integrate Social Studies!
What a National Study of Elementary Principals Revealed

Debby Bogle
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Introduction

Since its enactment in 2001, the No Child Left Behind legislation has placed serious pressure on school districts to improve their math and communication arts test scores, often at the detriment of other core subjects such as social studies since it is not being tested in many state assessment programs. Thus, why should schools teach social studies if it is not considered important enough by the national and state departments of education to be tested? One way to answer that question is to look to the National Council in Social Studies (NCSS) for their formal definition and purpose of social studies. In *Expectations of Excellence: Curriculum Standards for Social Studies*, the following definition was offered:

> Social studies is the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. Within the school program, social studies provides coordinated, systemic study drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology, a well as appropriate content from the humanities, mathematics, and natural sciences. The primary purpose of social studies is to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world. (NCSS, 1994, p.3)

As to why social studies should be taught to America school children, the NCSS suggested four distinct reasons:

1. Social studies programs have as a major purpose the promotion of civic competence- which is the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required of students to be able to assume 'the office of citizen' (as Thomas Jefferson called it) in our democratic republic,
2. K-12 social studies programs integrate knowledge, skills, and attitudes within and across disciplines,
3. Social studies programs help students construct a knowledge base and attitudes from academic disciplines as specialized ways of viewing reality, and
4. Social studies reflect the changing nature of knowledge, fostering entirely new and highly integrated approaches to resolving issues of significance in humanity. (p. 3-4)

We would agree that the teaching of social studies is vital in preparing young people to take their place in American society. In many states, however, the depth and frequency of social studies instruction dramatically has changed, and not for the better. R. Sanchez (2007) reiterated what many teachers and principals have been thinking:

> These are trying times for the social studies in the elementary school classroom. The current emphasis on reading and math, and more recently science has had an adverse impact on the instructional time available for quality social studies instruction. (p. P1)

The Center on Education Policy (CEP) conducted a comprehensive five-year study to look at possible changes in the depth and frequency of curriculum and instruction since the enactment of No Child Left Behind legislation. What they discovered was that nearly 62% of reporting school districts had increased the instruction time for both math and communication arts in their elementary schools since 2002, but

they decreased time for other subjects such as social studies, science, art, music, and physical education (2007). See Table 1.

Drawing from the findings of the ECP's 2007 report, *Choices, Changes and Challenges*, 39% of all responding school districts reduced the time of social studies instruction. More than half of those districts with at least one school identified, however, reduced social studies instructional time. This was not a huge revelation since districts were under a mountain of pressure to meet their Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) proficiency targets. See Table 1.

2007 National Study – School Administrators

While the CEP was conducting their study, we were surveying principals across the United States to determine the depth and frequency of science and social studies curriculum at the elementary level. The population for that study, consisted of 945 elementary building level administrators. For the purpose of that study the population was selected randomly from state provided electronic databases. Responses from 45 states were received with Colorado, Michigan, Oregon, West Virginia, and Illinois having no responses. The overall return rate for the study was 15.2%. We wanted to assess the overall impact of *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) on the elementary Social Studies curriculum with regards to the number of instructional minutes per week referred to as "depth" and how often Social Studies is taught per week - the "frequency" (2007).

With NCLB now exceeding its mid-point of implementation, one might imagine that all core content subjects (Social Studies, Science, Communication Arts, and Math) were being assessed at the state level. Responses showed that 100% of the states assessed Math with Science at 84.5%, and Communication Arts at 78.5%. At the time the study was conducted, only 40% of the states reporting indicated that Social Studies was part of their statewide standardized assessment.

Each principal was asked a series of three, key questions that would be used to assess the Social Studies curriculum at the elementary level. Those questions included:

1. Should Social Studies be taught daily?
2. Is Social Studies taught on a daily basis in your school? (for frequency)
3. What is the total number of instructional minutes per week? (for depth)

Then, each principal was asked to provide data for each of the questions listed above based on the grade grouping of K-3 and 4-8. With regards as to whether Social Studies should be taught on a daily basis, 65.4% of the responding principals "Strongly Agreed" or "Agreed" that Social Studies should be taught on a daily basis in grades K-3. Whereas, 86.2% of the responding principals reported that Social Studies should be taught on a daily basis in grades 4-8. Regarding the same question, 18.5% of the responding principals were undecided, and 16.2% either disagreed or strongly disagreed. At the 4-8 level, 9.2% of the principals were undecided and only 4.6% either disagreed or strongly disagreed. See Table 1.

When asked if Social Studies was taught on a daily basis in their schools, 41.7% of the responding principals reported "Yes" that at the K-3 level Social Studies was taught daily. At the 4-8 level, 71.3% of the principals reported Social Studies was taught on a daily basis. See Table 2

To assess depth, instructional minutes were utilized. Principals reported that at the K-3 level, 26.0% had instructional time of less than 60 minutes whereas 45.7% reported instructional time between 61 and 120 minutes per week. Somewhat surprising, 22.0% of the responding principals reported an instructional time between 121 to 180 minutes per week. At the 4-8 level, instructional time was more evenly distributed between the instructional time categories. See Table 3.

Integration Is The Answer

After conducting our study and then reading the results from the 2007 CEP report, it became evident that integrating social studies with core subjects was the only viable way of getting social studies content taught at an acceptable level in elementary classrooms. Missouri Western State University (MWSU) decided to change the way it conducted its elementary and middle school social studies methods course. The implication was that students had to pass their state standardized assessments in both communication arts and reading, and ultimately, the schools had to achieve AYP. As a result of this external pressure, teachers felt they did not have sufficient time remaining within the school day to teach social studies content.

In the 1990 NCSS publication *Charting a Course: Social Studies for the 21st Century,* teachers were encouraged to integrate social studies content with other subjects whenever possible (p. 3). Indications reveled that that has not been happening on a regular basis. Two possible reasons for that could be: 1) it takes extra planning time that most teachers do not have, or 2) they have not been shown how to appropriately integrate other core subjects.

With that in mind, during the summer of 2009, and again in the fall of 2009, Elementary and Middle School Social studies methods students at Missouri Western State University began focusing on ways to integrate social studies with the core subjects of communication arts, math, and science.

At first, teacher candidates were given background information about No Child Left Behind and how social studies instruction has often been neglected since its authorization. Then, they were asked to locate, copy, and report on two different articles that were about integrating elementary social studies with math, communication arts, or science. The first article was about integrating elementary economics with math, communication arts, or science, and the second one was about integrating elementary history, government, or geography. Students located these articles in journals such as: *Social Studies and The Young Learner*, The *Phi Delta Kappan, and Educational Leadership*. Teacher candidates brought their selected articles to class and presented information they had gleaned from their readings. We had class discussions about how those ideas fit with the Missouri Show Me Standards for Social Studies and the Grade Level Expectations (GLE's) that the state had for each Show Me Standard. This assignment helped MWSU teacher candidates begin to see what other teachers were doing to integrate social studies.

After looking at best practices for teaching economics in the elementary classroom and the Missouri GLE's for economics, students were asked to find an elementary economic lesson plan from an internet site. Those lessons were supposed to align closely with the Missouri economic GLE's. Candidates printed out and brought the lesson plans to class, then in groups examined each of the plans. Each teacher candidate explained his/her lesson plan to the group after which the group was asked to form a consensus about which one they would like to develop into an integrated lesson plan. Lesson plans had to be appropriate for either grade 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8 because Missouri Assessment Program (MAP) testing does not take place in grades 1 and 2.

The entire class was then shown where to find the Missouri Show Me Standards for communication arts, math, and science and looked at the GLEs for each standard. We discussed which of these GLEs seemed to fit the best with social studies content. Candidates were given instructions for constructing their integrated lesson plan and were given time in class to complete the assignment, with the professor assisting when necessary.

Teacher candidates completed most of the team lesson plan in class then brought back their finished plan the following class period and presented it to their peers. This was a team effort and the entire class critiqued each of the plans. Students were given time to make any corrections before turning their lesson plans in to be graded. A second lesson plan, integrating American history, was developed and this one could be done individually or with a partner. The final lesson plan, integrating American government or geography was done independently.

It is important to note that most of the lesson plans developed were adapted from other sources such as internet lesson plans or social studies activity books. This was necessary since teacher candidates did not have a school district curriculum, nor textbook, to utilize.

Conclusion

Teachers can cover essential social studies content and still have sufficient time to teach math and communication arts if they are willing to be creative and develop integrated lessons. As our examples below illustrate, national and state standards can be addressed effectively by taking social studies across the curriculum and making interesting, meaningful integrated lessons.

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Teacher Candidate Integrated Social Studies Lesson plan sample

Lesson Title: Return to Imaginapolis
Grade Level: 3rd
Social Studies Content Area: Geography
Integrated Content Area: Mathematics

Are there any cultural contributions that you can identify in this lesson? If so, what are they?
NA

How will you accommodate for the various cultural learning styles in your class?
For students who work better in groups, accomplishments of the various learning objectives will be done with the help of three other students.

How will you accommodate this lesson for students with learning disabilities or special needs?
For students having hearing or following verbal instructions, all directions will also be clearly written on handouts.

Objectives:
Objective # 1: Students will be able to construct a single city block correctly following directions from a written description. (*Addresses Show Me standard SS5 – Knowledge of major elements of geographical study and analysis (such as location, place, movement and regions) and their relationship to changes in society and the environment. 3rd grade GLE – Read and construct maps. NCSS # 3 – People, Places and Environments***)**

Objective # 2: Students will be able to correctly extend geometric patterns by finding the next shape. (*Addresses Show Me standard MA4 – Understand patterns, relations and functions. 3rd grade GLE – Use geometric shapes to complete patterns, extend geometric (shapes) and numeric patterns to find the next term***)**

Assessments:
Formative Assessments
For Objective # 1 – Balloon Adventures: Return to Imaginapolis! hand-out. Students will be asked to construct a birds-eye map of Imaginapolis. This activity will be done in groups of four.
For Objective # 2 – Balloon Adventures: Save the Game! hand-out. Students will be asked to help plan construction at Imaginapolis stadium. The students will have to recognize and complete three geometric patterns. This activity will be done in groups of four.

Summative Assessments

For Objective # 1 – Map making will be a part of the next social studies unit test. Students will be asked to construct a map of a single city block from a written description.

For Objective # 2 – Geometric patterns will be tested on the next math test. Students will be given three shapes and asked to insert the next shape that continues the pattern.

Materials/Resources:
Balloon Adventures: Return to Imaginapolis! worksheet for each group
Balloon Adventures: Save the Game! worksheet for each group
Blank sheet of paper for each group
Pencils

Addressing Learning Styles:
Verbal/Linguistic (brief map lecture)
Visual/Spatial (drawing and dealing with maps)
Logical/Mathematical (completing patterns in a sequence)
Interpersonal (group work)

The Teacher Will:
Anticipatory Set
Teacher says: "Ok class, do you remember our trip around the world in our hot air balloons? If so, you may remember our little stop in the town of Imaginapolis. Does anyone remember the name of the mayor?" Wait for someone to remember the name, Mayor Doodipple. Congratulate the student with the excellent memory. Continue by saying, "I recently received a letter from Mayor Doodipple and he says that they are in trouble! His problem has something to do with mapmaking. It's time to head back to Imaginapolis, so find your balloon mates and pack your bags, we leave in five minutes!"

1. Place students into groups of four (the same groups as before – if possible) and ask the students to choose a head cartographer (the one who will actually do the drawing and writing).
2. Tell students to imagine that they are taking off and leaving the school behind.
3. Tell students that they have a long journey ahead of them and that it may be a good idea to brush up on their map skills on the way.
4. Use the chalk board to begin refreshing the students on the cardinal directions.
5. Draw a sample map of a city block on the chalk board and explain how maps are seen from the perspective of a bird or airplane...or hot air balloon!
7. Tell students that they have been spotted by Mayor Doodipple and that the Balloon Adventures: Return to Imaginapolis! worksheet will tell them what happens next.
8. Hand out the Balloon Adventures: Return to Imaginapolis! worksheet along with a blank sheet of paper to each group.
9. Give each group an appropriate amount of time to complete the map.
10. Tell students that they can come back down from the sky in their balloons and they Mr. Doodipple has spotted them yet again.
11. Tell students to read the Balloon Adventures: Save the Game! worksheet to find out what happens next.
12. Hand out the Balloon Adventures: Save the Game! worksheet.
13. Inform students that they must help the cartographer come up with the correct answers.
14. Allow appropriate amount of time for students to finish their worksheet.
15. Tell students that Mayor Doodipple was pleased with their excellent work and that he wants to reward the class by letting them choose where they want to build the doodleball stadium. The children also get to name the stadium. This is to be done on the Balloon Adventures: Return to Imaginapolis! map they constructed earlier.

For Closure

16. Collect the worksheets from the class and tell them how proud Mayor Doodipple was of each of them.
17. Tell students it is time to return to school.
18. Draw a final map on the board with the help of the students during the balloon ride home.
19. Say, "Well, we made it back to school! Excellent work everyone. Please remember that map making and pattern recognition will be on your next test."

The Student Will:

1. Assemble into groups of four (the same groups as before – if possible) and will choose a head cartographer.
2. Imagine they are taking off and leaving school behind.
3. Get ready for a long journey and agree to brush up on their map skills on the way.
4. Volunteer answers concerning cardinal directions.
5. Learn maps are drawn from the perspective of hot air balloonists and will take in the teacher's example map.
6. Listen when told they have almost arrived at Imaginapolis and prepare themselves for landing.
7. Imagine that they have been spotted by Mayor Doodipple and will be given instructions.
8. Receive the Balloon Adventures: Return to Imaginapolis! worksheet along with a sheet of blank paper.
9. Use the allotted time to complete the map.
10. Return to earth to find Mr. Doodipple waiting for them, (in their imaginations of course).
11. Eagerly anticipate the Balloon Adventures: Save the Game! worksheet to learn what happens next.
12. Receive and read the worksheet.
13. Help the cartographer complete the geometric patterns for the doodleball stadium.
14. Use the allotted time to complete the worksheet.
15. Learn that Mayor Doodipple is pleased and then collectively decide where to place the stadium on their maps and what to name it

For Closure

16. Turn in their worksheets to the praise of Mayor Doodipple.
17. Probably be disappointed to hear they must head back to school
18. Be debriefed on map construction while they travel home from Imaginapolis.
19. Be welcomed back home by their teacher and learn that these geometric and geographic skills will be included on the next math and social studies tests.

_____Balloon Adventures: Return to Imaginapolis!_____

Group Members Names: _____

Background:

You are returning to Imaginapolis for the first time since your balloon adventure. Upon landing, Mayor Doodipple appears quite upset. When you ask him why he is upset, he says, "I am so glad you returned! Governor Flipsydoodle needs a map of Imaginapolis for his new atlas, but none of us know what Imaginapolis looks like from the sky! Since you have a balloon, could you fly up above the town and draw us a map? Please help us!"

Directions:

Use the blank construction paper to draw a map of Imaginapolis based off the following description.

- There are eight buildings in Imaginapolis that take up one city block
  - Mayor Doodipple's City Hall

- Mr. Popperdodo's Fire Station
- Mrs. Tootsie's Bakery
- Dr. Booboo's Hospital
- Mr. Boatswaggle's Handy Man Repair Store
- Ms. Dappledoodle's School Building
- Mrs. Smith's Toy Store
- Sheriff Teehamble's Police Station

●City Hall and the Toy Store are on the **North** end of the block. City hall is **East** of the Toy Store

●The Fire Station and the Handy Man Repair Store are on the **West** end of the block. The Fire Station is **North** of the Handy Man Repair Store.

●The Bakery and the Hospital are on the **South** end of the block. The Bakery is to the **East** of the Hospital.

●The School Building and the Police Station are on the **East** end of the block. The School Building is to the **North** of the Police Station.

_____Balloon Adventures: Save the Game!_____

Group Members Names: _____

Background:
When you land to hand Mayor Doodipple the new map of Imaginapolis, he says "Thank you so much for the map, but now we have a bigger problem!" While you were in the sky, we decided to start working on a doodleball stadium. Doodleball has bases like baseball, but he bases have to have a geometric pattern to them. For instance, if first base is a shape with three sides, second base is a shape with four sides, third base is a shape with five sides, and home plate should have six sides. Our engineers have had to stop planning because no one can complete the pattern of bases! Please help us!"

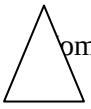
Directions: Complete the following three geometric patterns so that Mayor Doodipple can pick one for the doodleball stadium.

1. First Base =  Second Base=  Third Base=  Home Plate=?

Draw the shape that completes the pattern _____

2. First Base = Second Base = Third Base= Home Plate =?

Draw the shape that completes the pattern _____

3. First Base=  Second Base=  Third Base=  Home Plate =?

Draw the shape that completes the pattern _____

Table 1 – Decline in Social Studies Instructional Time

	Ave. % of Districts Decreasing SS Instructional Time	***Ave. Decrease of SS Instructional Time (Min. per wk.)***
All Districts	36%	76%
Districts With No Identified Schools	31%	70%
Districts With at Least 1 Identified School	51%	90%

(CEP, 2007)

Table 2 – Should Social Studies be taught daily?

	Should Social Studies be taught daily?				
K-3 (%)	SA 19.2	A 46.2	U 18.5	D 15.4	SD 0.8
4-8 (%)	SA 36.2	A 50.0	U 9.2	D 4.6	SD 0.0

Table 3 – Frequency

	Social Studies taught daily?	
K-3	Yes 41.7%	No 58.3%
4-8	Yes 71.3%	No 28.7%

Table 4 - Depth

	< 60 Mins. / wk.	***61-120 Mins. / wk.***	***121-180 Mins. / wk.***	***181-240 Mins. / wk***
K-3 (%)	26.0	45.7	22.0	5.5
4-8 (%)	8.3	24.0	36.4	26.4

Who's Misleading Whom? Defining Titles in Occupations 'On the Make'

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Can occupational titles mislead the public? Should the use of titles be regulated to protect against such a possibility? Traditionally, occupational regulation is conceptualized as a restriction on the practice of an occupation through licensure, often called market shelters (Freidson 1970a; 1970b; Timmermans, 2008). Another less-discussed form of regulation includes titling laws, where the practice of an occupation is unrestricted but the use of the respective occupational title is (Freidson, 1986). Such titles often carry the moniker of 'registered' or 'certified,' but some titling laws protect even the fundamental descriptive word or phrase associated with an occupation.

The justifications for restricting occupational titles commonly mirror those used for restricting practice—protecting the public interest (i.e., health, safety, and welfare)—and the requirements associated with the use of a title are often identical to those mandated for the practice of an occupation. For practice restrictions, the (distilled) argument is straightforward (albeit contested): Licensure ensures minimum competency among those practicing an occupation or profession in order to protect public health, safety, and welfare.

The same argument for broad titling laws is not as straightforward and requires additional qualifiers. The assertion is titling laws protect the public from being misled by practitioners (legally able to practice a respective occupation) who use an occupational title but lack certain qualifications that purportedly denote minimum competency. As discussed below, such assertions are built on the premise that occupational titles are, in significant part, inherently defined by the qualifications codified in the titling laws, such as education, experience, and examination. Yet, critics of titling laws (often from within an industry in question) dismiss such assertions as unfounded contrivances designed to prop up laws whose actual intent is to create market shelters for the benefit of those already practicing, a dynamic long recognized by sociologists and economists (Abbott, 1988; Cox & Foster, 1990; Elliott, 1972; Freidson, 1986; 2001; Garoupa, 2004; Johnson, 1972; Kleiner, 2000; 2006; Larson, 1977; 1984).

Thus, the implications of these issues are not merely academic but quite real in the lives of those practicing and seeking to practice an occupation and consumers who avail themselves of the respective services. Moreover, these arguments were at the center of recent U.S. federal court cases involving titling laws, the result of which will affect not only the occupation in question but also other occupations with titling laws and those for which titling laws are or might be under future consideration.

The research reported here tests an aforementioned core claim about occupational titles. Specifically, this study examines whether occupational titles are inherently defined by the qualifications often codified in titling laws and perceived as such by the public, that is, potential consumers. The context for the study is the interior design industry, a particularly revealing occupation given current attempts by factions within the industry at creating market shelters and the presence of broad titling laws for this occupation in multiple U.S. states (Carpenter, 2008). Results reported below indicate that among members of the public, occupations appear to be defined by the nature of the work more than qualifications. And for an occupation under the auspices of a titling law (i.e., interior design), the qualifications appear even less relevant than other non-regulated occupations.

Background and Literature Review

The study of market shelters represents familiar territory for economists (Kleiner, 2006; Maurizi, 1974; Rottenberg, 1980) and sociology of professions scholars (Abel, 1979; Elliott, 1972; Larson, 1977; Timmermans, 2008). Among other effects, market shelters provide an occupation or profession legal

protection from competitive market forces (Walker & Shackleton, 1998). The amount of protection varies, depending on the form of enabling regulation. Registration or certification titling laws represent the least protective regulations, while broad titling laws and practice acts represent the most protective.

The impetuses behind market shelters generally take two forms—public necessity and self-interested monopolization (Moore, 1961). As Brante (1988) and Peterson (2001) describe, the argument of necessity has always been invoked in order to justify market shelters, with some generally proving legitimate and compelling to policymakers and the public. However, the more implausible the justifications, the more they appear as strategic exclusions for the benefit of the practitioner. Therefore, to legitimate its claim to monopoly, an occupation must convince the public, particularly political authorities, of its necessity to society (Grimm & Knornus, 1973; Hughes, 1958).

This often takes the form of interaction, negotiation, or bargaining between those seeking market shelter and those opposed to such efforts (Murphy, 1988; Rothman, 1979; Walker & Shackleton, 1998). Through occupational rhetoric, spokespersons define and justify their work and explain to the public why what they do is admirable and why a market shelter is necessary (Champy, 2006; Freidson, 1970b; Grimm & Knornus, 1973; Roth, 1974; Rothman, 1979). In so doing, occupational groups develop specific ideologies underscoring the beneficial properties of their activities for the society as a whole (Brante, 1988; Elliott, 1972; Roberts & Dietrich, 1999). These ideologies justify the activities of the group in a broader context and include a set of self-legitimizing components that Brante calls 'myths,' the more relevant of which include the myth of the hero, the myth of altruism, and the myth of certain knowledge.

As the use of the term 'myth' appears to denote, there are some within the sociology of professions literature who are critical of the long-standing view of 'bodies of knowledge' that define professions (Torstendahl, 1990; West, 1998). In particular, critics charge that no distinction is made between forms of knowledge that constitute the operational core of professional work and those that operate more as a vehicle for constituting market shelters (Boreham, 1983). This, then, gives members of occupations 'on the make,' as Wilensky (1964) describes those seeking market shelters, greater ability to use the unquestioned knowledge-base as the grounding for occupational authority.

This process is not geographically, rhetorically, or temporally contained (Grimm & Knornus, 1973). This is particularly true in the United States, where occupational regulation is decentralized into state governments rather than the federal government (Light, 1995). As a result, the 'negotiations' process is often iterative as occupational leaders attempt to find and develop the most compelling justifications for the multiple audiences and contexts in the market shelter bargaining process (Vollmer & Mills, 1966; Wilensky, 1964).

Specific to market shelters in the form of titling laws, one argument posited by occupational leaders is that of protecting consumers from the misleading use of professional titles. The argument goes, given that professions purportedly have a specialized body of knowledge, typically inculcated and codified through education, experience, and testing, anyone using a particular title without the requisite body of knowledge will mislead consumers, thereby representing a threat to public health, safety, and welfare. Such assertions rest upon assumptions (a) about the validity of professional bodies of knowledge, which is contested by some sociology of professions theorists (Baer, 1986; Boreham, 1983; Torstendahl, 1990; West, 1998), and (b) about public perceptions of how professions are defined. The analysis reported below specifically examines the latter assumption by testing the claims of the 'misleading' use of titles recently posited by occupational leaders in the interior design industry—an occupation currently in the throes of a nationwide market shelter negotiations process.

Interior Designers

As Carpenter (2008) details, elements within the interior design industry in the U.S. have been in an almost 30-year effort to regulate the practice of their occupation. Although interior design has been a recognized U.S. industry since the early decades of the 20th century, the first regulation of it did not occur until 1982. Since that time, almost half of the states have enacted regulations of some kind, most in the form of titling laws that regulate how people in the industry may refer to themselves in telephone books, advertising, business cards, and interior design magazines or other media (such as interior design television shows).

During much of this almost 30-year process of regulation, the rhetoric of occupational leaders (American Society of Interior Designers [ASID], n. d.) focused on the 'necessity' of regulation in order to protect public health, safety, and welfare from interior designers who lacked the requisite qualifications (i.e., education, experience, and examination). Although ASID enjoyed some success with this rhetorical strategy, the justification has never withstood critical scrutiny (Cannady, 1988; Cooke, 2000; Nettles, 1991; Roper, 1989; Washington State Department of Licensing, 2005). Critics of interior design titling and practice laws have also begun a concentrated effort to resist expanding interior design regulation and have generated significant public attention to their cause (Hoppough, 2008; Morrow, 2008a; 2008b; Of Horses', 2007; Will, 2007). In response, interior design leaders have adjusted their rhetoric in an attempt to find a more compelling justification for the market shelter—the misleading use of occupational titles.

This argument was posited by interior designers in Texas in defense of a legal challenge to the state's titling law (Byrum v. Landreth, 2007). Rather than relying on the rhetoric of public health, safety, and welfare, they asserted that it is actually, inherently, or potentially misleading to the public for individuals who are not licensed as interior designers in Texas to describe the work they perform as 'interior design' and refer to themselves as 'interior designers' since they lack the prescribed credentials. A critical feature of this justification is that an interior designer is inherently defined as one who holds a certain level of education and experience and passed a national examination—the same requirements codified in Texas statutes (and other states with interior design titling laws).

To date, it remains an unsubstantiated assertion. Interior design scholars admit that little research has been conducted on perceptions or definitions of the design industry by the public (Whitefield & Smith, 2003). Of extant studies, there is only one with tenuous relevance to the central issue of our study. Through survey research, the American Society of Interior Designers (2005) found, "Respondents offered many different definitions of an interior designer, ranging from consultant or artistic visionary to shopper or hired hand. No one clear definition surfaced, although a number of similar themes frequently occurred" (p. 4).

Despite the paucity of related research specific to interior design, the notion of the public being misled by titles is not an entirely novel idea in the greater occupations/professions and consumer literature. For example, in a case study of attempts at market shelter by accountants in England, occupational leaders were asked to prove how people had been misled by practitioners using the respective title (Walker & Shackleton, 1998). The accountants provided essentially nothing to prove their claim of misleading speech. Andrews (1996) discusses how licensure of alternative health care providers could mislead consumers into pursuing services from unqualified providers, and McChesney (1985) addresses the potential for consumers being misled by advertising by professionals. Of these, Walker and Shakelton (1998) is conceptually the closest to informing the question of whether an occupational title can be misleading, but their discussion of the potential for being misled by a title is in no way empirical.

Yet, this is not to say the justification is necessarily spurious. There is the potential that the public does view titles like 'interior designer' as inherently defined by the qualifications one holds. And the implications extend beyond interior designers. Like Texas, other states have statutes with definitions of other occupations/professions that include educational, experience, or examination requirements. For example, Delaware statutes restrict the use of the title 'landscape architect' and include education or experience in the definition of the title ('Delaware Statutes, Title 24 Landscape Architects', 2008).

Therefore, if the justification posited by interior designers in Texas were to prove specious, this could undermine the necessity of other interior design titling laws in other states and market shelters created through titling laws for other occupations. To determine whether an occupational title could be misleading, this research began with two broad questions: Is it misleading for design practitioners to call themselves 'interior designers' if they are not officially recognized as such by state law? Does the title 'interior designer' inherently connote someone with certain qualifications such that to use the term without those qualifications misleads and confuses the public? Based on these broad questions, the study used two specific research questions to direct the examination:

1. Are there significant differences between definitional factors associated with interior design among members of the public?

2. Are there significant differences among definitional factors between interior design and other occupations as perceived by the public?

Methods

To answer these questions, I implemented a survey of Texas and Ohio residents to explore public perceptions of the interior design occupation with a primary focus on the misleading use of the title 'interior designer.'

Sample

Because the justification of being misled by a title was proffered in defense of Texas's titling law, this made for an obvious and ideal sample, but Ohio residents were included as a control group against which to compare the Texas results, given the potential conditioning effect of the Texas titling law. Ohio was chosen because it is the most similar unregulated state to Texas in terms of population, median income, percentage of females in the population, the year each owner's house was built, political ideology, and how long the owner had lived in that house, almost all features found by ASID (2005) to be most relevant in perceptions about interior designers.

The sample included 1,400 respondents, 700 from each state. Respondents were contacted via random digit dialing. Table 1 includes descriptive statistics on the respondents' demographic characteristics. Given the sampling design, results were analyzed using weights to match estimates provided by the US Census for gender, age, and race.

Table 1 about here

Survey Instrument

The survey was a 54-item instrument. Forty-one of the items were closed-ended statements to which respondents agreed or disagreed on a six point Likert scale, where one was strongly disagree and six was strongly agree. The items were organized around five different professions/occupations, with generally eight items per profession/occupation (interior designer had nine items). Those professions were interior designer, computer scientist, priest, auto mechanic, and chef.

The questions were designed to measure perceptions of the various occupations without revealing the intended constructs of interest. Therefore, the respondents were first presented a scenario in which they meet or see a particular occupational practitioner. Based on that scenario, a series of questions probe the respondent's beliefs about the practitioner's qualifications and the nature of her/his work. The presentation of both the groups of questions by occupation and the questions within the occupational groups were randomly ordered to ameliorate any order bias.

For the qualification questions, there was one question related to education, one related to experience, and one related to examination for each profession/occupation. For interior designers, the content of the questions represent titling law requirements. For the other occupations, which are overwhelmingly unregulated, the content of the questions were drawn from the U.S. Department of Labor's Dictionary of Occupational Titles (Employment and Training Administration, 1991). For each profession, I also included two 'distracter' qualification questions not specific to education, experience, or examination. This enabled me to differentiate further the justifications about the definition of an occupational title.

Other questions asked about the nature of the work for each occupation/profession (see Table 2 below for the exact questions). Information for each type of question was drawn from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. The construction of interior designer questions was also based on the aforementioned ASID survey (American Society of Interior Designers, 2005). Finally, the survey asked standard demographic questions (such as age, race/ethnicity, etc.) and whether the respondents or someone within their respective households practiced the various professions/occupations on the survey, in order to control for the potential of bias in responses due to the participants' connection to the respective occupations.

Other occupations/professions were included to mask the intent of the survey to respondents and to provide a necessary context or comparison (Verhoevena, Aelterman, Rots, & Buvens, 2006). To choose the specific occupations/professions on this survey, I referred to a list of occupations/professions distributed across an occupational prestige scale (Nakao & Treas, 1994). For ease of reporting,

occupations are reported on a scale of 0-100 (Nakao & Treas, 1994). Interior designers are widely reported at an intermediate level, generally with a score of 47 or 48 (Nakao & Treas, 1994; Whitefield & Smith, 2003). The survey reported here chose comparison occupations distributed throughout the scale, two higher than interior design and two lower: Computer scientist=74, Priest=69, Interior designer=47, Auto mechanic=40, and Chef=31.

Analysis

Data analysis proceeded along several lines. First, differences among the questions based on state were examined using independent t-tests and crosstab statistics (Goodman and Kruskal tau, Uncertainty Coefficients, Cramer's V, and Contingency Coefficients). This addresses the aforementioned potential conditioning effect of Texas law on public perceptions. Results indicated there is no reason to believe residents in Texas and Ohio hold inherently different beliefs about the questions on this survey. Therefore, to take advantage of the larger sample size, all results herein are based on the total sample of 1,400 taken from both states.

Second, differences between qualification questions (i.e., education, examination, and experience) and nature of job questions, within occupations, were examined using t-tests. For each question, means indicate the average response of participants. Third, the relationship between qualification questions was examined using Spearman's and Pearson's correlations and Cronbach's alpha. The inverse was also measured—differences between qualification questions using t-tests. The purpose was to test the assertion that hearing the term 'interior designer' inherently leads consumers to believe that the person using the term holds a degree in interior design, has experience working in interior design, and passed an examination in interior design. Finally, differences between occupations in how participants responded to the qualification questions were measured using ANOVA. In this analysis, the focus is on measuring whether respondents perceived differences in education, experience, and examination based on occupation.

Results

The results of the analyses described above are three-fold.

Finding One: An occupational title, such as interior designer, more strongly denotes in the public's mind the nature of work associated with that title rather than particular qualifications, such as education, experience, or examination.

Results in Table 2 begin to illustrate this finding. The means for the nature of work questions show consistently stronger agreement compared to the qualification questions. This is evident, for example, by comparing the nature of work questions for interior design (questions 7, 8, and 9) to the qualification questions (questions 1, 2, 3, and 4). It is a pattern repeated in every occupation.

Table 2 about here

T-test results indicate the differences between the two types of questions were significant in every pairwise comparison. That is, respondents more strongly and significantly identify a title by the nature of the work associated with it as compared to qualifications ascribed to it. Table 3 includes the specific t-test results for the comparisons associated with each occupation.

Table 3 about here

Finding Two: The assertion that a title inherently connotes to the public an index of related qualifications is unsubstantiated.

Using Pearson's and Spearman's correlations and Cronbach's alpha, Table 4 illustrates there is no relationship between how respondents perceive the qualifications associated with titles. None of the correlation or Cronbach's coefficients even approaches moderate, and among what few weak relationships one might discern among the correlations, the directions are quite disparate. Thus, titles such as interior design do not inherently prompt in the minds of the public a tightly constructed definition of qualifications.

Table 4 about here

Specific to interior design, this finding is further illustrated through a pairwise comparison between actual qualifications, as defined by titling laws (education, examination, and experience), and distracter qualifications (questions 5 and 6). Results in Table 5 indicate respondents were just as likely to agree with

the distracter questions as compared to education and experience questions, and agreement among the distracter questions was significantly greater than the examination question. If the title interior designer carried some inherent meaning defined by a specific index of qualifications (education, examination, and experience), one would expect respondents to answer the relevant questions consistently and to discern between the 'actual' qualifications and those contrived by me. This was not the case.

Table 5 about here

Finding Three: As compared to other occupations, the public perceives nothing unique about interior design that would suggest a perceived need or approval of regulation.

This finding resulted from an ANOVA test comparing the qualification questions respectively between the various occupations. Results indicated no significant differences in responses to the education questions between occupations. However, Table 6 indicates significant differences involving interior design were present between occupations for the experience and examination questions.

Table 6 about here

Survey respondents showed significantly more agreement that mechanics and chefs had a certain level of experience as compared to interior designers and indicated significantly more agreement that all other occupations passed an examination as compared to interior design. This is particularly striking since none of the other occupations are broadly regulated by the state. Thus, the public perception of the qualifications of interior designers is either no different than other (unregulated) occupations or demonstrates less agreement that designers have certain experience or passed an examination as compared to other (unregulated) occupations.

Discussion and Conclusion

Is it misleading for design practitioners to call themselves 'interior designers' if they are not officially recognized as such by state law? Does the title 'interior designer' inherently connote someone with certain qualifications such that to use the term without those qualifications misleads and confuses the public? Results from this research indicate not.

Instead, these findings indicate the public perceives interior designers (and other occupations in the survey) more by the nature of the work they do rather than the qualifications they possess. And when asked directly about those qualifications, respondents demonstrated little consistency in their perceptions, further challenging the idea that the interior design title carries some inherent qualification-based meaning. When the interior design results are compared to other occupations, none of which are regulated, the findings are even clearer. It is no more misleading for unsanctioned interior designers to identify themselves as such than it is for mechanics, priests, chefs, or computer scientists who use their respective titles to describe what they do.

Of course, in the negotiated social construction of an occupation (Murphy, 1988; Rothman, 1979; Walker & Shackleton, 1998), public perception is not the only rhetoric of consequence, but when a justification for market shelters is predicated on protecting the public from being misled by the use of an occupational title, giving weight to that public perception seems rational. Moreover, results like these, particularly when joined with other studies that find few of the predicted public benefits resulting from market shelters (Kleiner & Kudrle, 2000; Kleiner & Petree, 1988; Shapiro, 1986), call into question the utility of titling laws and other similar forms of occupational regulation when the justifications fail to withstand critical scrutiny.

In the face of questionable utility, the potentially negative effects are also worth consideration. As Brante (1988) describes, the social consequences of monopolization include the exclusion from rewards, resources, life chances, and life quality in general. Swagler and Harris (1977) further conclude that occupational regulations raise prices paid by consumers (and disproportionately so for low-income buyers), deny discounted levels of services, and create problems of enforcement, including both the direct costs involved and the danger from a misplaced feeling of trust if protection is inadequate.

Thus, for policymakers these results point to the value of systems designed to test the rhetorical justifications posited by those seeking market shelters. For example, Carpenter (2008) discusses the potential of sunrise and sunset laws to provide valuable information in determining the necessity of occupational regulations. Such structures may be particularly important in policymaking environments,

such as U.S. state legislatures, more susceptible to the concentrated interests of professional associations. As Bo (2006) describes, when party cohesion in a legislative body is strong, as in parliamentarian systems of Europe, it is more difficult for interest groups to realize their agendas. In U.S. state legislatures, where the party system has weakened, policymakers are more beholden to the agendas of concentrated interests, resulting in more occupational regulation. Thus, Carpenter's (2008) recommendations of sunrise and sunset provisions may provide a useful means of ensuring the necessity of regulation beyond the rhetoric of occupations 'on the make.'

For the study of work, occupations, and society, the research reported herein contributes to a greater understanding of signaling and perceptions associated with occupational titles. According to Freidson (1986; 2001), Spence (1973), and others (Swagler & Harris, 1977), occupational titles (and other forms of market shelters) act as a market signal to consumers about credentials and, by extension, quality and serve an important function in reducing excess information costs associated with goods or services (Beales, Mazis, Salop, & Staelin, 1981; Stigler, 1961). Yet, the results in this article question such theories by casting doubt on whether signal receivers perceive messages in the way signal senders say they intend. Given the very real economic, psychological, and sociological costs associated with occupational regulation (Brante, 1988), it is an area where further research would inform not only the scholarly community but also the policy community, where important decisions about people's right to earn a living is decided more by rhetoric than fact. For as Wilensky (1964) concluded more than 40 years ago, "Indeed, in a culture permeated by the idea of professionalism but little touched by its substance, many occupations will be tempted to try everything at once or anything opportunity and expediency dictate" (p. 146).

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Tables

Table 1 Sample Demographics

Variable	OH	TX	Total Sample
Race/Ethnicity			
African American	10.7	8.5	9.7
Asian	1.5	2.7	2.1
Hispanic	2	24.5	12.9
White	84.9	54.6	70.3
Other	.8	9.7	5.1
Age (Mean)	46.38 Years	43.19 years	44.84 Years
Sex			
Female	52	50.7	51.4
Male	48	49.3	48.6
Income			
$0-$15,000	1.5	.5	1
$15,001-$25,000	4.9	5.4	5.1
$25,001-$50,000	65.6	87.6	76.2
$50,001-$75,000	23.5	5	14.6
$75,001-$100,000	4.1	.7	2.4
More than $100,000	.5	.8	.6

Table 2 Survey Questions, Means, and Standard Deviations

Survey Questions	***M***	***SD***	**C.I.**
Interior Design Prompt: First, suppose that you are at a social event in your community and someone hands you his business card indicating that he is an interior designer. Based on that business card, please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.			
1. I believe that the interior designer completed a two-year college degree in interior design.	3.97	1.441	±.09
2. I believe that the interior designer completed a four-year college degree in interior design.	3.91	1.026	±.06
3. I believe the interior designer has at least two years of experience as a designer.	3.80	1.063	±.06
4. I believe the interior designer successfully passed a national interior design test prior to opening a business.	3.15	1.368	±.08
5. I believe the interior designer completed some minimum number of design projects prior to being able to open a business.	3.82	1.166	±.07
6. I believe the interior designer had to create a portfolio of work for others to see prior to being able to open a business.	3.89	1.185	±.07
7. I believe the interior designer coordinates rooms using furniture, fixtures, color, and so forth.	4.53	1.002	±.06
8. I believe the interior designer makes suggestions about the plan and décor of a room.	4.64	.969	±.06
9. I believe the interior designer alters the appearance of space according to the wishes of a client.	4.52	.975	±.06

Computer Scientist Prompt: Now suppose for a moment you are sitting next to someone on a plane who introduces herself as a computer scientist. Based on that introduction, please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.			
10. I believe the computer scientist completed a four-year college degree.	3.91	1.473	±.09
11. I believe the computer scientist passed a state computer scientist examination.	3.90	.991	±.06
12. I believe the computer scientist completed an internship with a technology company.	3.75	1.009	±.06
13. I believe the computer scientist attends annual technology classes to stay current in the field.	3.85	1.195	±.07
14. I believe the computer scientist passed a security background check.	3.94	1.152	±.07
15. I believe the computer scientist works with software and hardware.	4.54	1.051	±.06
16. I believe the computer scientist programs information technology.	4.57	1.013	±.06
17. I believe the computer scientist works on systems and networks.	4.55	.943	±.06
Priest Prompt: Now Suppose you were standing on a street corner next to a priest wearing a clerical collar. Based on seeing the priest, please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.			
18. I believe the priest completed a graduate seminary degree.	3.91	1.399	±.09
19. I believe the priest passed a national clergy examination.	3.93	1.035	±.06
20. I believe the priest has several years of experience working in a church.	3.73	.994	±.06
21. I believe the priest is certified by the state to perform weddings and other civil ceremonies.	3.84	1.169	±.07
22. I believe the priest completed training on how to perform counseling services.	3.78	1.081	±.07
23. I believe the priest leads religious services.	4.48	1.004	±.06
24. I believe the priest performs religious rites in his church, such as confession, baptisms, and funerals.	4.59	.947	±.06
25. I believe the priest leads a church.	4.52	.958	±.06
Mechanic Prompt: Now suppose for a moment you are stopped at a red light behind a truck advertising the truck's owner as an auto mechanic. Based on seeing the ad on that truck, please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.			
26. I believe the mechanic completed a two-year college degree.	3.95	1.422	±.09
27. I believe the mechanic completed an apprenticeship program.	3.95	1.064	±.06
28. I believe the mechanic completed training in automotive technology.	3.81	1.045	±.06
29. I believe the mechanic passed a state auto mechanics test.	3.83	1.196	±.07
30. I believe the mechanic is bonded by the state.	3.87	1.174	±.07
31. I believe the mechanic repairs cars and trucks.	4.52	1.001	±.06
32. I believe the mechanic provides routine automotive maintenance.	4.69	.953	±.06
33. I believe the mechanic can provide inspections of used cars for customers.	4.57	.936	±.06
Chef Prompt: Now Suppose you saw a restaurant advertisement featuring a chef as its spokesperson. Based on seeing that ad, please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.			
34. I believe the chef graduated from culinary or cooking school.	3.86	1.442	±.09
35. I believe the chef has a minimum number of years of cooking experience.	3.93	1.030	±.06
36. I believe the chef completed an internship at a noteworthy restaurant.	3.71	1.017	±.06

37. I believe the chef passed a state chef examination.	3.88	1.167	±.07
38. I believe the chef is certified by the county after passing a health and safety examination.	3.93	1.135	±.07
39. I believe the chef creates decorative food displays.	4.52	1.011	±.06
40. I believe the chef runs a restaurant kitchen.	4.63	1.007	±.06
41. I believe the chef plans menus.	4.50	.968	±.06

Table 3 Differences between Qualification and Nature of Job Questions

Question Comparisons	*t*	*p*
Interior Design		
Four year education to Coordinates rooms	-13.73	.000
Four year education to Suggests plan and decor	-16.89	.000
Four year education to Alters appearance	-14.51	.000
Experience to Coordinates rooms	-15.96	.000
Experience to Suggests plan and decor	-18.72	.000
Experience to Alters appearance	-15.88	.000
Examination to Coordinates rooms	-25.44	.000
Examination to Suggests plan and decor	-28.80	.000
Examination to Alters appearance	-26.78	.000
Computer Scientist		
Education to Works with software and hardware	-11.04	.000
Education to Programs technology	-12.35	.000
Education to Works on systems and networks	-11.45	.000
Experience to Works with software and hardware	-17.75	.000
Experience to Programs technology	-18.72	.000
Experience to Works on systems and networks	-18.53	.000
Examination to Works with software and hardware	-14.05	.000
Examination to Programs technology	-15.59	.000
Examination to Works on systems and networks	-15.26	.000
Priest		
Education to Leads services	-10.50	.000
Education to Performs rites	-12.83	.000
Education to Leads a church	-11.49	.000
Experience to Leads services	-16.82	.000
Experience to Performs rites	-20.15	.000
Experience to Leads a church	-18.53	.000
Examination to Leads services	-11.85	.000
Examination to Performs rites	-14.92	.000
Examination to Leads a church	-13.60	.000
Mechanic		
Education to Repairs cars and trucks	-10.35	.000
Education to Routine maintenance	-13.92	.000
Education to Provides inspections	-11.87	.000
Experience to Repairs cars and trucks	-12.71	.000
Experience to Routine maintenance	-16.57	.000
Experience to Provides inspections	-14.19	.000
Examination to Repairs cars and trucks	-14.18	.000
Examination to Routine maintenance	-18.31	.000
Examination to Provides inspections	-15.61	.000

Chef		
Education to Creates food displays	-12.10	.000
Education to Runs a kitchen	-13.65	.000
Education to Plans menus	-11.67	.000
Experience to Creates food displays	-13.45	.000
Experience to Runs a kitchen	-15.57	.000
Experience to Plans menus	-13.18	.000
Examination to Creates food displays	-13.33	.000
Examination to Runs a kitchen	-15.50	.000
Examination to Plans menus	-12.98	.000

Table 4 Relationships between Qualification Questions

Questions	*r*	r_s	α
Interior Design			
Education to Experience	.02	.026	.016
Education to Examination	-.009	.006	
Experience to Examination	.008	.012	
Computer Scientist			
Education to Experience	.042	.045	.068
Education to Examination	-.022	-.005	
Experience to Examination	.062	.049	
Priest			
Education to Experience	.048	.056	.103
Education to Examination	.058	.086	
Experience to Examination	-.001	.022	
Mechanic			
Education to Experience	.056	.054	.065
Education to Examination	-.004	.008	
Experience to Examination	.021	-.003	
Chef			
Education to Experience	-.032	-.034	-.029
Education to Examination	.000	-.006	
Experience to Examination	.005	-.014	

Table 5 Comparisons between Interior Design Qualification Questions

Question Comparisons	*t*	*p*
Four year education to Experience	2.4	.017
Four year education Examination	14.22	.000
Four year education to Minimum number of projects	1.81	.070
Four year education to Portfolio	.362	.717
Experience to Examination	12.12	.000
Experience to Minimum number of projects	-.433	.665
Experience to Portfolio	-1.84	.065
Examination to Minimum number of projects	-11.91	.000
Examination to Portfolio	-13.17	.000

Table 6 Significant Experience and Examination Comparisons between Occupations

Comparison	*p*
Experience	
Interior Design to Mechanic	.003
Interior Design to Chef	.017
Examination	
Interior Design to Computer Scientist	.000
Interior Design to Priest	.000
Interior Design to Mechanic	.000
Interior Design to Chef	.000

The Blame Game in International Relations

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I. Introduction

The US is routinely blamed for the woes of the world. But this study includes all nations. It is not only exhaustive, it is also objective. There are nine variables of interest. The two dependent variables are environmental performance and economic performance. The six independent variables are national attributes: politically free, economically free, anti-corrupt, anti-sexist, non-African, and non-Muslim. The ninth variable, fertility, serves as a trend indicator in lieu of longitudinal analysis.

Using gradation, each country is ranked according to each variable. Neither ranking nor averaging lends any credence to condemnation of the United States. Both comparison of means and comparison of correlation coefficients implicate other sets of nations: those lacking democracy, capitalism, honest government, or gender equality as well as those that are African or Muslim. And, according to the trend indicator, fertility, the prognosis for the planet and its people is not good.

"Asked to explain their governments' failings, representatives of many of the world's most fragile states often passed the buck, if they responded at all" (Dickinson, 2009, p. 90). In spite of much evidence to the contrary, it remains fashionable to find fault with the US. This is a strangely popular pastime even within the United States itself. Masochism is "de rigueur among American intellectuals, eager to blame their country and its government for most of the evils besetting the world" (Brooks, 2008, 129). But many people also believe the sun goes around the earth. And even those who know better still say it rises in the East and sets in the West. As always, there is no time like the present to correct a widespread misconception and the misleading rhetoric.

This study is objective rather than subjective. The differences between countries are empirically examined along with the relationships between variables. This study is exhaustive as opposed to selective. It includes all or almost all of the nations in the world, exposing the general truth as opposed to entertaining a universal fallacy (Ray and Webster, 1978, 414). The level of analysis is national because sovereign states are still the principal actors on the world stage (Ataman, 2003, p. 42).

The whole may not exactly equal the sum of its parts but one is nevertheless compelled to reason one way or the other (Simon, 1969, 214). The fallacy of division involves deduction, narrowing from the many to the few, whereas the fallacy of composition involves induction, broadening from the few to the many. The former is stereotypical and abstract whereas the latter is specific and tangible. Although imperfect, both processes are essential to the arts and sciences. Explanation and experimentation are complementary. So the argument presented here is theoretical or logical whereas the analysis conducted here is empirical or factual.

The two effects are assumed to be: environmental performance and economic performance. The importance of nature and business is difficult to overstate. A pristine environment and a vibrant economy account for a large portion of the overall quality of life. The six causes are assumed to be national attributes: politically free, economically free, anti-corrupt, anti-sexist, non-African, and non-Muslim. All six are important as indicated in the evidentiary portion of this study. The first four, democracy, capitalism, honest government, and gender equality, are important in their own right since they contribute to the advance of civilization at least from a classical Western point of view. The projected increase or decrease in each of the eight primary variables of interest is expressed in terms of a supplemental or trend variable, fertility.

Aside from an introduction and conclusion, there are three parts to this paper. In the first section, each variable is operationalized using an appropriate measure and a corresponding source of information. Later, they "can be woven into an argument answering the question(s) at hand" (Goodman and Kruger, 1988, 315). The research here is secondary as opposed to primary. This is indicative of much less effort on the one hand but much more credibility on the other. In the second section, countries are ranked variable by variable. These nine tables are not however included in the paper. Because there are so many countries, they are listed only once, alphabetically, in the Appendix. The position of the United States is compared with the average of each variable. A table of means (produced in conjunction with correlation) is included. Another table of means is included to illustrate the differences between non-African and African countries and between non-Muslim and Muslim countries. A brief discussion follows. In the third section, correlation coefficients are computed for all possible pairs of variables using the entire database. The results are presented in a table then discussed pair by pair. The discussion of trends is relegated to the conclusion.

II. Quantitative Measures

The two dependent variables are environmental performance and economic performance. In the first instance, 149 countries are ranked from best to worst (on a scale from 100 to 0) according to the EPI, Environmental Performance Index, complied by the Yale Center for Environmental Law and Policy at Yale University (2008). In the second instance, 178 countries are ranked in US dollars according to gross domestic product per capita in the World Economic Outlook Database compiled by the International Monetary Fund (October, 2007).

The six independent variables are national attributes: politically free, economically free, anti-corrupt, anti-sexist, non-African, and non-Muslim. In the first instance, 193 countries are classified as free, partly free, or not free (3, 2, or 1) with respect to political rights and civil liberties according to Freedom in the World compiled by Freedom House (2007). In the second instance, 157 countries are measured from best to worst (on a scale from 100 to 0) according to the Index of Economic Freedom compiled by the Heritage Foundation (2008). In the third instance, 179 countries are measured from best to worst (on a scale from 100 to 0) according to the Corruption Perceptions Index compiled by Transparency International (2007). In the fourth instance, 128 countries are measured from best to worst (on a scale from 100 to 0) according to the Global Gender Gap Report compiled by the World Economic Forum (2007). In the fifth instance, 194 countries are classified as non-African or African (1 or 0) based simply on their location. In the sixth instance, 194 countries are classified as non-Muslim or Muslim (1 or 0) based upon whether less or more than 50 percent of their population is Islamic. This information was gathered from a variety of sources including Statistics and Information compiled by Islamic World (2008). A supplemental variable is also included since it is indicative of trends with respect to the eight primary variables of interest. In this last instance, 193 countries are measured according to fertility rates as listed in the World Factbook compiled by the Central Intelligence Agency (2008).

Three of the nine variables are qualitative rather than quantitative. Politically free is a nominal variable but it is coded using the "dummy" indicators 3, 2, and 1. Region and religion are also nominal variables but since they are dualistic or dichotomous they are coded in a binary fashion using the "dummy" indicators 1 and 0 (Neter, Wasserman, and Kutner, 1990, 349-51). The countries are sorted by region not race since it is assumed that there is only one race, the human race. The countries are sorted by religion not ideology since political and economic values are reflected by two national attributes, politically free and economically free. The countries are sorted by African or not and by Muslim or not since this region and this religion appear to be most different in terms of the other variables of interest. Further research will be needed to evaluate other regions and religions. All of the measures used in this study are relevant at the national level of analysis. As such, they are bound to conceal differences within countries but they are likewise bound to reveal differences between countries (Shelton-Colby, 1988, 9).

All of the measures are current or recent. The analysis is synchronic or contemporary instead of diachronic or historical. The emphasis is on description and association as opposed to extrapolation (Berenson, Levine, and Goldstein, 1983). The intent is to compare ranks, scores and means, and relationships rather than to predict outcomes (except with regard to the supplemental variable, fertility).

So gradation, averaging, and correlation are the methodologies employed. This is problematic in one respect, in terms of projection from the past to the future, but salutary in another, in terms of utter simplicity. A longitudinal study is in any event too costly in terms of the limited time and money available to the author for this project.

III. Ranks and Means

The countries of the world are ranked in nine tables and listed in a tenth. First, they are ranked according to the two dependent variables: environmental performance and economic performance. Second, they are ranked according to the six independent variables or national attributes: politically free, economically free, anti-corrupt, anti-sexist, non-African, and non-Muslim. Third, they are ranked by the supplemental variable, fertility. And, last but not least, the countries are listed alphabetically. Due to the length of these tables, only the last one is included in the Appendix. The data are available there and through the website of each source for the purpose of replication.

A country's rank with respect to each variable speaks volumes. On an ordinal scale, one nation can be compared to any of the others. A county's score with respect to each variable is also telling. One nation can be compared to all nations using average scores. Descriptive statistics for each variable including means, standard deviations, and sample sizes are presented in **Table 1**.

Although the United States is frequently vilified, this study indicates that it is performing well both environmentally and economically. According to the first dependent variable, environmental performance, the US is ranked 39th out of 149 countries, scoring 81 out of 100 points, above the EPI mean of 72. According to the second dependent variable, economic performance, the US is ranked 8th out of 179 countries, earning $45,594, above the mean gross domestic product per capita of $11,278.

This study also indicates that the United States is doing well in terms of both variables for freedom. According to the first independent variable, politically free, the US is ranked in the top group of 89 out of 193 countries, with a score of 3 as opposed to 2 or 1, above the mean of 2.2. According to the second independent variable, economically free, the US is ranked 5th out of 157 countries, scoring 80.6 out of 100.0 points, above the mean of 60.3.

This study shows that the United States is not only anti-corrupt but also anti-sexist when compared with most other nations. Using the third independent variable, anti-corrupt, the US is ranked 20th out of 179 countries, scoring 7.20 out of 10.00 points, above the mean of 3.98. Using the fourth independent variable, anti-sexist, the US is ranked 38th out of 128 countries, scoring 70 out of 100 points, above the mean of 67.

This study also shows that the United States is of course a non-African and non-Muslim nation even though some of its citizens identify themselves as African and/or Muslim. Using the fifth independent variable, non-African, the US is included in the non-African group of 142 out of 194 countries. Using the sixth independent variable, non-Muslim, the US is included in the non-Muslim group of 145 out of 194 countries.

The United States is doing well in terms of the dependent variables (and the same can be said with respect to the first four independent variables). But the US is not doing well in terms of population growth. Using the supplemental or trend variable, fertility, the US is ranked 115th out of 193 countries in terms of fertility rates, scoring 2.09, below the mean of 2.99. The implications are ominous not only for the US but also for the rest of the world given the hegemonic status of the United States.

As indicted by the averages in **Table 2**, the non-African and non-Muslim nations of the world, including the United States, are doing better than the African and Muslim nations in every respect except fertility. With regard to the first dependent variable, environmental performance, the non-African mean is 76.9 compared to the African mean of 59.0; and, the non-Muslim mean is 75.2 compared to Muslim mean of 62.9. With regard to the second dependent variable, economic performance, the non-African mean is $14,928 compared to the African mean of $1,861; and, the non-Muslim mean is $12,797 compared to Muslim mean of $6,886.

With regard to the first independent variable, politically free, the non-African mean is 2.38 compared to the African mean of 1.83; and, the non-Muslim mean is 2.46 compared to Muslim mean of 1.57. With regard to the second independent variable, economically free, the non-African mean is 62.7 compared to

the African mean of 54.0; and, the non-Muslim mean is 61.8 compared to Muslim mean of 55.9. With regard to the third independent variable, anti-corrupt, the non-African mean is 4.46 compared to the African mean of 2.81; and, the non-Muslim mean is 4.39 compared to Muslim mean of 2.89. With regard to the fourth independent variable, anti-sexist, the non-African mean is 68 compared to the African mean of 63; and, the non-Muslim mean is 69 compared to Muslim mean of 61.

With regard to the supplemental or trend variable, fertility, the non-African mean is 2.33 compared to the African mean of 4.76; and, the non-Muslim mean is 2.65 compared to Muslim mean of 3.96. These regional and religious trends are very disturbing. The African and Muslim countries are growing fast but doing poorly with respect not only to environmental and economic performance but also with respect to political and economic freedom as well as anti-corruption and anti-sexism.

IV. Correlation Coefficients

Ordinal analysis is informative as is analysis of central tendency but bivariate analysis is also instructive. Instead of comparing one country with another by ranking or one group with another by averaging, one variable is compared with another by computing the degree of linear association between the two. The Pearson correlation coefficient "r" along with its statistical significance "p" is calculated for all possible pairs using SPSS 11.0 for Windows. A total of nine variables are examined: two dependent variables, six independent variables, and one supplemental variable.

The correlates along with the probabilities are presented in **Table 3** consisting of nine rows, nine columns, and eighty-one cells. Nine of the cells are obviously of no interest since they contain merely perfunctory comparisons of one variable with itself. These run diagonally across the map of the table from Northwest to Southeast or vice versa. Half or thirty-six of the remaining cells are on one side and half or thirty-six are on the other as duplicates. The first two columns and the last seven rows, like the first two rows and the last seven columns, contain the correlations of the dependent and independent variables along with the supplemental variable, fertility rate (which for the moment should be ignored).

All of the data are observational as opposed to experimental since "the independent variables are not susceptible to direct control" (Neter, Wasserman, and Kutner, 1990, p. 226). This is a natural experiment conducted in the field as opposed to an artificial experiment conducted in the laboratory (Singer, 1990, p. 135). Correlation is appropriate because "regression models may be employed for experimental data and for observational data" and because "regression analysis by means of indicator variables can handle qualitative (as well as quantitative) independent variables" (Neter, 1990, p. 522).

Both of the dependent variables in this study are quantitative. One is measured on an interval scale and the other on a ratio scale. In all, three out of nine variables are measured on a nominal scale denoting classes, four on an interval scale without a true zero, and two on a ratio scale with a true zero (Hoover, 1992, p. 92-6). Pearson correlation is employed since six out of the nine are measured on either an interval or ratio scale (Runyon and Haber, 1980, p. 119). Pearson correlation is also appropriate because "the scale values of X and Y (the dependent and independent variables) do not need to be the same" (p. 121).

The heterogeneous nature of the variables is problematic but manageable. Spearman correlation is also employed since three of the variables, although essentially nominal, are rudimentarily ranked: namely the independent variables politically free, non-African, and non-Muslim. Although this table is not shown, the Spearman coefficients are as strong as the Pearson coefficients and equally significant for these three qualitative variables.

It is assumed that there are only two dependent variables, environmental performance and economic performance, and that they must be dependent upon something (Kaufman, Chernotsky, and Geller, 1975, 314). It is further assumed that there are only six independent variables: politically free, economically free, anti-corrupt, anti-sexist, non-African, and non-Muslim. As indicated in Table 3, all eight of these variables are important at least in terms of one another. But some of the independent variables are no doubt more important than others. Further research will be required using "analysis of variance models … to determine … which factors are the key ones" (Neter, Wasserman, and Kutner, 1990, p. 527). Some important independent variables could also be missing. "There are always more variables that might be important than you have time and money to investigate" (Simon, 1969, p. 170).

In this study, differentiation between causes and effects is arbitrary. Ideally, it should be based on sequence as well as logic including the so-called "method of agreement" and "method of difference" (Wilson, 1990, p. 32-3). All processes of differentiation are however prone to error. First, it is possible to engage in circular or tautological reasoning. Second, "it is easy to assume falsely that two events are related as cause and effect when in fact both are results of a third factor." Third, "it is difficult to be sure that (confounding) variables other than those under study have not entered an experiment" (p. 34). Fourth, "things show a tendency to be their own cause ... (and) this is particularly true of wealth" (Delacroix, 1977, p. 799).

When "X is necessary and sufficient for Y" there is deterministic causality, where "X is necessary but not sufficient for Y" there is probabilistic causality, and where "X is not known to be either necessary or sufficient for Y but they tend to be present or absent together" there is at least correlation (Ackoff, 1962, p. 16). "Covariation, while not sufficient, is indeed necessary to the search for causation" (Singer, 1990, p. 138). But which came first, the chickens or the eggs? This question is answered arbitrarily since life cycles and feedback loops are beyond the scope of this research. And, "frankly, the direction of cause and effect is irrelevant to the direction of association which is the true focus of this analysis" (Craig, 1995, 218).

In fact, the unspoken null hypothesis is that zero correlation or no relationship exists between the variables of interest. This is however rejected in every instance. There are a total of thirty-six pairs including the supplemental variable, fertility. In each of the 2-tailed tests, the findings are directionally strong (on a scale from -1 to +1). All result in an absolute correlation of more than .3 except two: the correlation between economic performance and non-Muslim (.15) and between non-African and non Muslim (.24). All of the tests are statistically significant at the .001 level except two: the correlation between economic performance and non-Muslim (which is significant at the .05 level) and the correlation between economically free and non-Muslim (which is significant at the .01 level).

The first dependent variable, environmental performance, is positively correlated with all six independent variables: .49 with politically free, .55 with economically free, .64 with anti-corrupt, .63 with anti-sexist, .63 with non-African, and .43 with non-Muslim. The second dependent variable, economic performance, is also positively correlated with all six independent variables: .34 with politically free, .64 with economically free, .82 with anti-corrupt, .43 with anti-sexist, .34 with non-African, and .15 with non-Muslim.

The latter correlation is low likely because ten out of the forty-nine Muslim nations are members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries or OPEC. The economic performance of the cartel is high due to its sharp business practices. These include not only breech of contract involving asset expropriation but also restraint of trade involving price fixing. Such are the weapons of economic warfare in the Islamic Jihad. "Catching the world off guard in the 1970s … Gulf producers were able to capitalize on their oil embargo and production cuts, and they reaped windfall profits for nearly a decade" (Rifkin, 2002, 121). These rounds of price gouging coincided with the Yom Kipper War in 1973, the Iranian Revolution in 1979, and the Gulf War in 1991. The latest oil shock followed the attack on the United States on 9-11 in 2001 and the subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The US is often portrayed as a "white devil" by critics like Elijah Muhammad (Curtis, 2006, p. 38) or as the "Great Satan" by critics like Ruhollah Khomeini (Beeman, 2005, p. 25). But, in terms of the two dependent variables, neither portrayal is supported by the findings of this study. The non-African nations of the world, including the US, do better than the African nations with respect to both the environment and the economy. Likewise, the non-Muslim nations of the world, including the US, do better than the Muslim nations with respect to both the environment and the economy. The numbers clearly speak for themselves.

The pair-wise association of independent variables is also instructive. The correlation between politically free and non-African is .31 and the correlation between politically free and non-Muslim is .49. The correlation between economically free and non-African is .34 and the correlation between economically free and non-Muslim is .23. The correlation between anti-corrupt and non-African is .36 and the correlation between anti-corrupt and non-Muslim is .32. The correlation between anti-sexist and

non-African is .31 and the correlation between anti-sexist and non-Muslim is .57. The non-African and non-Muslim nations, including the US, do better than their counterparts not only in terms of the two dependent variables but also in terms of the first four independent variables.

V. Conclusion

Using only current data, it is normally not possible to extrapolate into the future. But is possible using a supplemental variable, such as fertility, in conjunction with the primary variables of interest. The "relationship of these factors to fertility" is indicative of trends (Speder and Kamaras, 2008, 599). As shown in Table 3, there are negative correlations between fertility and all six independent variables: -.40 with politically free, -.39 with economically free, -.54 with anti-corrupt, -.55 with anti-sexist, -.68 with non-African, and -.36 with non-Muslim. There are also negative correlations between fertility and both dependent variables: -.82 with environmental performance and -.43 with economic performance. Overall, the prognosis for the planet and its people is not good.

In order to reverse these dismal trends, democratic and capitalistic nations, anti-corrupt and anti-sexist nations, and non-African and non-Muslim nations should do more than merely set a good example. They should persuade and pressure other nations to follow their example. The environment and the economy are not just national issues nor are personal freedom and free trade or honest government and gender equality. Instead, these are international issues that affect people everywhere.

Environmental development goes hand in hand with political and economic development. "For a number of pollution variables, an increase in civil and political freedoms significantly improves environmental quality … (and this) suggests that political reforms may be as important as economic reforms in improving environmental quality worldwide" (Barrett and Graddy, 2000). It is likewise clear that "the role of development should be not only to increase income but also to eliminate other deprivations, including tyranny" (Hollander, 2003, 200).

Despite continuing criticism, "the United States should not sign any treaty that fails to hold developing countries to the same standards as the industrialized countries" (Moore, 1998, 133). In the name of universal progress as well as equal treatment, all nations should be held accountable for both their actions and their inactions. This includes African and Muslim nations. Environmental protection and economic progress depend not only on setting standards but also on raising them.

The United States is still a world leader. It is therefore incumbent upon the US to exercise its power, both soft and hard, not only to protect human rights in general but also women's rights in particular. It is likewise the responsibility of the United States to promote good government within nations as well as good business between nations. As a hegemon, the US can and should be blamed whenever it fails to meet these high expectations. Great powers have great responsibilities.

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Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	StanDev	Number
Env Perf	71.87	12.74	149
Econ Perf	11278	17299	179

Pol Free	2.23	.80	193
Econ Free	60.26	11.49	157
Anti Corrupt	3.98	2.09	179
Anti Sexist	66.70	5.66	128
Non African	.73	.44	194
Non Muslim	.75	.44	194
Fert Rate	2.99	1.60	193

Table 2: Arithmetic Means

	Environ Perform	Econ Perform	Pol Free	Econ Free	Anti-Corrupt	Anti-Sexist	Fert Rate
Non-African	76.9	14,928	2.38	62.7	4.46	68	2.33
African	59.0	1,861	1.83	54.0	2.81	63	4.76
Non-Muslim	75.2	12,797	2.46	61.8	4.39	69	2.65
Muslim	62.9	6,886	1.57	55.9	2.89	61	3.96

Table 3: Correlation Coefficients

	Env Perf	Econ Perf	Pol Free	Econ Free	Anti-Corrupt	Anti-Sexist	Non-African	Non-Muslim	Fert Rate
Env Perf	1	.528 .000	.488 .000	.548 .000	.638 .000	.630 .000	.633 .000	.429 .000	-.817 .000
Econ Perf	.528 .000	1	.338 .000	.636 .000	.817 .000	.426 .000	.340 .000	.150 .045	.-.431 .000
Pol Free	.488 .000	.338 .000	1	.604 .000	.575 .000	.453 .000	.310 .000	.485 .000	-.398 .000
Econ Free	.548 .000	.636 .000	.604 .000	1	.802 .000	.385 .000	.341 .000	.226 .004	-.393 .000
Anti-Corrupt	.638 .000	.817 .000	.575 .000	.802 .000	1	.518 .000	.360 .000	.318 .000	-.540 .000
Anti-Sexist	.630 .000	.426 .000	.453 .000	.385 .000	.518 .000	1	.306 .000	.571 .000	-.548 .000
Non-African	.633 .000	.340 .000	.310 .000	.341 .000	.360 .000	.306 .000	1	.237 .001	-.677 .000
Non-Muslim	.429 .000	.150 .045	.485 .000	.226 .004	.318 .000	.571 .000	.237 .001	1	-.358 .000
Fert Rate	-.817 .000	-.431 .000	-.398 .000	-.393 .000	-.540 .000	-.548 .000	-.677 .000	-.358 .000	1

Appendix: Countries Listed Alphabetically

Country	Env Perf	Econ Perf	Pol Free	Econ Free	Anti-Corr	Anti-Sexi	Non-Afr	Non-Mus	Fert Rate
Afghanistan		362	2		1.80		1	0	6.64
Albania	84.0	3,256	2	63.3	2.90	67	1	0	2.03
Algeria	77.0	3,702	1	55.7	3.00	61	0	0	1.86
Andorra			3				1	1	1.31
Angola	39.5	3,738	1	47.1	2.20	60	0	1	6.27
Antigua		12,968	3				1	1	2.23
Argentina	81.8	6,310	3	55.1	2.90	70	1	1	2.13
Armenia	77.8	2,248	2	70.3	3.00	67	1	1	1.34
Australia	79.8	42,553	3	82.0	8.60	72	1	1	1.76
Austria	89.4	44,308	3	70.0	8.10	71	1	1	1.37
Azerbaijan	72.2	3,633	1	55.3	2.10	68	1	0	2.05
Bahamas		19,781	3	71.1			1	1	2.15
Bahrain		22,109	2	72.2	5.00	59	1	0	2.57
Bangladesh	58.0	444	2	44.9	2.00	63	1	0	3.09
Barbados		13605	3	71.3	6.90		1	1	1.65
Belarus	80.5	4,013	1	44.7	2.10	71	1	1	1.22
Belgium	78.4	41,605	3	71.5	7.10	72	1	1	1.64
Belize	71.7	4,195	3	62.8	3.00	64	1	1	3.52
Benin	56.1	691	3	55.0	2.70	57	0	1	5.08
Bhutan		1,454	1		5.00		1	1	4.67
Bolivia	64.7	1,293	2	53.2	2.90	66	1	1	2.76
Bosnia & H.	79.7	3,400	2	53.7	3.30		1	1	1.23
Botswana	68.7	7,270	3	68.6	5.40	68	0	1	2.73
Brazil	82.7	6,842	3	55.9	3.50	66	1	1	1.88
Bruni		32,501	1				1	0	1.97
Bulgaria	78.5	5,116	3	62.9	4.10	71	1	1	1.39
Burkina Faso	44.3	500	2	55.6	2.90	59	0	0	6.41
Burundi	54.7	127	2	46.3	2.50		0	1	6.48
C.A.R.	56.0	386	2	48.2	2.00		0	1	4.32
Cambodia	53.8	592	1	56.2	2.00	64	1	1	3.12
Cameroon	63.8	1,110	1	54.0	2.40	59	0	1	4.49
Canada	86.6	42,738	3	80.2	8.70	72	1	1	1.61
Cape Verde		2,766	3	58.4	4.90		0	1	3.28
Chad	45.9	677	1	47.7	1.80	54	0	0	5.56
Chile	83.4	9,698	3	79.8	7.00	65	1	1	1.97
China	65.1	2,460	1	52.8	3.50	66	1	1	1.75
Colombia	88.3	3,614	2	61.9	3.80	71	1	1	2.51
Comoros			2		2.60		0	0	4.97
Congo, Dem.	47.3	161	1		1.90		0	1	6.37
Congo, Rep.	69.7	1,931	1	45.2	2.10		0	1	5.99
Costa Rica	90.5	5,102	3	64.8	5.00	70	1	1	2.21
Côte d'Ivoire	65.2	1,042	1	54.9	2.10		0	1	4.43
Croatia	84.6	11,271	3	54.6	4.10	72	1	1	1.41
Cuba	80.7		1	27.5	4.20	72	1	1	1.60
Cyprus	79.2	26,386	3	71.3	5.30	65	1	1	1.80
Czech Rep.	76.8	16,372	3	68.5	5.20	67	1	1	1.22

Denmark	84.0	57,035	3	79.2	9.40	75	1	1	1.74
Djibouti	50.5	1,090	2	52.3	2.90		0	0	5.23
Dominica		3,745	3		5.60		1	1	2.12
Dominican R.	83.0	4,045	3	58.5	3.00	67	1	1	2.81
Ecuador	84.4	3,243	2	55.4	2.10	69	1	1	2.63
Egypt	76.3	1,739	1	59.2	2.90	58	0	0	2.77
El Salvador	77.2	2,841	3	69.2	4.00	69	1	1	3.08
Equa. Guinea		7,895	1	52.5	1.90		0	1	4.48
Eritrea	59.4	293	1		2.80		0	0	4.96
Estonia	85.2	15,310	3	77.8	6.50	70	1	1	1.41
Ethiopia	58.8	206	2	53.2	2.40	60	0	0	5.10
Fiji	69.7	3,783	2	61.5			1	1	2.70
Finland	91.4	44,912	3	74.8	9.40	80	1	1	1.73
France	87.8	40,782	3	65.4	7.30	68	1	1	1.98
Gabon	77.3	7,218	2	53.6	3.30		0	1	4.71
Gambia		238	2	56.6	2.30	64	0	0	5.21
Georgia	82.2	2,186	2	69.2	3.40	67	1	1	1.42
Germany	86.3	39,650	3	71.2	7.80	76	1	1	1.40
Ghana	70.8	682	3	56.7	3.70	67	0	1	3.89
Greece	80.2	32,010	3	60.1	4.60	66	1	1	1.35
Grenada		5,162	3		3.40		1	1	2.30
Guatemala	76.7	2,504	2	60.5	2.80	61	1	1	3.70
Guinea	51.3	464	1	52.8	1.90		0	0	5.75
Guinea-Biss.	49.7	204	2	45.1	2.20		0	0	4.79
Guyana	64.8	1,285	2	49.4	2.60		1	1	2.04
Haiti	60.7	614	2	48.9	1.60		1	1	4.86
Honduras	75.4	1,327	2	60.2	2.50	67	1	1	3.48
Hong Kong		29,149		90.3	8.30		1	1	0.98
Hungary	84.2	13,560	3	67.2	5.30	67	1	1	1.33
Iceland	87.6	62,976	3	76.5	9.20	78	1	1	1.91
India	60.3	965	3	54.2	3.50	59	1	1	2.81
Indonesia	66.2	1,824	3	53.9	2.30	66	1	0	2.38
Iran	76.9	3,920	1	44.0	2.50	59	1	0	1.71
Iraq	53.9		1		1.50		1	0	4.07
Ireland	82.7	58,883	3	82.4	7.50	75	1	1	1.86
Israel	79.6	22,073	3	66.1	6.10	70	1	1	2.38
Italy	84.2	35,386	3	62.5	5.20	65	1	1	1.29
Jamaica	79.1	3,998	3	66.2	3.30	69	1	1	2.36
Japan	84.5	34,023	3	72.5	7.50	65	1	1	1.23
Jordan	76.5	2,741	2	63.0	4.70	62	1	0	2.55
Kazakhstan	65.0	6,314	1	60.5	2.10	70	1	0	1.89
Kenya	69.0	851	2	59.6	2.10	65	0	1	4.82
Kiribati		745	3		3.30		1	1	4.12
Korea, North			1	3.0			1	1	2.05
Korea, South	79.4	19,624	3	67.9	5.10	64	1	1	1.28
Kuwait	64.5	32,259	2	68.3	4.30	64	1	0	2.86
Kyrgyz Rep.	69.6	663	2	61.1	2.10	67	1	0	2.68
Laos	66.3	653	1	49.2	1.90		1	1	4.59
Latvia	88.8	11,826	3	68.3	4.80	73	1	1	1.28
Lebanon	70.3	6,398	2	60.9	3.00		1	0	1.88

Lesotho		648	3	51.9	3.30	71	0	1	3.21
Liberia		195	2		2.10		0	1	5.94
Libya		10,840	1	38.7	2.50		0	0	3.21
Liechtenstein			3				1	1	1.51
Lithuania	86.2	10,472	3	70.8	4.80	72	1	1	1.21
Luxembourg	83.1	102,284	3	75.2	8.40	68	1	1	1.78
Macedonia	75.1	3,574	2	61.1	3.30	70	1	1	1.57
Madagascar	54.6	371	2	62.4	3.20	65	0	1	5.24
Malawi	59.9	257	2	53.8	2.70	65	0	1	5.74
Malaysia	84.0	6,146	2	64.5	5.10	64	1	0	3.01
Maldives		2,968	1		3.30	63	1	0	4.78
Mali	44.3	531	3	55.5	2.70	60	0	0	7.38
Malta		16,049	3	66.0	5.80	66	1	1	1.51
Marshall Is.			3				1	1	3.76
Mauritania	44.2	928	2	55.0	2.60	60	0	0	5.78
Mauritius	78.1	5,572	3	72.3	4.70	65	1	1	1.94
Mexico	79.8	8,426	3	66.4	3.50	64	1	1	2.39
Micronesia			3				1	1	3.07
Moldova	70.7	1,187	2	58.4	2.80	72	1	1	1.25
Monaco			3				1	1	1.75
Mongolia	68.1	1,470	3	62.8	3.00	67	1	1	2.25
Montenegro			2		3.30		1	1	
Morocco	72.1	2,368	2	56.4	3.50	57	0	0	2.62
Mozambique	53.9	397	2	56.6	2.80	69	0	1	5.29
Myanmar	65.1	239	1	39.5	1.40		1	1	1.95
Namibia	70.6	3,248	3	61.0	4.50	70	0	1	2.94
Naura			3				1	1	3.02
Nepal	72.1	400	2	54.7	2.50	56	1	1	4.01
Netherlands	78.7	45,429	3	76.8	9.00	74	1	1	1.66
New Zealand	88.9	29,698	3	80.2	9.40	76	1	1	1.79
Nicaragua	73.4	937	2	60.0	2.60	65	1	1	2.69
Niger	39.1	316	2	52.7	2.60		0	0	7.37
Nigeria	56.2	825	2	55.5	2.20	61	0	0	5.45
Norway	93.1	79,154	3	69.0	8.70	81	1	1	1.78
Oman	70.3	15,412	1	67.4	4.70	59	1	0	5.70
Pakistan	58.7	909	1	56.8	2.40	55	1	0	3.71
Palau			3				1	1	2.46
Panama	83.1	5,767	3	64.7	3.20	70	1	1	2.66
Papua N. Gu.	64.8	977	2		2.00		1	1	3.79
Paraguay	77.7	1,715	2	60.5	2.40	67	1	1	3.84
Peru	78.1	3,616	3	63.5	3.50	66	1	1	2.46
Philippines	77.9	1,590	2	56.9	2.50	76	1	1	3.05
Poland	80.5	10,858	3	59.5	4.20	68	1	1	1.26
Portugal	85.8	20,665	3	64.3	6.50	70	1	1	1.48
Qatar		70,754	1	62.2	6.00	60	1	0	2.75
Romania	71.9	7,352	3	61.5	3.70	69	1	1	1.38
Russia	83.9	8,612	1	49.9	2.30	69	1	1	1.39
Rwanda	54.9	303	1	54.1	2.80		0	1	5.37
Samoa		2,047	3		4.50		1	1	4.21
San Marino			3				1	1	1.34

Sao Tome		871	3		2.70		0	1	5.53
Saudi Arabia	72.8	15,416	1	62.8	3.40	56	1	0	3.94
Senegal	62.8	875	3	58.2	3.60		0	0	5.00
Serbia		5,397	3		3.40		1	1	1.69
Seychelles		8,852	2		4.50		0	1	1.74
Sierra Leone	40.0	270	2	48.9	2.10		0	0	6.01
Singapore		34,152	2	87.4	9.30	66	1	1	1.07
Slovak Rep	86.0	13,227	3	68.7	4.90	68	1	1	1.33
Slovenia	86.3	22,079	3	60.6	6.60	68	1	1	1.26
Solomon Is.	52.3	704	2		2.80		1	1	3.78
Somalia			1		1.40		0	0	6.68
South Africa	69.0	5,724	3	63.2	5.10	72	0	1	2.16
Spain	83.1	31,471	3	69.7	6.70	74	1	1	1.29
Sri Lanka	79.5	1,558	2	58.3	3.20	72	1	1	2.05
St. Kitts		12,595	3				1	1	2.29
St. Lucia		5,747	3		6.80		1	1	2.15
St. Vincent		4,939	3		6.10		1	1	1.81
Sudan	55.5	1,257	1		1.80		0	0	4.69
Suriname		4,254	3	53.9	3.50	68	1	1	2.03
Swaziland	61.3	2,299	1	58.9	3.30		0	1	3.43
Sweden	93.1	47,069	3	70.4	9.30	81	1	1	1.66
Switzerland	95.5	56,711	3	79.7	9.00	69	1	1	1.44
Syria	68.2	1,928	1	46.6	2.40	62	1	0	3.31
Taiwan	80.8	16,274	3	71.0	5.70		1	1	1.12
Tajikistan	72.3	522	1	54.5	2.10	66	1	0	3.09
Tanzania	63.9	362	2	56.4	3.20	70	0	1	4.77
Thailand	79.2	3,400	2	63.5	3.30	68	1	1	1.64
Timor, East		453	2		2.60		1	1	3.45
Togo	62.3	370	1	48.8	2.30		0	1	4.90
Tonga		2,138	2		1.70		1	1	2.75
Trinidad	70.4	15,908	3	70.2	3.40	69	1	1	1.74
Tunisia	78.1	3,313	1	59.3	4.20	63	0	0	1.73
Turkey	75.9	6,548	2	60.8	4.10	58	1	0	1.89
Turkmenistan	71.3	5,055	1	43.4	2.00		1	0	3.13
Tuvalu			3				1	1	2.96
U.A.E.	64.0	42,275	1	62.8	5.70	62	1	0	2.43
Uganda	61.6	360	2	64.4	2.80	68	0	1	6.84
Ukraine	74.1	2,830	3	51.1	2.70	68	1	1	1.24
U.K.	86.3	45,301	3	79.5	8.40	74	1	1	1.66
United States	81.0	45,594	3	80.6	7.20	70	1	1	2.09
Uruguay	82.3	6,616	3	68.1	6.70	66	1	1	1.97
Uzbekistan	65.0	753	1	52.3	1.70	69	1	0	2.88
Vanuatu		1,842	3		3.10		1	1	2.63
Venezuela	80.0	8,252	2	45.0	2.00	68	1	1	2.55
Vietnam	73.9	809	1	49.8	2.60	69	1	1	1.89
Yemen	49.7	1,020	2	52.8	2.50	45	1	0	6.49
Zambia	55.1	895	2	56.4	2.60	63	0	1	5.31
Zimbabwe	69.3	1,378	1	29.8	2.10	65	0	1	3.08

Graduate Candidates' Perceptions of Cohort Groups in Educational Leadership Programs

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Introduction

Current research (SREB, 2006) includes findings that support the need for school districts to create partnerships with universities in an effort to take a proactive stance in acquiring additional highly effective principal candidates for their districts due to the scarcity of qualified principal applicants and the growing number of current school administrators nearing retirement. One component of these school partnerships includes the cohort-based learning approach. Candidates to begin, continue, and finish the educational administration degree and certification together. These candidates learn together throughout the entire principal preparation program, while the traditional structure of learning for on-campus candidates in the same program continues as before. This paper will describe and explain graduate candidates' current perceptions and preferences of cooperative learning cohorts in university school principal preparation programs. This study seeks to determine whether candidates perceive cohort learning groups to be more effective than traditional learning structures in increasing their knowledge and retention, improving decision-making, communication, human relations, and group-process skills, in terms of applying principles of cognitive learning theory to program development in educational administration programs.

The quality of university-based school leader preparation programs has been debated for years. Some graduates from leadership preparation programs have voiced concerns indicating that the traditional school leadership programs have been ineffective and did not provide the knowledge necessary for preparation for the multiple job requirements of a school leader. Most said their training programs did not touch on the more complex combinations of leadership skills used in cultural, strategic, or external developmental leadership (Portin, Schneider, DeArmond & Gulndlach, 2003).

Findings from the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB) identified six recommended research-based strategies: "Single out high performers; recalibrate preparation programs, emphasize real-world training; link principal licensure to performance, move accomplished teachers into school leadership positions, and use state academics to cultivate leadership teams in middle-tier schools" (SREB, 2006). SREB has also closely monitored experiences with schools, universities, and state agencies that should be implemented to produce skilled school district leaders.

The theoretical base and lens for this study is the cognitive learning theory due to the fact that the cohort design reflects the literature that calls for the application of cognitive frameworks to school leadership and its development. Research provides the assumption that guided program development advances learning through collaborative social interaction and social construction of knowledge (Brown & Druid, 1994). Through this lens and with current graduate candidates in principal preparation programs as the target group, the purpose of the study is to describe and explain graduate candidates' current perceptions and preferences of cooperative learning cohorts in university school principal preparation programs. The perceptions current graduate candidates possess will be sought so that voice will be given to their perspectives about cohort learning groups. In this study, the following will be accomplished: (a) a description of the perceptions graduate candidates have about cohort learning groups

in university principal preparation programs, (b) an analysis of the perceptions these graduate candidates express through the lens of the cognitive learning theory, (c) other realities that may be revealed, and (d) an assessment of the usefulness of the cognitive learning theory for explaining the phenomenon under review.

Knowledge obtained from this study will be valuable to current research, theory development, and practice. In addition, the new knowledge will also include information needed to reevaluate the cohort learning group design in principal preparation programs. This study using the cognitive learning theory will help to explain current graduate candidates' perceptions of cohort learning groups in educational administration programs. Through this research, the application of the cognitive learning theory may be enhanced and broadened. Little research has explored the perceptions of graduate candidates in principal preparation programs. This study will assist administrators, educators, school boards, and others to understand the influences present and at work in the perceptions of graduate candidates and cohort group learning. Understanding how graduate candidates perceive cohort groups in principal preparation programs has the potential to bring about change and improvement in education and education administration programs.

Reasons for Cohort Learning Groups in Principal Preparation Programs

Cohort learning groups is a relatively new concept and current trend in principal preparation programs, but has been a recommended way of learning for students in early childhood and elementary schools for several years. The cohort concept is being re-evaluated as an answer to the demands for school reform in principal preparation programs. Cohort learning in leadership programs has become an important extension of the partnerships recommended between school districts and universities to promote high quality principal position candidates. Cohort, which may be simply defined as a group, is defined more narrowly in higher education to be a group of candidates who engage in a program of studies together (Yerkes, Norris, Bason, & Barnett, 1994a). Some educators have enhanced that definition to include membership selection, collaborative work, goal orientation, social interaction, and support among a group of candidates who are enrolled in a program of studies together (Merino, Muse, & Wright, 1994).

Principal preparation programs across the nation are exploring and modeling the cohort learning concept within their programs. Due to changing reforms for today's schools that include shared leadership, communities of learners, and visionary leadership, cohort learning may provide new ideas to consider that will enhance and broaden candidate preparation for leadership positions (Yerkes, Norris, Bason & Barnett, 1994b) Due to the renewed interest in cohorts, their descriptions, organizational patterns and instructional strategies, literature in educational administration is recognizing the importance of this concept (Archilles, 1994). Even though the popularity of implementing the cohort learning model is growing, very little research has been completed in this area.

Statement of the Problem

School districts leaders across the central region of Oklahoma have voiced their concerns over the apparent current and possible future shortages of highly qualified principal and assistant principal aspirants who apply for leadership positions in their districts. The reports from these leaders is similar to what has been reported throughout the United States. There is no shortage of individuals holding principal credentials, however there is a shortage of those who are perceived to be able to serve as strong instructional leaders at the building level. Through strong communication and careful preparation and development, a successful partnership was created during the 2006-07 academic year. The partnership was comprised of a local community college who made available convenient classroom space, the school district's upper level administration, and university faculty members who implemented instructional teams. The existing master of education in the education administrative degree program which consists of 34 hours of graduate study including various field experiences and a somewhat structured internship experience was used as a framework for the program. The program was approved by the Oklahoma certification review team to meet principal certification requirements and is aligned to and has been reviewed by the Educational Leadership Constituent Council. Collaborative teams including university faculty members and school district leaders took the existing courses from the program, designed them to

include district specific content (along with existing learning outcomes), and served as the instructional team for the program.

Throughout the planning process, many necessary items were accomplished with representatives from the partnership collaborating on the outcome. These items included the logistics on design and implementation of the program, the function and responsibility of district administrators, and the arrangement of classes. A cohort-based approach was decided upfront in order for candidates to begin, continue, and finish the degree together. It was this same cohort approach that candidates participated in throughout the successful entirety of the program. This cohort program is only one of many across the nation, but candidates can provide valuable insight about cohort learning groups in a comparative way applying principles of cognitive learning theory to program development in educational administration programs.

Even though there is some research to identify reasons cohort learning groups are more beneficial than conventional learning, little evidence exists to explain candidates preferences and perceptions of cohort learning strategies and group learning in this era of high expectations in school leadership preparation programs. The trend of cohort learning groups needs to be addressed in the area of candidates' thoughts and perceptions. Understanding candidates' individual ideas and perceptions of cohort learning as they participate in that model compared to candidates' perceptions of cohort group learning, who are enrolled in the same educational administration program, but learn in conventional settings at the same university is imperative to understand. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to describe and explore graduate candidates' current perceptions and preferences of cooperative learning cohorts in university school principal preparation programs.

Research Questions

Insights gained from visits with a cohort learning group and a conventional learning group with a review of the literature on the cohort learning group model were used to devise a written questionnaire intended to elicit information about graduate students preferences and perceptions of the cohort learning group approach and strategies.

The questionnaire contained both closed and open-ended questions related to:

- Graduate candidates' beliefs of cohort and traditional structure learning groups
- Graduate candidates' preferences of cohort and traditional structure learning groups
- Additional input from graduate candidates enrolled in cohort and traditional structure learning groups.

All candidates in one cohort structured group (n = 13) and all candidates in a traditional structure learning group (n = 14) were asked to complete the questionnaire. A total of 27 graduate candidates enrolled in a school leadership preparation program returned complete questionnaires, constituting a very good response of 100%.

Methods

Research Design

The topic of this study is to describe graduate candidates' current perceptions and preferences of cooperative learning cohorts compared to a traditional learning structure in university school principal preparation programs. This is a multifaceted study that requires a concentrated examination of graduate candidates' perceptions of the cohort learning structured approach compared to other candidates who are participating in a traditional structured learning group. A thorough researcher-developed survey with open-ended and closed questions was developed in such a way to discover their true perceptions. This quantitative study was designed to help provide a profound understanding of graduate candidates' beliefs of cohort learning groups. The survey research allowed the researchers to explore the topic of interest through inquiry and to identify important patterns that emerged.

Participants

The participants for this quantitative study included twenty-seven graduate candidates enrolled simultaneously in a principal preparation program at the University of Central Oklahoma (UCO), a metropolitan area of Oklahoma. Fourteen graduate candidates were enrolled in a traditional structure learning group and thirteen graduate candidates were enrolled in a cohort structure learning group that

was an extension of a partnership between the four-year comprehensive state university and a metropolitan school district. All participants were enrolled in the masters of education in educational administration degree program. The existing master of education in education administration degree program consists of 34 hours of graduate study including various field experiences and a somewhat structured internship experience was used as a framework for the program. The program has been approved by the state to meet principal certification requirements and is aligned to and been reviewed by the Educational Leadership Constituent Council.

Participants from the conventional structure learning group included six males and eight females with five males and eight females from the cohort structured learning group. Candidates from the traditional group indicated how many graduate hours/credits they will have completed by the end of the current semester. One candidate with nine hours completed, three candidates with three credit hours, four candidates with 12 hours, and six candidates with six hours completed in the program. Table 1 presents gender comparisons.

The cohort group reported more credit hours already earned due to their near completion of the program and already existing completed graduate hours in other subject areas. Eight candidates reported having 31 credit hours, one candidate with 40 hours, two candidates with 46 hours, one candidate with 99 hours and one candidate with 95 credit hours earned. Perceptions from the cohort group came from multiple credit hours of experience they had actively been involved with together in the program. Table 2 indicates the description of cohort credit hours.

Current professions of both groups were varied with 21 candidates who were reporting to be teachers, one school counselor, one retired teacher, one assistant principal, one career advisor one school nurse and one school psychologist. Table 3 presents current professions of participants. Participants also revealed the job positions they planned to obtain when they complete the principal preparation program. Eight candidates plan to become assistant principals, seven candidates would like to be principals, four candidates would like to become principals or assistant principals, one would like to be a principal or athletic director, one candidate plans to keep his or her current position, one candidate would like to continue to be a teacher or be an assistant professor, one candidate plans to become a teacher or principal, one candidate would like to be a curriculum coordinator or academic coach, one candidate plans to be an assistant principal or secure a job at the central office, one candidate plans to be a director of student health services, and one student does not know what she/he will want to do when he/she completes the program. Table 4 depicts participants' desired future job positions when they complete the program.

Instrumentation and Data Collection

The investigator conducted a researcher-developed survey to collect subjective data such as opinions, perceptions, and preferences and to also collect factual data such as gender and profession. An identical survey was given to graduate candidates enrolled in a cohort group learning structure and to another groups of graduate candidates enrolled in educational administration class in a conventional group learning structure.

Data Analysis

The data obtained from the surveys were reviewed and transcribed in several stages to identify emerging patterns to understand graduate candidates' current perceptions and preferences of cooperative learning cohorts in university school principal preparation programs. The data provided the information needed to determine whether candidates perceive cohort learning groups in educational administration programs to be more effective than traditional learning structures in increasing their knowledge and retention, improving decision-making, communication, human relations, and group-process skills, in terms of applying principles of cognitive learning theory to program development in education administration programs.

Findings of the Study

Research Questions 1: What is a cohort learning group (in your own words)?

The first research question requested participants' perceptions of what they believe is a cohort learning group. This data provides the information needed to analyze what candidates really believe a cohort group consists of. Ninety-nine percent of the participants in the cohort learning group understood the concept of

their cohort learning structure that included similar responses. One educator described a cohort learning group as, "A group of people taking the same courses together through an entire program." One participant chose not to answer this particular question.

Responses from the conventional structured group indicated they were not quite sure what a cohort group was due to the varied descriptions in their own words. One candidate did not attempt to answer this research question while another candidate stated, "A cohort is a group of students who take the same class to obtain a degree." One educator described a cohort group as, "A study group that shares the same academic experiences and interactions," and another teacher expressed his depiction of a cohort group as, "A group of people that use each other as a resource." The descriptions revealed by these participants indicated they understood a cohort to be a "group", but the consistent meaning and purpose of those groups was vague and confused. Ninety-nine percent of the participants in the conventional group were clear that a cohort is a "group", and stated that within their responses.

Research Question 2: Do you believe cohort groups are beneficial to the learning process in principal preparation programs? Why or why not?

The majority of the cohort group believed that cohort groups are beneficial to the learning process as indicated by the response from one teacher, "Yes. There are people to converse with when you are stressed or need to vent or to help motivate you." An elementary teacher agreed by saying:

> Absolutely. If not for the cohort, I'm not sure I would have stayed in the program. It is nice to have others to bounce and share ideas as well as celebrate.

Ninety-eight percent of the cohort group fully agreed that cohort groups are beneficial to the learning process in principal preparation programs. A teacher who would like to become a curriculum coordinator or academic coach stated his beliefs, "The camaraderie helped to cope with the stress; I'm not sure I learned more or less than another style." A school psychologist believed, "Somewhat. District level people involved is beneficial."

The conventional learning group did not appear to have total confidence in the cohort structure. Fifty-seven percent of these students believed the cohort structure would be beneficial in the learning process and echoed this teacher's thoughts, "Yes, it develops teamwork and provides support." The remaining 43% of those participants did not portray full support of the cohort model. A teacher who plans to become an assistant principal or principal was adamant, "No. I believe in my case, it would be too rigid. My schedule needs flexible choices." Another teacher stated he was not sure if cohorts are beneficial which depicted the confusion some participants described. An elementary teacher stated, "Not really! You need other people's ideas and thoughts instead of the same people." Another unsure teacher proclaimed, "Yes, and no. Yes, because you can glean information from many others. At the same time, you always hear from the same people." A school counselor reported, "Can be. You can share ideas with those you are working with…" and a retired teacher was doubtful, "I'm not sure. Maybe networking, support, more of a family feel."

The analysis of responses to this question indicated the confidence the cohort group held in the structure of their learning group, whereas the conventional group had more candidates who were doubtful about the cohort formation.

Research Question 3: What do you believe are advantages to learning as a cohort group?

Advantages were expressed by 100% of the cohort learning group. The advantages they believed they have experienced in their group included:

- Motivation
- Share ideas
- Celebrate together
- Support
- Assistance
- Group depends on each other
- Networking
- Comforting

- Friendships
- Collegiality
- All benefits of group learning
- Learn about other parts of the school district that are unfamiliar
- Camaraderie
- Working as a team

The conventional group listed several advantages they believed would be attributed to the cohort structure. One teacher commented that he believed advantages can also turn into disadvantages. The advantages of a cohort group structure as described by the conventional group were:

- Support
- Time schedule
- Sharing ideas and responsibilities
- Having a sounding board
- Networking
- Not having to drive as far
- Get to know your classmates really well
- Depend on each other
- Stronger cohesiveness as a group
- Peer interaction familiarity
- Unity
- Collaboration
- A set timeline
- You know what to expect
- Interact as a team member

The conventional group provided many of the same answers as the cohort group with a few different thoughts included. Their responses were more simplistic due to their lack of experience as such a group.

Research Question 4: What do you believe are disadvantages to learning as a cohort group?

The cohort group had many real-life experiences that they could relate to the disadvantages they revealed. Interesting details of their time together became transparent within their answers. Two participants did not believe any disadvantages were present for them while they participated in the group but 11 participants offered insights into the disadvantages they experienced. One teacher admitted, "Sometimes people get annoyed by others after spending many semesters together." An elementary teacher admitted:

> Sometimes closeness breeds annoyances, but rather this than attempting the classes without a close-knit group. Most of us have learned our limits with each other.

One male teacher contributed his thoughts about what he thought were disadvantages:

> Maybe you depend too much on each other and maybe the pressure of having to "perform" with your district administrator watching you. Also, by having the administrator add other items to the course work that is not required by the university and explained up-front to all candidates.

A physical education teacher stated, "It can sometimes be more work than the regular program because of extra school district duties", while a career advisor thought, "Having to take classes at a specified time", was a disadvantage to her. One teacher believed the dependency on one another could also be considered a disadvantage and another educator maintained, "Having to stay together and take all the same classes at the same time." One interesting comment from a school psychologist included, "Any negative association links you to "them"." A male teacher was very assertive in his response:

> The university sets your course schedule and professor. You can't drop if things get too difficult to handle. They can rearrange your schedule and ruin your life for awhile!

The cohort group had real experiences to draw from to complete their responses. The knowledge they provided was enlightening and helped to understand their frustrations.

The conventional group presented their beliefs and perceptions about the disadvantages of a cohort structure. One teacher did not respond to the question at all, but an elementary teacher responded:

> You are with the same group for the whole program, so if you're in a group that isn't very creative, you won't be stretched/challenged as much.

A counselor believed a disadvantage would be, "Those who try to take over class or who know more. Not being able to go at the pace you want to." One teacher thought a disadvantage would be too much support and too much of a time schedule, and another teacher believed, "Personalities may clash. You may lose members…strong/weak personalities." A special education teacher believed a cohort group might limit his elective choices, while another teacher stated, "With the same people, you can have a hard time pulling in new ideas, comments and questions." One more teacher responded, "Not having a convenient schedule, not getting new ideas, and getting sick of your fellow classmates."

Responses from the conventional group indicated their beliefs and perceptions about cohorts without having experienced it first-hand. Their answers were indicative of their own dislikes and provide an excellent venue to assure future cohorts that these disadvantages can be addressed.

Research Question 5: What do you believe are advantages to the traditional class structure?

The cohort group did not have the experience of a traditional learning group, so this proved to be a difficult question for them to answer. Twenty-three percent of the group did not respond at all, but the responses of the remaining 77% revealed perceptions that they believe they would have encountered if they had been exposed to that type of experience. The advantages of a traditional class structure as submitted by the cohort group included:

- Some people may prefer to work alone
- Group work is familiar and comfortable
- Camaraderie is superb
- Same focus
- Flexibility
- Faster
- Easier
- Not as much work
- Anonymity
- Students pick their classes
- Students can take as many classes as they would like
- Students can take as few classes as they like
- Support
- Location
- Class once a week
- You can rearrange your schedule and take classes at your own pace

The cohort group provided thoughtful responses that did not completely support the reality of a traditional cohort structure. It was evident their perceptions were skewed due to the lack of actual participation in a conventional class.

The traditional learning group responded to this survey question offering their perceptions from their own experiences in their conventional classes. Their answers were more definitive and experience-based. Their perceptions of a traditional group included:

- Flexible
- Variety of people
- Students can choose classes
- You can take what you want when you want
- If you get a professor you don't like, you're not stuck with them for the entire program

- Meet new people
- The experience of being a part of a long term team closely mirrors the team you will build in a school
- A lot of variety and people on different levels that provide guidance through the program
- Getting to go your own pace and own schedule
- Networking
- Learn to be independent and learn more
- Self-paced and flexible

One candidate believed there were no advantages to the traditional structure. Participants from the traditional group were assertive and confident in their answers to this particular question because their class structure is the only kind they have experienced in a college setting.

Research Question 6: What do you believe are disadvantages to the traditional class structure?

Cohort group members appeared to have a more difficult time in responding to this question due to the lack of current experience with the traditional class structure. The majority of the cohort participants had not been in a traditional college class since they worked on their undergraduate degrees or in their first master's level degree. Thirty-one percent of the cohort group did respond. The disadvantages they did perceive that a candidate might experience in the conventional group were:

- No cohesiveness
- It sometimes isn't as fun
- Class expectations
- Not as much support
- No district level administrators involved
- Lack of teamwork opportunities
- Additional district expectations
- You may not receive help
- If you are in class with people who are not going to be in the same field or career

The traditional group provided very meaningful perceptions due to their strong feelings and knowledge of what they or their colleagues have experienced in the own classes. Twenty-one percent of participants did not offer their answers. Participants' reactions to disadvantages were:

- Feelings of being "on your own"
- Lack of information at times
- Feeling like you could fall through the cracks
- Lack of support
- You get to know someone and you may not meet in classes again
- Your bonds are not as strong
- Re-adjusting to new classes
- Lack of real team building interaction over a long term
- Meeting only one day a week and not building meaningful relationships
- You're just swimming upstream on your own
- The drive to class
- Lack of relationship building

Research Question 7: Do you believe you would have more support in a cohort or traditional structure learning group?

One hundred percent of the cohort learning group responded they felt they would have more support in a cohort learning group rather than the traditional structure learning group while in contrast, 21% of the traditional group believed they would receive more support in the traditional group with 79% of participants agreeing the cohort group structure would provide more support.

Research Questions 8: Additional comments

Additional comments were provided by several of the cohort group and survey participants. A school psychologist offered her additional information:

> Cohort = More work, more district expectations, more exposure to upper level administrators, takes longer to complete, little to no exceptions for student who already have graduate level course work.

A male teacher provided his frustrations:

> If I knew when I signed up for this program, what I know now about the workload, schedule and district expectations, I would NOT have signed up. I was very angry at the change in course of the research class.

One female teacher admitted:

> I'm not sure I would have finished this Master's had I been doing it in a traditional structure. I feel the networking and friends I have made are priceless!

Another male teacher offered this advice:

> I would be careful in using administrators as adjuncts. Sometimes it felt as if I received more of their agenda then what the course was designed for. Also, by being cornered into having courses when the university stated was frustrating. The additional work our district put on us seemed wasteful.

A different male teacher offered his thoughts:

> If this program had not been a cohort program through my district, I would not have gone back to get my Master's degree.

Eighty-six percent of the traditional structured group did not offer any additional comments on the survey. A female teacher provided her insight:

> I can see benefits for both. I would choose independent because everyone has different lifestyles. Some have kids, and some have other jobs. It's more convenient.

A female elementary teacher proposed:

> Sometimes I wonder if cohort groups get the maximum amount of learning in because those programs are often accelerated. It would be nice to get through a program quickly.

Discussion and Conclusions

Understanding whether candidates perceive cohort learning groups to be more effective than traditional learning structures in increasing their knowledge and retention, improving decision-making, communication, human relations, and group-process skills, in terms of applying principles of cognitive learning theory to program development in educational administration programs was the purpose of the study. The varied perceptions from a cohort and traditional structured group emerged from this study to provide insight into the more desired way of learning in a principal preparation program. Findings provided a deeper understanding of candidates' thoughts and perceptions about the advantages and disadvantages of learning as a cohort in contrast to the conventional way.

Summary and Reflections

Candidates reported a vast difference in the cohort and traditional learning group structures as they see it. The cohort group reported more positive benefits with their type of structure with the traditional group providing more guarded responses because of their insecurity for the dynamics of such a structure. The cohort groups' answers described the learning structure as an atmosphere of support that promoted their own learning, whereas, the traditional group did not report the presence of support and cohesiveness within their type of learning structure.

The findings of the study validate the constructive advantages of the cohort structure and support the benefits of this type of learning. The findings place a needed emphasis on added support, communication and information on the students involved in the traditional structured class in order to bring their confidence and self-assurance to the level the majority of the cohort group experiences. This type of additional support will offer those candidates an enhancement of processing and a more cohesive culture. It would be extremely productive to survey the traditional classes once or twice each semester to verify and measure that they are receiving the type support and communication they should be receiving. This measurement would be beneficial to faculty by providing candidates' perceptions of their type of learning

structure. Candidates would benefit with the knowledge they are invited to communicate their thoughts and perceptions about their learning structure and environment.

The findings also authenticate the application of the cognitive learning theory to the principal preparation programs that includes the cohort group learning structure. Principal preparation programs need to provide candidates the opportunities to become critical thinkers engaged in active, reflective information processing. The cohort group structure and the traditional learning structure with added support can provide opportunities for this type of learning to take place. The additional communication and assistance in the formal preparation programs will provide more high quality school administrators, who have the knowledge to create, develop and nurture the multiple types of people and groups in today's schools.

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Table 1: Gender Comparisons

	Conventional Structure	**Cohort Structure**
Gender		
Female	57.1%	61.5%
Male	42.8%	38.4%
N (Program data)	14	13

Table 2: Description of Cohort Credit Hours

	Graduate Credit Hours	**Percentage of Participants**
	31	61.5%
	40	7.6%
	46	15.3%
	95	7.6%
	99	7.6%
N (Program data)		13

Table 3: Current Professions of Participants

	Current Professions	**Percentage of Participants**
	Teachers	77.8%
	School Counselor	3.7%
	Retired Teacher	3.7%
	Assistant Principal	3.7%
	Career Advisor	3.7%
	School Nurse	3.7%
	School Psychologist	3.7%
N (Program data)		27

Table 4: Participants' Desired Future Job Positions

	Desired Future Job Positions	**Percentage of Participants**
	Assistant Principal	29.6%
	Principal	25.9%
	Assistant or Principal	14.8%
	Keep Current Position	3.7%
	Principal or Athletic Director	3.7%
	Teacher or Assistant Professor	3.7%
	Teacher or Principal	3.7%
	Curriculum Coordinator or Academic Coach	3.7%
	Assistant Principal or Central Office Position	3.7%
	Director of Student Health	3.7%
	Undecided	3.7%
N (Program data)		27

The Public's Attitudes toward Advertising by Chiropractors and their Use of Various Media Practices: Scale Validation and Application

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For the health care professions, advertising as a means of communicating with the public has traditionally been a controversial issue, and the notion of promoting a professional's practice is relatively new. However, according to Rizzo and Zeckhauser, advertising and marketing communication by health care professionals has increased dramatically during the past decade, and this trend seems likely to continue (Rizzo and Zeckhauser, 1992), although many professionals find themselves ill equipped to handle the dynamics of a changing environment, especially without some form of ongoing promotional plan. Most professional societies and associations have prohibited the promotion of their services. A study conducted by Allen, Wright, and Raho in 1985 of 2,000 health care professions in Kentucky found strong sentiments against advertising as a marketing communication vehicle. These professionals believed that advertising would have an adverse effect on the image of the profession in general and no impact on competitive price reduction (Allen, Wright, and Raho 1985; Duffus, 1990).

A 1989 survey conducted by Wright, Raho, and Berkowitz concludes that advertising and promotion are controversial topics among health care professionals. The study further states that the perception that advertising is evil no longer exists. Health care professionals are increasingly accepting the recognition of health care as a business. The study also notes the fear that advertising would lead to fraud and hucksterism has not materialized. The chance of false advertising is becoming remote in a modern society in which such practices would not be tolerated by consumers, other chiropractors, or other health care professionals (Wright, Raho, and Berkowitz, 1989).

In 1975, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) began an investigation into anticompetitive practices in the health care profession (*American Medical Association v. FTC* 1980-1982). A Federal Trade Commission (FTC) administrative law judge issued a decision that the American Medical Association (AMA) had caused substantial injury to the public by restricting the marketing communication and other business practices of health care professionals. The decision said there was no doubt the AMA had made substantial contributions toward improving the nation's health care, but its restriction on advertising "served to deprive consumers of the free flow of information about the availability of health care services," had deterred "the offering of innovative forms of health care," and had "stifled the use of almost every type of health care delivery that would potentially pose a threat to the incomes of fee-for-service physicians in private practice" (FTC Judge, 1978).

Alfred F. Dougherty, Jr., deputy director of the FTC's Bureau of Competition, said the trade commission complaint against the AMA was not designed to force doctors to advertise if they chose not to. All the commission desired was to change the AMA's code of ethics to permit enough advertising to give patients "a decisional basis for selecting one doctor as opposed to another" (Nicholson, 1976). For chiropractors who are currently advertising, as well as those who might be considering doing so, it would be helpful to have some insight into the public's perception of advertising by chiropractors.

Purposes of the Study

During the past several years, chiropractors have become highly competitive in promoting their services to the public, and it has become common for chiropractors to promote their services using a variety of media. We used a survey instrument previously developed by Hite (1982) and Miller and Waller (1979) to determine (a) the public's attitudes toward advertising by chiropractors; (b) whether certain potential public demographic variables account for any significant difference in attitudes toward chiropractors who advertise; and (c) which media the public feel are appropriate for chiropractors' communication. The results of this study may be useful to chiropractors and other professionals who want to create more effective promotional strategies for their business. The use of advertising by the members of some professions could trigger the development of additional comprehensive promotional programs by many professionals and could also provide numerous consulting and employment opportunities for people with promotional expertise, including academicians as well as advertising and public relations firms.

Background and General Research Questions

During the past 30 years, practices of health care professionals have undergone many changes. Patients are becoming more involved in their own health care, seeking the type of drugs or pharmaceutical products that best meet their needs, and are willing to take more responsibility for obtaining adequate information for treatments than in the past (Paul, 1988; Berndt, Bui, Reiley, and Urban, 1995; Handlin, Mosca, Forgione, and Pitta, 2003). Another change is the frequent use of various communication methods. In 1984 the New Jersey Board of Medical Examiners adopted regulations allowing doctors licensed in New Jersey and other health care professionals (including chiropractors) licensed by the board to advertise on television, radio, billboards, signs, matchbook covers, and fliers or pamphlets in addition to the advertising in newspapers, periodicals, and listings in telephone books that was already permitted (Trenton, 1984). Today it is fairly common in most parts of the country for people to see one of the many thousands of chiropractors' promotions shown on television every day, receive a spam e-mail advertisement from a chiropractor, view one of the many hundreds of yellow page chiropractic ads while using the telephone book, or even see some of the hundreds of highway billboards promoting a hospital's, chiropractor's, or physician's services that are permitted in some areas of the nation (Carabello, 2003). A promotional budget has become critical for most medical practices. Many health care and legal professionals now use management consulting firms or have their own internal promotional/advertising committees (Sahl, 2003).

While the attitude of health care professionals toward advertising is mixed and the attitude of most state regulators has generally been negative, the attitude of the public has historically been fairly positive (Hekmat and Heischmidt, 1991). Today professional advertising has become commonplace, and there have been many studies by professional associations and academics designed to measure the attitudes of both the public and health care providers toward advertising and marketing communication. A study conducted by Leventhal (1995) concluded that opposition to health care promotion appears to center on ethical issues, whereas arguments favoring advertising focus on information needs, economic and competitive issues, and the right to promote (Leventhal, 1995). The results of a study conducted by Moncrief and Bush (1988) revealed that the public felt advertising by professionals was somewhat helpful in making a decision about health care providers (Moncrief and Bush, 1988).

Is there any evidence that advertising increases the number of clients seeking the services of chiropractors? Brooks (1988) stated that, for the two largest multi-clinic chiropractic operations in the U.S., advertising was the "backbone of their expansion." The marketing director of one of these firms found that advertising worked better among blue-collar workers with lower median incomes. Further, most of this firm's advertising was done on television and in the yellow pages (Brooks, 1988). Chiropractors who advertise discover quickly that although advertising is usually very expensive, it works if done properly and ethically. One study found that the return on dollars invested by professionals in advertising was four to six times the cost (Freedman, 2001).

The above discussion shows that marketing communication usually works, produces an increase in patient flow, yields a good return on chiropractors' advertising dollars, and is protected by the First

Amendment. It shows that historically consumers have not always had a positive view of chiropractors who advertise but believe chiropractors' advertisements provide useful information.

This study includes items that explore opinions regarding the informational function of, importance of price in, deception in, future of, and appropriate media for chiropractors' advertising and promotions. Specifically, this study (1) examines attitudes of the public concerning whether they believe advertising will increase the quality of chiropractors' services in the future, have a high image of chiropractors, believe advertising would help consumers make more intelligent choices among chiropractors, and would use the services (if needed) of chiropractors who advertise and (2) determines which media the public feel are appropriate for chiropractors' advertising and marketing communication.

The Present Study

Participants

The researchers asked the Marketing System Group to draw a random sample of 4,000 people from the seven metropolitan statistical areas in Tennessee: Memphis, Nashville, Clarksville, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Jackson, and the Tri-Cities (Bristol, Kingsport, and Johnson City). Appropriate numbers from each city were drawn according to the ratio of each city's population to the total population of all seven urban areas. A two-page survey questionnaire was mailed to these people, and 387 usable questionnaires were received and used in this study.

Measures

The researchers adopted and modified the research instruments developed by Hite (1982) and Miller and Waller (1979). The survey questionnaire examines respondents' demographic characteristics (i.e., city of residence; occupation; professional versus non-professional status, further verified by checking job titles and income level; age; sex; race; marital status; number of children in household; total family household income; and education). This instrument has 16 statements designed to measure how favorably members of the public responded to advertising by chiropractors. We used a Likert-type scale with *strongly agree* (5), *agree* (4), *undecided* (3), *disagree* (2), and *strongly disagree* (1) as anchors. In the process, we refined and validated the Attitudes toward Advertising by Chiropractor Scale (ATACS) using principal component factor analysis. We divided the scale values into three categories (high, median, and low) corresponding to the respective attitudes toward chiropractors advertising, and we performed cross-tabulations on these scale categories and various demographic variables to see how attitudes differ among the demographic groups. Using multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) on the three ATACS score groups and various control variables, we will ascertain whether there are any statistically significant differences in the public's attitudes regarding (1) their present image of chiropractors, (2) the use of the services (if needed) of chiropractors that advertise, (3) whether advertising will increase the quality of chiropractors' services in the future, (4) whether advertising will help individuals make more intelligent choices among chiropractors, and (5) the different forms of media advertising. The results would enable advertisers to better target members of the public by using the optimal advertising media to maximize the efficiency and effectiveness of chiropractors' advertising. As a result, we tested the following hypotheses.

> *Hypothesis 1*: People with high Attitudes Toward Advertising by Chiropractors Scale (ATACS) scores are more likely to: (1) believe advertising will increase the quality of chiropractors' services in the future; (2) have a high image of chiropractors; (3) believe advertising would help consumers make more intelligent choices among chiropractors; and (4) use the services (if needed) of chiropractors who advertise than those with median and low ATACS scores.
>
> *Hypothesis 2*: People with high Attitudes Toward Advertising by Chiropractors Scale (ATACS) scores are more likely to have positive attitudes toward the use of different kinds of media for advertising chiropractors' services than those with median and low ATACS scores. However, people with high ATACS scores will have the same perceptions regarding telemarketing as those with median and low ATACS scores.

Respondents were asked to select one of the following five categories regarding their age: 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, or over 56. For sex, male is coded as 1 and female as 2. Race has three categories: white (1), black (2), and other minority (3). Marital status involves five possible categories: single,

married, divorced, widowed, and separated. Total family income has the following categories: (1) $15,000 or less, (2) $15,001-30,000, (3) $30,001-45,000, (4) $45,001-60,000, and (5) more than $60,000. Education is measured by the following choices: (1) less than high school graduate, (2) high school graduate, (3) some college, (4) college graduate, and (5) advanced degree. Thus, we obtained nominal (category) and ordinal data for several variables. Further, participants were asked to rate the appropriateness of using 10 different forms of media (i.e., television, radio, newspaper, billboard, telephone, direct mail, professional magazine, popular magazine, Internet, and yellow pages) for advertising using a five-point scale.

Results

Demographic Variables

The frequencies and percentages of the 387 survey participants are presented in Table 1. Participants in the present study were mostly white, male, age 56 or older, and married with a college education and high income. Participants in this sample do not match the population perfectly. In particular, when compared to year 2000 census data (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001) for the state of Tennessee (TN) regarding age, education, income, marital status, race, and sex, the sample is within eight percent for all areas except age, education, and income. Regarding age groups, the sample is overrepresented with respect to the 56 or older group (TN – 27.5 percent when prorated) and underrepresented with respect to the 26-35 (TN – 19.2 percent when prorated) and 36-45 (TN – 20.8 percent when prorated) groups. Sadly, 55.7 percent of Tennesseans have an education level of high school graduate or less. The respondents to the survey were more highly educated than the general population of the state of Tennessee. With respect to income groups, the sample is overrepresented with respect to the over $60,000 group (TN – 27.2 percent when prorated) and underrepresented with respect to the under $15,000 (TN – 19.2 percent when prorated) and $15,001-$30,000 (TN – 21.75 percent when prorated) groups. In general, survey respondents were older, better educated, and had a higher level of income than a typical Tennessean.

Exploratory Factor Analysis

The survey contained 16 statements that described how a respondent felt about a chiropractor who advertised. The negative items in this set of 16 statements were reverse-coded, so a higher value reflected a more positive attitude toward chiropractors' advertising. A test for internal reliability was performed using SPSS. This test, applied to the responses to the 16 statements, revealed a Cronbach's alpha of 0.861, well above the minimum acceptable value of 0.70, indicating this set of data had a high level of internal reliability. The factor analysis was performed using 12 of the 16 statements. The other four statements — "Advertising will increase the quality of chiropractic services in the future," "I presently have a high image of chiropractors," "Advertising would help consumers make more intelligent choices among chiropractors," and "I would use the services (if needed) of chiropractors that advertise" — were not used in the development of the factor analysis scale scores in order to be able to test the first hypothesis.

An exploratory factor analysis was performed using a random sample of 200 selected from the survey data using SPSS. Because some variables contained missing values, the analysis was performed for n = 190 cases. Three factors exceeded the minimum eigenvalue of one and were verified using a scree test. However, these three factors accounted for only 61.142 percent of the variance. To increase this percentage, the items with the lowest communalities were successively removed until all the communalities were above .6. At this point, the 10 items yielded a solution with three factors accounting for 67.88 percent of the variance. Using three as the number of factors, the principal component method of factor analysis was repeated on the sample, this time with a varimax rotation. The three significant factors identified were (1) negative attitudes toward advertising and information gained from advertising (seven items, rotation sum of squared loadings = 4.042, percent of variance = 40.424 percent); (2) attitudes regarding how advertising affects the price of services (one item, rotation sum of squared loadings = 1.494, percent of variance = 14.942 percent); and (3) attitudes about trust and advertising prices (two items, rotation sum of squared loadings = 1.251, percent of variance = 12.514 percent).

A factor analysis was applied to the full sample using the 10 items and three factors. The item with the lowest communality worked well in the varimax rotated solution, so the item with the second lowest

communality was removed resulting in a nine-item solution with three factors. In this solution all items had communalities of at least .6, but both the scree plot and the percentage of nonredundant residuals with absolute values above .05 indicated that a fourth factor should be added. The four significant factors identified were (1) attitudes about more advertising stressing the information gained (four items, rotation sum of squared loadings = 2.723, percent of variance = 30.254 percent); (2) negative attitudes about advertising (three items, rotation sum of squared loadings = 2.254, percent of variance = 25.040 percent); (3) attitudes about prices (one item, rotation sum of squared loadings = 1.081, percent of variance = 12.007 percent); and (4) attitudes about trust in advertising (one item, rotation sum of squared loadings = 1.016, percent of variance = 11.285 percent). The four factors together explained 78.587 percent of the variance. The final result, created by summing the four factor scores, was a nine-item, four-factor scale labeled Attitudes toward Advertising by Chiropractors Scale (ATACS). Table 2 shows the individual items, their loadings on each factor, their total rotation sums of squared loadings, and explained variance (78.587 percent) for the full sample.

Correlations

The means, standard deviations, and Pearson correlations for the demographic variables, ATACS score variable, and advertising media are provided in Table 3. The ATACS score variable was significantly correlated with nine of the 10 media types (i.e., television, radio, newspaper, billboard, direct mail, professional and popular magazines, Internet, and yellow pages), indicating that a positive attitude toward chiropractors' advertising corresponded to a positive attitude toward the appropriateness of using these advertising venues. The only medium that showed no correlation with ATACS scores was telephone. ATACS scores were significantly positively correlated with occupation and gender. The result indicates that nonprofessionals were more likely than professionals and females were more likely than males to have a positive attitude toward chiropractors' advertising. In addition, the ATACS scores variable was significantly negatively correlated with age, number of children, income, and education, suggesting that older individuals, individuals with more children, higher-income individuals, and more highly educated individuals tended to have a more negative attitude toward chiropractors' advertising.

The ATACS scores were recoded as low, median, and high for a cross-tabulation analysis on the scores against the various demographic variables. Adjustments to the demographic categories were made to ensure that all cells had expected frequencies of at least five. Due to the fact that the four-or-more-children group contained only seven subjects, it was combined with the three-children group to create a three-or-more-children group. For the same reason, the four subjects having less than a high school education were combined with the high school graduates to create a high school graduate or less education category. The separated marital status category contained only one subject. Because it seemed illogical to combine the separated group with one of the others, this subject was treated as missing a marital status code. With these adjustments, valid Chi-Square tests could be performed. The four significant results, shown in Table 4, were for age, marital status, occupation, and income.

The cross-tabulation analysis on the ATACS scores against age suggested that members of the youngest age group (18-25) were more receptive to advertising by chiropractors, whereas members of the oldest group (56+) were the least receptive. In the three middle age groups, there was not much difference between the number observed and the number expected based on the age group totals. In the group having low ATACS scores, the number of subjects observed in the youngest group (18-25) was only half of what was expected. Also, in the group having low ATACS scores, the number of subjects observed in the oldest group (56+) substantially exceeded the number expected. In the group with high ATACS scores, the opposite effect is seen. That is, substantially more of the youngest group (18-25) and substantially fewer of the oldest group (56+) than expected are observed in the group of respondents with high ATACS scores.

The cross-tabulation analysis on the ATACS scores against marital status showed essentially no differences in the observed and expected frequencies for the divorced and widowed groups. In the group having low ATACS scores, the number of subjects observed in the group of single respondents was less than half of the number expected, whereas in the group of married respondents the number observed was substantially higher than expected. In the group having high ATACS scores, the number of subjects

observed in the group of single respondents was somewhat higher than the number expected, whereas in the group of married respondents the number observed was somewhat lower than expected. These results suggest that possibly married people are less likely than single people to view advertising by chiropractors favorably.

The cross-tabulation analysis on the ATACS scores against occupation suggests that nonprofessionals are more receptive than professionals to advertising by chiropractors. The largest differences between observed and expected numbers occurred in the group with low ATACS scores. In the group with low ATACS scores, the number of subjects observed in the professional group was substantially higher than expected, and the number of subjects observed in the nonprofessional group was lower than expected. In the group with high ATACS scores, the opposite effect was revealed. The number of subjects observed in the professional group was lower than expected, and the number of subjects observed in the nonprofessional group was higher than expected.

Finally, the cross-tabulation analysis on the ATACS scores against income suggests that having high income is negatively related to being receptive to advertising by chiropractors. The largest differences between observed and expected numbers occurred in the group with low ATACS scores. In the group with low ATACS scores, the number of subjects observed in the two lowest income groups was lower than expected, and the number of subjects observed in the highest income group was substantially higher than expected. In the group with high ATACS scores, the number of subjects observed in the two lowest income groups was higher than expected, and the number of subjects observed in the two highest income groups was lower than expected.

Multivariate Analysis of Covariance

A multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was applied to the three-way split of the ATACS scores (low, median, and high) to determine how the ATACS scores related to the following four items: "Advertising will increase the quality of chiropractors' services in the future," "I presently have a high image of chiropractors," "Advertising would help consumers make more intelligent choices among chiropractors," and "I would use the services (if needed) of chiropractors who advertise." The MANCOVA was performed using occupation, age, marital status, and income as control variables. Summary results are listed in the first portion of Table 5. Because Box's Test of Covariance Matrices produced a significant result (P-value < 0.001), Pillai's Trace was used instead of Wilks' Lambda (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). The test for interaction between the factor and the covariates was not significant [$F(12, 1029) = 0.960$, Pillai's Trace = 0.033, P-value = 0.486]. The overall MANCOVA was significant [$F(8, 690) = 14.468$, Pillai's Trace = .287, P-value < 0.001, partial Eta squared = 0.144]; that is, significant differences in the four items were found among the three levels of ATACS scores. Univariate ANOVA results revealed that respondents in the three ATACS levels differ in agreement that advertising would increase the quality of chiropractors' services [$F(2, 347) = 30.840$, P-value < 0.001, partial Eta squared = 0.151]; the public has a high image of chiropractors [$F(2, 347) = 20.753$, P-value < 0.001, partial Eta squared = 0.107]; advertising helps consumers make more intelligent choices among chiropractors [$F(2, 347) = 41.272$, P-value < 0.001, partial Eta squared = 0.192]; and services of chiropractors who advertise would be used (if needed) [$F(2, 347) = 35.645$, P-value < 0.001, partial Eta squared = 0.170]. That is, the three levels of ATACS scores indicate different attitudes regarding the image of chiropractors, whether advertising would increase quality of service and help consumers make more intelligent choices among chiropractors, and whether services of chiropractors who advertise would be used (if needed). Helmert contrasts indicated that respondents with high ATACS scores were significantly more likely to agree that advertising would increase the quality of chiropractors' services (mean difference = 0.690, P-value < 0.001), have a high image of chiropractors (mean difference = 0.514, P-value < 0.001), agree that advertising helps consumers make more intelligent choices among chiropractors (mean difference = 0.674, P-value < 0.001), and agree that services of chiropractors who advertise would be used (if needed) (mean difference = 0.610, P-value < 0.001) than those with median and low ATACS scores. Consequently, Hypothesis 1 was supported. Further, Helmert contrasts revealed significant differences between respondents with median ATACS scores and respondents with low ATACS scores for all four statements.

A multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was used to examine the relationship between ATACS scores and the public's attitudes toward the 10 advertising media. The demographic variables of occupation, age, marital status, and income were used as control variables. Summary results are listed in the second portion of Table 5. Because Box's Test of Covariance Matrices produced a significant result (*P*-value < 0.001), Pillai's Trace was used instead of Wilks' Lambda (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). The test for interaction between the factor and the covariates was not significant [F(30, 996) = 1.293, Pillai's Trace = 0.112, *P*-value = 0.135]. The overall MANCOVA was significant [F(20, 668) = 4.676, Pillai's Trace = 0.246, *P*-value < 0.001, partial Eta squared = 0.123]; that is, significant differences in attitudes toward the various advertising media were found among the three levels of ATACS scores. Univariate ANOVA results revealed that the public's attitudes toward the 10 advertising media differ depending on ATACS levels for nine of the 10 advertising media (*P*-value < 0.001 for television, radio, newspaper, billboard, and yellow pages; *P*-value < 0.01 for direct mail, professional magazine, popular magazine and Internet). For the advertising media of telephone (*P*-value = 0.199), the univariate ANOVA results did not show a significant difference. Helmert contrasts among the three groups revealed that the high ATACS group was significantly higher than the median and low ATACS groups in terms of attitudes toward all media types with the exception of telephone (*P*-value = 0.547) and billboard (*P*-value = 0.063). Based on these results, Hypothesis 2 is supported for nine of the 10 media types.

It was hypothesized that the billboard advertising medium would exhibit a significant difference between the subjects with high ATACS scores and those with median and low ATACS scores. This portion of Hypothesis 2 failed to be validated by the sample results. However, it should be noted that the billboard advertising medium showed a significant difference (*P*-value < 0.001) between subjects with median ATACS scores and those with low ATACS scores.

Discussion

In this study, we identified four factors for the Attitudes toward Advertising by Chiropractors Scale (ATACS) using the principal component procedure beginning with a random sample taken from the full sample. The nine-item, four-factor ATACS that was derived had acceptable internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.844) when applied to the full sample. Correlation analysis confirmed that the ATACS score was significantly correlated with nine of the 10 forms of advertising media, the lone exception being telephone. The ATACS scores were then recoded into high, median, and low groups, whereby the group with high ATACS scores corresponded with a higher image of chiropractors, a higher likelihood of using (if needed) the services of chiropractors who advertise, and a higher level of agreement that advertising increases the quality of chiropractors' services in the future and helps consumers make more intelligent choices among chiropractors than the group with median or low ATACS scores.

A cross-tabulation of the ATACS groups against various demographic variables showed significant results with only age, marital status, occupation, and income. The cross-tabulation analysis on the ATACS scores against age suggests that members of the youngest group (18-25) were the most receptive to advertising by chiropractors, whereas members of the oldest group (56+) were the least receptive. Although the cross-tabulation analysis on the ATACS scores against marital status suggests that married people are less likely than single people to view advertising by chiropractors favorably, these results could be attributed to age differences. There was a very high level of positive correlation between age and marital status (Pearson correlation coefficient = 0.554). More than 90 percent of the respondents in the 18-25 age group were single, and almost 60 percent of the single respondents were in the 18-25 age group. The cross-tabulation analysis on the ATACS scores against occupation suggests that nonprofessionals are more receptive than professionals to advertising by chiropractors, and the cross-tabulation analysis on the ATACS scores against income suggests that having high income is negatively related to being receptive to advertising by chiropractors.

MANCOVA analysis revealed that people with high ATACS scores had a significantly better image of chiropractors, exhibited a higher level of agreement that advertising would increase the quality of chiropractors' services in the future and help consumers make more intelligent choices among chiropractors, and would be more likely to use the services (if needed) of chiropractors who advertise

than those with median and low ATACS scores. Individuals with high ATACS scores were more likely to consider all forms of advertising appropriate with the exception of telemarketing and billboard. The advertising channels that tended to score well (average higher than 4) with the individuals with high ATACS scores included yellow pages, newspaper, professional magazine, television, and radio.

The study provides several contributions. First, we revised and validated the Attitudes toward Advertising by Chiropractor Scale (ATACS), first introduced by Hite (1982) and Miller & Waller (1979). Both researchers and managers will find this scale useful in measuring the public's attitudes toward chiropractors' advertising and the different advertising outlets. Second, advertisers can use this information to match the appropriate media channel with the targeted group of potential consumers to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of advertising by chiropractors. This study has identified the members of the public who are most receptive to chiropractors' advertising and the various media forms that would appeal to them. Generally speaking, chiropractors enjoy a positive image among members of the public. However, more than 80 percent of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that advertising would be a useful means of informing potential patients about services and specialties. Clearly, the public desires advertising by chiropractors as a means of obtaining such information.

A third contribution of this study is that it reveals who tends to have a lower attitude toward chiropractors, namely the married group. Almost 56 percent of the respondents were married, and 43.8 percent of those were members of the low ATACS group. Chiropractors may want to focus on how to improve their image for individuals in this group. For example, advertisements could be devised to show how caring spouses encourage each other to seek chiropractic services when needed.

This study is not without its limitations. The return rate for the survey was low but acceptable (n = 387). The respondents in this study were located in the state of Tennessee in the United States of America and were predominantly older and more highly educated with a relatively higher income than the general public residing in Tennessee. The respondents may have a positive bias toward research using survey questionnaires. This study may have common method variance because it is a cross-sectional survey of participants at one particular time without any follow-up. Generalizability to members of the public residing in other regions of the United States of America may be limited.

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Table 1: Frequencies and Percentages of Demographic Categories

Demographic Variable	Variable Categories	Frequencies	Percentages
Occupation	Professional	152	39.3
	Nonprofessional	227	58.7
	Missing	8	2.1
Age	18 - 25	72	18.6
	26 - 35	37	9.6
	36 - 45	41	10.6
	46 - 55	86	22.2
	56 or older	150	38.8
	Missing	1	0.3
Sex	Male	215	55.6
	Female	172	44.4
	Missing	0	0.0
Race	White	335	86.6
	Black	35	9.0
	Other minority	15	3.9
	Missing	2	0.5
Marital status	Single	112	28.9
	Married	213	55.0
	Divorced	34	8.8
	Widowed	27	7.0
	Separated	1	0.3
	Missing	0	0.0
Income	$15,000 or less	21	5.4
	$15,001 - 30,000	46	11.9
	$30,001 - 45,000	52	13.4
	$45,001 - 60,000	72	18.6
	over $60,000	179	46.3
	Missing	17	4.4
Education	Less than high school graduate	7	1.8
	High school graduate	48	12.4
	Some college	128	33.1
	College graduate	127	32.8
	Advanced degree	74	19.1
	Missing	3	0.8

Table 2: Results of Exploratory Factor Analysis Applied to the Full Sample

Item	Factor Loadings					
	Factor 1	**Factor 2**	**Factor 3**	**Factor 4**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
1. The public would be provided useful information through advertising by chiropractors.	**0.857**	0.244	-0.028	0.025	3.451	1.035
2. Advertising makes the public more aware of the qualifications of chiropractors.	**0.780**	0.220	0.204	-0.020	3.277	1.130
3. I would like to see more advertising by chiropractors.	**0.720**	0.288	0.283	0.128	2.888	1.054
4. Advertising by chiropractors would be a useful means of informing potential patients about services and specialties.	**0.653**	0.449	0.104	-0.072	3.923	0.909
5. Advertising by chiropractors would benefit only quacks and incompetents.	0.149	**0.872**	0.127	0.042	3.843	0.927
6. I would be suspicious of chiropractors who advertise.	0.442	**0.753**	0.048	0.062	3.704	1.000
7. In general, my image of chiropractors would be lower as a result of their advertising.	0.426	**0.727**	-0.074	0.027	3.560	0.946
8. When chiropractors advertise, prices are lowered due to more competition.	0.191	0.050	**0.961**	0.018	2.904	1.001
9. You generally can rely more on what a friend tells you about chiropractors than on advertising.	0.021	0.056	0.020	**0.993**	2.024	0.888
Total Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings	2.723	2.254	1.081	1.016		

Amount of Variance Explained: 78.587%
Cronbach's alpha = 0.844
n = 375

Table 3: Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson Correlation Coefficients of Major Variables Based on All Survey Data

Var.	Variable				Variable Number									
No.	Name	n	Mean	S. D.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Occupation	379	1.599	0.491	-0.075	-0.013	0.061	-0.048	-0.092	-0.293**	-0.408**	0.111*	0.053	-0.006
2.	Age	386	3.531	1.531		-0.047	-0.105*	0.554**	0.053	0.264**	0.004	-0.217**	-0.347**	-0.277**
3.	Sex	387	1.444	0.498			0.113*	0.148**	-0.066	-0.117*	-0.076	0.117*	0.056	0.061
4.	Race	385	1.169	0.468				-0.076	-0.034	-0.092	-0.062	0.060	0.141**	0.055
5.	Marital Status	387	1.946	0.824					0.110*	0.149**	-0.090	-0.079	-0.156**	-0.142**
6.	No. Children	383	1.603	0.992						0.269**	0.023	-0.113*	-0.077	-0.064
7.	Income	370	3.924	1.277							0.364**	-0.164**	-0.238**	-0.165**
8.	Education	384	3.555	0.997								-0.104*	-0.225**	-0.200**
9.	ATACS Score	375	0.000	2.000									0.528**	0.479**
10.	Television	379	3.763	1.047										0.801**
11.	Radio	378	3.720	0.972										

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Occupation: Professional = 1, Nonprofessional = 2

Sex: Male = 1, Female = 2

Ad Exposure: Seen chiropractor's ad = 1, Not seen chiropractor's ad = 2

Table 3: Continued

Var.	Variable				Variable Number							
No.	**Name**	**n**	**Mean**	**S. D.**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**19**	**20**
12.	Newspaper	378	4.069	0.781	0.521**	0.003	0.305**	0.407**	0.453**	0.388**	0.507**	-0.072
13.	Billboard	376	3.484	1.081		0.120*	0.179**	0.175**	0.284**	0.336**	0.270**	0.012
14.	Telephone	376	1.779	0.928			0.261**	0.054	0.099	0.114*	-0.078	0.066
15.	Direct Mail	376	3.168	1.212				0.357**	0.346**	0.293**	0.264**	0.044
16.	Professional Mag.	377	4.085	0.808					0.550**	0.355**	0.436**	-0.026
17.	Popular Mag.	376	3.625	0.983						0.425**	0.276**	-0.052
18.	Internet	377	3.565	1.177							0.335**	0.006
19.	Yellow Pages	378	4.286	0.701								-0.060
20.	Ad Exposure	383	1.230	0.421								

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Occupation: Professional = 1, Nonprofessional = 2

Sex: Male = 1, Female = 2

Ad Exposure: Seen chiropractor's ad = 1, Not seen chiropractor's ad = 2

Table 3: Continued

Var. No.	Variable Name	n	Mean	S. D.	Variable Number 12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1.	Occupation	379	1.599	0.491	0.101	0.081	-0.037	-0.058	-0.045	-0.007	-0.071	0.051	0.045
2.	Age	386	3.531	1.531	-0.311**	-0.194**	-0.024	0.006	-0.157**	-0.089	-0.306**	-0.266**	-0.091
3.	Sex	387	1.444	0.498	0.098	0.070	0.040	0.106*	0.164**	0.014	0.050	0.066	0.002
4.	Race	385	1.169	0.468	0.100	0.048	0.093	0.084	0.054	0.095	0.166**	0.067	0.005
5.	Marital Status	387	1.946	0.824	-0.168**	-0.106*	-0.051	0.019	-0.101	-0.075	-0.181**	-0.122*	0.002
6.	No. Children	383	1.603	0.992	-0.044	0.018	0.030	-0.008	-0.031	-0.039	-0.099	0.016	-0.020
7.	Income	370	3.924	1.277	-0.197**	-0.135*	-0.041	0.094	-0.052	-0.041	-0.114*	-0.068	-0.034
8.	Education	384	3.555	0.997	-0.168**	-0.168**	0.002	0.017	-0.095	-0.110*	-0.077	-0.102*	0.042
9.	ATACS Score	375	0.000	2.000	0.472**	0.311**	-0.005	0.186**	0.196**	0.250**	0.302**	0.274**	0.069
10.	Television	379	3.763	1.047	0.596**	0.546**	0.156**	0.271**	0.328**	0.396**	0.432**	0.353**	0.016
11.	Radio	378	3.720	0.972	0.612**	0.522**	0.114*	0.262**	0.362**	0.460**	0.415**	0.352**	-0.016

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Occupation: Professional = 1, Nonprofessional = 2

Sex: Male = 1, Female = 2

Ad Exposure: Seen chiropractor's ad = 1, Not seen chiropractor's ad = 2

Table 4: Cross-Tabulation Analysis of Demographics by ATACS Scores (High, Median, Low)

Variable	Categories		High	Median	Low	Total
Age	18-25	Count Observed	34	26	12	72
		Count Expected	24.000	24.000	24.000	72.000
		X^2 Contribution	4.167	0.167	6.000	
	26-35	Count Observed	15	12	9	36
		Count Expected	12.000	12.000	12.000	36.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.750	0.000	0.750	
	36-45	Count Observed	11	14	16	41
		Count Expected	13.667	13.667	13.667	41.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.520	0.008	0.398	
	46-55	Count Observed	26	28	32	86
		Count Expected	28.667	28.667	28.667	86.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.248	0.016	0.388	
	56+	Count Observed	39	45	56	140
		Count Expected	46.667	46.667	46.667	140.000
		X^2 Contribution	1.260	0.060	1.867	
Total		Count Observed	125	125	125	375
		Count Expected	125.000	125.000	125.000	375.000
Pearson's Chi-Square Statistic = 16.59704, DF = 8, P-value = 0.035						
Marital Status	single	Count Observed	46	48	17	111
		Count Expected	36.802	37.099	37.099	111.000
		X^2 Contribution	2.299	3.203	10.889	
	married	Count Observed	61	56	91	208
		Count Expected	68.963	69.519	69.519	208.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.919	2.629	6.638	
	divorced	Count Observed	10	11	12	33
		Count Expected	10.941	11.029	11.029	33.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.081	0.000	0.085	
	widowed	Count Observed	7	10	5	22
		Count Expected	7.294	7.353	7.353	22.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.012	0.953	0.753	
Total		Count Observed	124	125	125	374
		Count Expected	124.000	125.000	125.000	374.000
Pearson's Chi-Square Statistic = 28.46101, DF = 6, P-value = 0.000						

(Continued)

Table 4: Continued

Variable	Categories		High	Median	Low	Total
Occupation	professional	Count Observed	43	47	60	150
		Count Expected	50.681	50.272	49.046	150.000
		X^2 Contribution	1.164	0.213	2.446	
	nonprofessional	Count Observed	81	76	60	217
		Count Expected	73.319	72.728	70.954	217.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.805	0.147	1.691	
Total		Count Observed	124	123	120	367
		Count Expected	124.000	123.000	120.000	367.000
Pearson's Chi-Square Statistic = 6.46647, DF = 2, P-value = 0.039						
Income	$15,000 or less	Count Observed	7	10	1	18
		Count Expected	6.166	5.967	5.867	18.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.113	2.726	4.038	
	$15,001 - $30,000	Count Observed	21	14	9	44
		Count Expected	15.072	14.586	14.343	44.000
		X^2 Contribution	2.332	0.024	1.990	
	$30,001 - $45,000	Count Observed	19	15	17	51
		Count Expected	17.470	16.906	16.624	51.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.134	0.215	0.008	
	$45,001 - $60,000	Count Observed	23	30	18	71
		Count Expected	24.320	23.536	23.144	71.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.072	1.775	1.143	
	over $60,000	Count Observed	54	51	73	178
		Count Expected	60.972	59.006	58.022	178.000
		X^2 Contribution	0.797	1.086	3.866	
Total		Count Observed	124	120	118	362
		Count Expected	124.000	120.000	118.000	362.000
Pearson's Chi-Square Statistic = 20.31967, DF = 8, P-value = 0.009						

Table 5: Results for Multivariate Analysis of Covariance (MANCOVA)
(controlling for occupation, age, marital status, and income)

Attitudes toward Advertising by Chiropractors

Multivariate Test 1

Effect	Statistic	Value	Hypothesis df	Error df	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
High, Median, Low (H M L)	Pillai's Trace	0.287	8	690	14.468	0.000	0.144

Tests of Between-Subject Effects 1

Dependent Variable	Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Advertising will increase the quality of chiropractors' services in the future.	H M L	65.141	2	32.571	30.840	0.000	0.151
	Error	366.475	347	1.056			
I presently have a high image of chiropractors.	H M L	40.703	2	20.351	20.753	0.000	0.107
	Error	340.282	347	0.981			
Advertising would help consumers make more intelligent choices among chiropractors.	H M L	70.250	2	35.125	41.272	0.000	0.192
	Error	295.323	347	0.851			
I would use the services (if needed) of chiropractors who advertise.	H M L	50.484	2	25.242	35.645	0.000	0.170
	Error	245.724	347	0.708			

(Continued)

Table 5: Continued

Attitudes toward Advertising Media

Multivariate Test 2

Effect	Statistic	Value	Hypothesis df	Error df	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
High, Median, Low (H M L)	Pillai's Trace	0.246	20	668	4.676	0.000	0.123

Tests of Between-Subject Effects 2

Dependent Variable	Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
TV	H M L	52.039	2	26.020	33.688	0.000	0.165
	Error	264.149	342	0.772			
Radio	H M L	42.245	2	21.122	29.376	0.000	0.147
	Error	245.912	342	0.719			
Newspaper	H M L	20.239	2	10.120	20.865	0.000	0.109
	Error	165.870	342	0.485			
Billboard	H M L	23.157	2	11.578	11.293	0.000	0.062
	Error	350.634	342	1.025			
Telephone	H M L	2.744	2	1.372	1.623	0.199	0.009
	Error	288.988	342	0.845			
Direct Mail	H M L	16.192	2	8.096	5.696	0.004	0.032
	Error	486.102	342	1.421			
Professional Magazine	H M L	8.189	2	4.094	6.289	0.002	0.035
	Error	222.669	342	0.651			
Popular Magazine	H M L	10.939	2	5.469	5.772	0.003	0.033
	Error	324.089	342	0.948			
Internet	H M L	14.437	2	7.218	5.898	0.003	0.033
	Error	418.547	342	1.224			
Yellow Pages	H M L	8.183	2	4.091	9.312	0.000	0.052
	Error	150.267	342	0.439			

The New Positivism: Research and Education

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In the landmark "No Child Left Behind" (NCLB) legislation, the phrase *scientifically based* occurs 119 times (NCLB, 2002). Though lawmakers incorporated that phrase for a variety of philosophical and political reasons, it illustrated longstanding concerns about the fundamental nature of learning and the pedagogical practices that support or impede it. The phrase *scientifically based* thus begs important questions about education, as well as the meaning and limits of social science. Indeed, historical and contemporary attempts to apply the methodological rigor of science and social science to educational problems have led to an ironic outcome: While an impressive amount of information about teaching and learning has been acquired over the past century, it has often been misinterpreted and/or misapplied.

Beginning in the 16th century, collecting and analyzing observable data played a vital role in the development of modern science (Henry, 2008). By the mid-18th century, systematic experimentation was a common method for advancing knowledge, and within a hundred years the term *scientist* was in general use. Paralleling and supporting the rise of empiricism was an emphasis on quantification. The use of mathematics as a language to describe various phenomena was not novel—Newton and Leibniz had invented calculus in the late 17th century to help explain natural laws. Scholars in the 19th century, however, went further by quantifying concepts that had been previously described in primarily qualitative ways. French psychologists Alfred Binet and Theodore Simon, for example, designed intelligence tests, which were based on the assumption that an individual's intellectual potential could be translated into a single number (Carson, 2007). As Porter (1986) noted, "statistical mathematics" became "inseparable from actual theory" in intelligence testing and other fields (p. 3). By the end of the 19th century, the ascendance of quantification led the British scientist Lord Kelvin to opine that if something could not be expressed in "numbers," then one's understanding of it would remain "meager and unsatisfactory" (1891, vol. 1, p. 73).

The emergence of social science was based partly on a growing awareness that scientific methods and mathematics could be applied to the study of human interactions and institutions. Investigations that had been previously speculative and largely metaphysical became empirical and quantifiable. But social science was not just a question of method. Identifying the 1890s as a "decisive boundary in cultural history," Haskell (1977) argued that recognition of *interdependence* compelled scholars to re-examine the causes of social phenomena (Haskell refers to this as the problem of "causal attribution"). While mid-19th century commentators had believed that individuals freely chose certain actions over others, the pioneers of modern social science concluded that the causes of specific behaviors were more remote. For example, instead of seeing a person's choices as the direct cause for his or her poverty, social scientists attempted to identify what influenced those choices in the first place; something that had once been viewed as a *cause* (chronic absenteeism from work—i.e., lack of self-discipline) might now be labeled as a *consequence* of an antecedent factor (illness due to poor municipal sanitation). In other words, what their predecessors had labeled as independent variables, a new generation of social scientists deemed dependent or interdependent variables.

Advocates of revived empiricism were initially skeptical about the ability to transform teaching into a science. Josiah Royce, an eminent Harvard philosopher, averred that a "universally valid science of pedagogy" would never be possible (Royce, 1891, p. 23). Likewise, William James, one of the founders of experimental psychology, cautioned that the principles of his emerging discipline were not directly applicable to teaching. James (1899) famously summarized his views in the observation, "Psychology is a

science, and teaching is an art; and sciences never generate arts directly out of themselves" (p. 14). Lagemann (2000) pointed out that education and the nascent field of psychology nevertheless developed many early connections, especially since both were interested in mental functions and skills. Proponents of behaviorism, quantification, and scientism ultimately shaped how professional educators would undertake and apply research to pedagogical problems. A more holistic view championed by philosopher John Dewey—one that stressed political, historical, and economic considerations—never found a significant place in academic research, even if teachers and administrators preached, though not always practiced, the tenets of Progressive education (Zilversmit, 1993). This positivist emphasis continues today, and it helps explain NCLB's mandate for scientifically based research.

Although educational psychologists focused on measurement and testing, they also used accumulating data to theorize and construct conceptual models to explain cognition and affect. G. Stanley Hall, a pioneering psychologist and president of Clark University, helped launch the subfield of child development. Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget investigated and identified stages of cognitive development, and American psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg did the same for moral reasoning. Others, such as Harvard psychologist Jerome Bruner, created models that described the processes of perception and learning. While these explanatory schemas were based on empirical methods that *would* meet most current definitions of scientifically based research, their utility has been limited. Almost all teacher preparation programs require a course in introductory psychology and/or human development. These courses include discussions of Piaget, Kohlberg, Bruner, and other theorists, but there is little attention given to how one can incorporate their models into actual instructional strategies. Worse still, prospective educators are given virtually no assistance in reconciling the contradictions within models or the conflicts among them. This leaves many teacher candidates confused and cynical. They dutifully memorize relevant material for a test; afterward, they promptly forget it, believing that this information will have little or no use in their classrooms (Gore & Gitlin, 2004; Korthagen & Kessels, 1999).

For the past two decades, the theory of multiple intelligences (MI) has been among the most debated models of human cognition. Proposed by Harvard psychologist Howard Gardner (1983), MI theory contends that intelligence can be expressed by a variety of aptitudes, not just through the mathematical and verbal reasoning skills historically assessed by intelligence tests. Both the theory itself and its application demonstrate the challenges of creating a scientifically based pedagogy. First, MI theory illustrates the continuing difficulty of defining concepts such as intelligence, abilities, and skills. While the inability to operationalize key terms is not unusual, it can greatly impede the scientific understanding of a phenomenon. Another problem with MI theory is that it lacks substantial empirical evidence. Though such an objection could be leveled at some of history's most celebrated theories—not all of Einstein's propositions have been empirically verified—it does raise the question of just how much evidence is necessary to intellectually and ethically justify using a particular theory as the basis for social change or action. These considerations, however, have not prevented entire schools from adopting MI theory, nor have they reduced the number of celebratory publications about MI, despite research that questions the relationship between a student's learning modality and instructional practices (Willingham, 2005).

The pedagogical applications of what is commonly known as brain-based research have been even more problematic. Beginning in the 1970s and 1980s, technological advances—especially functional magnetic resonance imaging and positron emission tomography—have made it possible to see which parts of the brain are activated during particular tasks. But *activation* is not necessarily the same as *learning*, even if it is easy to infer such a link. This qualification has not stopped the annual onslaught of mass-marketed guides, manuals, and workbooks that claim to provide instructional breakthroughs based on brain research. Tate (2003) has informed readers that a variety of classroom activities "don't grow dendrites," Jensen (2004) has offered "brain-compatible strategies" to teachers and parents, and Sousa (2002) has described "how the gifted brain learns." Other products simply use the terminology associated with brain-based research to label well-established teaching strategies as "learning revolutions" (Dryden & Voss, 1999). Dryden and Voss (1999), in a promotional video for their book, show simple diagrams of brain anatomy and pepper their commentary with meaningless statements like, "These people are learning how to learn with accelerated learning techniques." Perhaps the most publicized phenomenon connected

with brain-based research is the so-called Mozart effect. Rauscher, Shaw, and Ky (1993) reported that a group of subjects demonstrated short-term improvement in spatial-temporal reasoning after listening to a selection of music written by Mozart. Despite few successful attempts to replicate these results, a Mozart-effect industry is thriving. Governor Zell Miller (D, Georgia) even proposed that $105,000 be appropriated to provide every newborn child in his state with a CD of classical music, a move prompted in large measure by unsubstantiated Mozart-effect hype (Sack, 1998).

Teachers, parents, school officials, and lawmakers need to know how to apply the results of cognitive and affective research to educational problems. Doing so is an increasingly difficult task, given the amount of information that is being generated—and the pace at which it is being disseminated. As noted above, modern social science is dedicated to empiricism, which is a process of gathering and analyzing data. In order to determine whether relationships exist among data, dependent and independent variables must (if possible) be identified. Regrettably, few teachers—not to mention the general public—have a sophisticated understanding of dependent and independent variables, even if those concepts are covered in required course work or professional development activities.

A 2008 article in *USA Today* (Toppo, 2008), the highest circulation newspaper in America, illustrates the potential confusion that can result if readers are not educated consumers of research. "Poverty Dramatically Affects Children's Brains" reported that socioeconomic status had an impact on brain functioning, but it did not clarify which independent variables were being compared (middle-class or upper-class status). Nor did it specify the role that might be played by other independent variables that were listed ("malnutrition," "stress," "illiteracy," and "toxic environments"). Assorted dependent variables were also mentioned, including "prefrontal functioning," "higher-order thinking," "problem-solving," development of "neural systems," "language acquisition," and the "ability to plan, remember details and pay attention in school." The study in question, however, had tested only the ability of subjects to detect "tilted triangles" that appeared on a computer screen. Spurious or hidden variables, such as access to high-performing schools, were never mentioned. Finally, while specific pedagogical strategies were not discussed, an education professor who was interviewed for the article advised that "incredibly intensive interventions" would be necessary to "overcome" the cognitive impairments caused by "poverty." Given articles like this one, the average reader might well draw simplistic, erroneous conclusions (poverty makes children stupid). Just the *titles* of popular-press articles can be highly misleading—for example, "Video-Game Killing Builds Visual Skills" (Blakeslee, 2003) and "Watching TV Makes You Smarter" (Johnson, 2005) imply that children/adolescents ought to play more video games and/or watch more television, even though other research findings and common experience militate against those interpretations.

Another difficulty, as suggested earlier, lies in discerning the pedagogical implications (if any) of brain-based research. Some studies (Battro, Fischer, & Lena, 2008) provide a scholarly overview of how the brain functions, while others take a pragmatic, non-commercialized approach, concentrating on presenting the findings of neuroscience as "information of value to people concerned with education" (Frith & Blakemore, 2005, p. 2). Few studies, however, question basic assumptions concerning brain-based research and learning. Lawton (1999) observed that brain-based instructional strategies were frequently "based on no research at all" (p. 6). Jorgenson (2003) was even more critical: "The vast majority of brain-research information has been packaged and presented by energetic, visionary educational consultants, almost none of whom carry credentials in neuroscience or the study of brain chemistry or anatomy" (p. 364). Jorgenson further worried that it had become "blasphemous to voice criticisms" of the "principles or proponents" of brain-based learning (p. 364).

Willingham (2006) has outlined one problem with translating brain-based research into pedagogy: "The challenge for those trying to apply neuroscientific findings to the classroom is the dramatically different levels [of analysis] that must be bridged as we transition from looking at a brain to looking at a child in a classroom." Willingham identifies at least three levels of analysis. The first is neuroscience, which describes what happens in the brain in response to stimuli—for example, activation of the hippocampus when an individual attempts to memorize something. The second level is cognitive psychology, which is devoted to a more general examination of how the brain processes information—a

cognitive psychologist might note that continuous practice and/or repetition is usually necessary for successful memorization. A third level of analysis involves the design of actual pedagogical strategies—for instance, when a teacher incorporates specific instructional techniques to foster successful memorization. Willingham believes that fundamental errors can occur when data from *one* level of analysis are carelessly applied to *another* level. If the learning objective entails memorization (to stick with the same example), educators might—mistakenly—think that the solution lies in employing teaching methods to activate the hippocampus. Or, in a related context, they might assume that gender variance in the size of hippocampi (females typically have larger hippocampi than males) will correlate positively with memory performance, thereby making females better at memorizing than males. Even within the *same* level of analysis, Willingham warns against over-generalizing: Continuous practice might enhance one "cognitive system" (memory) at the expense of another (attention span). Willingham cautiously concludes, "In general, if you are interested in describing ways that students learn best, it makes sense to study classroom situations." While this pragmatic, reverse-engineering approach could prove effective, it is not *scientific* in the sense envisioned by NCLB.

Investigators will also need to examine the reasons that teachers continue to use instructional strategies for which there is no corroborating research. Some hypotheses for this phenomenon have already been offered (Willingham, 2005). Individuals tend to support theories that seem to conform to their own beliefs, even if those beliefs might themselves be the product of faulty assumptions or inaccurate information. A variant of this explanation is that human beings are inclined to see what they believe rather than believe what they see (despite assertions to the contrary). Another consideration is that most theories are not entirely wrong. If we find the proposition appealing to begin with, we will focus on the elements that are accurate and ignore those that are not. The momentum of popular consensus can also be influential. As an idea gains more support, it becomes harder for dissenters to voice their objections.

Misguided and/or misinformed applications of research can have consequences that extend beyond a single classroom. Gurian and Stevens (2005) and Sax (2005), among others, have posited the existence of a "boy crisis." This crisis is based on the putative differences in learning styles that are inferred from variations in brain structure and activation. Because these differences supposedly make females better at seat-work and memorization, some commentators have charged that schools are biased toward girls—which, according to this line of reasoning, is why boys face a plethora of academic and behavioral challenges. This argument, while footnoted by the authority of science, reveals a dearth of logic (Eliot, 2009). For example, not all boys are underperforming, and variations within genders are greater than between genders. Nevertheless, public officials and educational reformers have been quick to advocate gender-segregated instruction as a solution to the "boy crisis." South Carolina has even created an office of single-gender initiatives in order to foster and assist school districts that wish to provide separate educational experiences for boys and girls (McNeil, 2008). Unfortunately, the rush to implement single-gender education reinforces the tendency in American education to embrace the latest pedagogical trend—and, in this case, it does so by appealing to, but largely misinterpreting, relevant research on the subject.

This brings the discussion back full circle to NCLB's mandates. As noted above, many pedagogical claims are untenable because they misapply and/or misinterpret research—not because they ignore research entirely. To this extent, the *type* of research matters little. Granted, NCLB's emphasis on scientifically based research seeks to redress problems historically associated with how knowledge has been acquired and applied in the field of education. Except in bona fide research journals, educational discourse has been influenced frequently by personal experiences and/or opinion instead of rigorous arguments or empirical evidence. Thus, NCLB and creation of entities such as the Institute of Education Sciences can be seen as part of the continuing effort to effect one of the initial aims of social science—eliminating or reducing subjectivity in social problem solving.

Policymakers have nonetheless failed to recognize the drawbacks of advocating empirical research to the near exclusion of all other approaches. Admittedly, the gold standard for answering cause/effect questions is a randomized field study (Viadero, 2007). Individuals are randomly assigned to either a test or control group, which allows investigators to examine the influence of independent variables on various

outcomes. For instance, if researchers wanted to test a promising new reading program on fourth-graders, some students would be assigned to undergo the protocol (the reading program), while others would not. Few parents of the latter group, however, would be happy about their children being denied the potential academic advantages of the new program (most teachers and administrators would likely feel the same way). Because of these legitimate concerns, randomized field studies are less common in education than in the other social sciences. The upshot is that educational researchers are frequently unable to say *why* something does or does not work (Viadero, 2007).

Other concerns have been raised about the overriding emphasis on scientifically based research (Feuer, Towne, & Shavelson, 2002; Liston, Whitcomb, & Borko, 2007). Such research tends to direct federal funding away from equally valid forms of inquiry. It can also inordinately stress quantitative data; minimize the effect teachers have on implementing methods and programs; and obscure flaws in the peer-review process. These are not reasons to abandon scientifically based research; rather, they provide a rationale for widening our approach to educational problem solving. What is needed is a way for practitioners, parents, and policymakers to systematically evaluate all forms of data and research. The online What Works Clearinghouse operated by the Institute for Education Sciences is one such tool, but its evaluation criteria favor narrow, empirical studies (Retrieved June 2, 2009, from http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/). Moreover, the study of education is an enormously interdisciplinary undertaking. Theoretical developments in disciplines outside of education often have far-reaching implications for classroom practice. To give but one example, Hrdy (2009) and Keltner (2009) have argued that human beings have evolved to be cooperative, not selfish. What effects might this have on teaching and learning? And how will this information be communicated to educators and the public?

Those involved in education must continually remind themselves of the Jamesian caveat discussed earlier: Teaching is an art as well as a science. How much we *understand* about education might not be commensurate with how much we *know* about it. On this point, Hess and Henig (2008) have articulated a useful guideline: "We offer the seemingly paradoxical admonition that effectiveness and professional responsibility counsel that researchers should promise less when it comes to determining which policies work … We are, instead, advocating common sense and humility about what research can provide …" (p. 26). Also concerned with epistemological questions, van Manen (2002) took teachers and pedagogues to task for envisioning children as experimental subjects: "There is an acute danger in thinking professionally about children. Child psychologists, instructional consultants, curriculum developers, resource personnel, principals, school counselors, evaluation specialists, and learned professors are all in danger of thinking and talking about children in abstract ways, in categories. The theoretical language of child 'science' so easily makes us look past each child's uniqueness toward common characteristics that allow us to group, sort, sift, measure, manage, and respond to children in preconceived ways" (p. 25). Keeping van Manen's apprehension in mind will go a long way in helping us put scientifically based research in perspective.

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Faculty Perceptions of Student Evaluation Impact Upon Tenure, Promotion, and Merit Decisions

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Literature Review

Faculty perceptions of the impact of student evaluations upon tenure, promotion, and merit were of interest in this study. Student evaluations of faculty have become almost universal across institutions of higher education since the 1960s (Jurgens & Nunnery, 2001; Marsh, 1987; McPherson & Jewell, 2007; Wright, 2006). Faculty are traditionally evaluated in the three major areas of teaching, research, and service with teaching often the most difficult area to evaluate; thus, student evaluations have been accorded a prominent place in faculty evaluations for both tenure and promotion (Centra, 2003; Marsh, 1987; McPherson & Jewell, 2007).

Student Grades vs. Student Evaluations of Faculty

Addison, Best, and Warrington (2006), Aleamoni (1999), and Chambers and Schmitt (2002) noted a positive relationship between higher student grades and favorable student evaluations of faculty. Addison et al. acknowledged the possibility of reciprocal leniency as an explanation for a high grade and a high student faculty evaluation relationship. Marsh and Roche (1997) suggested that student interest in course content may contribute to students' evaluating faculty higher because they considered the faculty more knowledgeable or experienced. Wright (2002) found student perceptions of fairness in grading impacted their faculty evaluations.

Many variables were considered in research on student evaluation of faculty effectiveness over several decades. Prominent among these variables were class size, course difficulty, student perceptions, student attitudes, and improving student evaluations of faculty.

Class Size

Lesser and Ferrand (2000) did not find any relationship between student evaluations of faculty and class size while Fernandez, Mateo, and Muniz (1998) found only a weak relationship between class size and student evaluations of faculty. Isley and Singh (2005), Boex (2000), and Ting (2000) noted an inverse relationship between class size and student evaluations of faculty where faculty with larger classes received lower ratings from students.

Course Difficulty

Chambers and Schmitt (2002) examined student perceptions of the difficulty of a course relative to students' evaluations of faculty. These researchers discussed student expectations concerning the difficulty of a course and concluded that preconceived student expectations influenced faculty ratings. Addison, Best, and Warrington (2006) found students from different courses viewed the difficulty level of each course differently, ameliorating a direct causal relationship to course difficulty. These researchers suggested the number of courses a student took or the student's grade expectations for the course could influence their ratings of faculty.

Student Perceptions

Spencer and Schmelkin (2002) noted that students were not informed about how their evaluations of faculty were used. These authors suggested that clear communication about the purpose and use of faculty

evaluations was important for the process to be valid and helpful. Williams and Ceci (1997) recommended that emphasis on communication skills produced improvement in faculty evaluations by students. Wright (2000) found faculty appearance related to ratings of faculty. Olshavsky and Spreng (1995) suggested that students may not possess the knowledge necessary to adequately evaluate faculty.

Student Attitudes

Trout (1997) found that narrative comments noted on student evaluations of faculty suggested that students wanted classes to be fun and entertaining. Wright (2006) found that under a system of anonymous evaluations, students take no responsibility for their opinions regarding faculty evaluations. Shumow (2009) cited a number of examples of rude student behavior and student expectations of faculty in today's classrooms. Examples given of faculty efforts needed to reduce rude behavior in class included course syllabi must notify students to not to surf the Web, send text messages, or answer cell phones during lectures. Often students must be asked to remove a backward baseball cap, cover a bare midriff, and wear shoes when making a formal class presentation. According to Shumow, students appeared to wander in and out of class randomly. Shumow (2009) noted that students appeared bothered by their peers who ate food, dozed off, or dominated a class discussion. She noted that students had little patience for faculty who rambled off topic and talked about their personal life, political views, or religion.

Shumow (2009) observed differences in graduate students who were juggling full-time jobs and families. She noted that these students came to night classes tired and hungry with frayed nerves and little patience. Shumow (2009) explained that in general students responded appropriately when they understood faculty expectations including respect.

Improving Student Evaluations

Wright (2006) suggested that it may be possible to improve the quality and usefulness of student evaluations of faculty. This author recommended examination and change in two areas of anonymity and quantity of data generated. Wright noted that anonymity did not provide a means to ensure that evaluations were completed. He gave an example where students could evaluate faculty without even being enrolled in the class. Further, without any follow up students were not accountable for a valid faculty evaluation. Currently, most faculty evaluations are surveys with no means for probing negative responses.

Regarding the quantity of data generated, Wright (2006) found all levels of faculty were evaluated the same way whether they were non-tenured, tenure-track, or tenured. Wright noted that important decisions concerning tenure were based on anonymous student evaluations. Wright (2006) suggested changing student evaluations of faculty from anonymous to confidential. Such a change could allow follow up to investigate high or low evaluations and to link grades to evaluations. Wright also suggested that all classes taught by non-tenured faculty be subjected to random sampling with interviews of selected students. Wright noted that such changes could protect non-tenured faculty and stabilize faculty expectations with respect to rigor.

The Study

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate faculty perceptions of the effect of student evaluations upon the tenure, promotion, and merit decisions in institutions of higher education.

Research Questions

The following research questions were considered:

1. Were there differences in faculty perceptions of the effect of student evaluations regarding: gender, academic rank, tenure status, age range, student enrollment, and college?
2. Were there differences in faculty perceptions regarding the strand, "Factors That Affect Responses"?
3. Were there differences in faculty perceptions regarding the strand, "Use of Response Data"?

Design and Instrument

A survey research design was used. Survey Monkey generated the online data base for analysis. The instrument was developed based upon an online student evaluation instrument currently used at an institution of higher education in Texas. In addition, information from a review of literature was

integrated into the survey to facilitate open-ended questions and content. The internal consistency reliability of the entire scale was measured with Cronbach's coefficient alpha equal to .73.

Analysis

The entire set of 40 items was combined to yield a total score with a possible range of 40-200. Because some items did not contribute effectively to the total score, results should be interpreted cautiously. A series of items were analyzed separately but only significant results were reported.

Two factors emerged when grouping items. The first factor was called "Factors That Affect Responses." This factor included selected items such as: "The difficulty of the class being taught affects students' ratings of faculty," "The size of the class affects students' ratings of faculty," "Students' evaluations of faculty are strongly related to student achievement," and "Faculty's organizational skills significantly impact students' faculty evaluations." This scale had a possible range of 11-55 and a coefficient alpha of 80. Item selection was based on item content and maximizing reliability.

The second factor was named "Use of Response Data." This factor included such items as: "Faculty supervisors at our university often view small differences in student evaluations of faculty as significant when they are not," "Faculty supervisors at our university use student evaluations of faculty as the major data source for summative faculty evaluations," and "Popular courses generate more favorable student ratings of faculty." This scale had a possible range of 4-20 and a coefficient alpha of .88. Mean differences were tested with independent samples *t*-tests or analysis of variance as appropriate using unique variance solutions.

Sample

One hundred seventy-five faculty responded to this online survey. When missing data were filtered only 76 usable responses emerged. All reliability and inferential analysis were based on the filtered data set. Gender appeared evenly distributed with 47% female and 53% male. The majority of the sample included 37% assistant professors and 24% were associate professors. Full professors and instructors were evenly distributed with 11% respectively. The majority of the sample were tenured (41%) and 36% were tenure-track. Non-tenured and adjuncts were grouped to comprise 23%. The majority of the respondents were in the College of Education (41%), while 36% of the respondents were in the College of Arts and Sciences. About 23% were grouped under the "other" classification.

Findings

Gender Differences

Were there mean differences in the dependent variables as a function of gender? Regarding the item "Students' evaluations of faculty are very stable," males (M=2.95) had significantly higher scores on this item than females (M=2.33), $t(74)=2.76$, p=.007.

Regarding the item "As university faculty, the feedback I received from students' evaluations is useful," males (M=3.83) had significantly higher scores than females (M=3.22), $t(74)=2.52$, p=.01.

Regarding the item "Students in my class have enough information to evaluate my teaching," males (M=3.63) had significantly higher scores on this item than females (M=2.81), $t(74)=3.22$, p=.002.

Use of Response Data Strand – Academic Rank

Academic rank had a significant impact on scores on this measure, $F(3,72)=3.49$, p=.02. Post hoc analyses with Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference Test revealed that Instructors (M=10.33) had significantly lower scores on this subscale than did full professors (M=14.73), p=.02. Full professors were more likely to respond that their institutions placed heavy emphasis on student evaluations for faculty evaluation for tenure and promotion decision than instructors. Assistant professors (M=13.33) and associate professors (M=13.94) scored between these two extremes, however no other pair-wise differences were significant.

Use of Response Data Strand – Tenure Status

Tenure status had a significant impact on scores on this measure, $F(2,73)=6.69$, p=.002. Post hoc analysis with Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference Test revealed that tenure-track professors (M=13.74) and tenured professors (M=14.42) had significantly higher mean scores than non-tenured/adjunct professors (M=10.28), p=.01 and .002, respectively. Tenure-track and tenured professors were more likely to respond that their institution placed heavy emphasis on student evaluations for faculty

evaluation for tenure and promotion decisions than non-tenured/ adjunct professors. No otherwise pair-wise comparisons were significant.

Factors That Affect Responses – Tenure Status

Tenure status had a significant impact on scores on this measure, $F(2,73)=3.19$, $p=.05$. Post hoc analysis with Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference Test revealed that tenure-track professors ($M=129.56$) and tenured professors ($M=129.74$) had significantly higher mean scores than non-tenured/adjunct professors ($M=120.56$), $p=.05$. Interpretation of this result was somewhat problematic due to the nature of the scale itself and what it was designed to measure; it required careful consideration of what the total score indicated about perceptions and attitudes regarding student evaluations of faculty.

College Differences

Were there mean differences in the dependent variables as a function of college? Regarding the item, "Gathering students' online evaluations of faculty is a viable alternative to the traditional in-class method," College had a significant impact on scores on this item, $F(2,73)=3.26$, $p=.04$. Post hoc analysis with Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference Test revealed that the College of Education faculty ($M=3.74$) had significantly higher scores than faculty from other colleges ($M=2.89$). The College of Arts and Sciences faculty ($M=3.04$) had intermediate scores but no other pair-wise comparisons were significant.

Open-Ended Questions

Three open-ended questions were included to solicit faculty clarification and input concerning current trends and issues. Faculty input was also obtained to offer assistance for new faculty and to identify ways to improve the effectiveness of student evaluations. To enhance inter-rater reliability, two researchers read the qualitative responses to ensure agreement concerning analysis and reduce bias.

Qualitative Findings

Question 1. "How would you advise new faculty concerning improving student evaluations?" Seventy-six responses were received. Responses were grouped into three areas: shallow and flippant, advice, and what works based on experience. Selected examples representing each area follow.

Shallow and flippant.

"I would advise them to give easy grades, keep them only half class period, and entertain them the other half. This is where most of the schools are, why not undergraduates? This is where the education system in this country is going, why fight the trends. For serious education recruit foreign students."

"Do what everyone else does – pass them!"

"Suck up to the students the week before your evaluation. Leave the impression that you are the most kind and caring teacher they have ever met."

Advice for improvement.

"Be well prepared for class and engage students in projects. Do not lecture long or often."

"Whether your class is more difficult or not has little impact on student evaluations. Being honest, open, available, and an effective communicator are the most salient qualities that directly impact student evaluations."

"Maintain high levels of organization in your instruction. Be fair and consistent in following your syllabus and semester plans."

"Respond to emails quickly, have a positive rapport with students, and be very specific in how you assess course grades."

What works.

"Be open to what students have to say and use their feedback to improve your course."

"Encourage students to complete the evaluations and point out how you will use their comments."

"Keep your office hours. Return student calls. Be available before and after class. Listen to your students."

"Use an ethical approach and do what is right. Consider your students but do not allow unethical behavior such as cheating."

Question 2. "What is your major concern about the use of student evaluations at your university?" Eighty-four responses were received. Responses were grouped into three areas: validity of evaluation, low response rates, and use of results. Examples from each area follow.

Validity issues.

"Students either write if they love it or hate it…the middle is missed…department chairs should do due diligence in evaluating teaching effectiveness, not students…students are not trained in evaluation or effective pedagogy."

"While I do believe that students will evaluate an average and good educator quite fairly, I also have seen that fairly poor educators can get acceptable ratings from students by giving all students A's in the class. This problem leads to so many others. Now educators who are truly evaluating performance are seen as 'unfair' and 'unreasonable'."

"My major concern is the level of accuracy in the evaluations."

"They are a joke! Six items (only two are used) and there had never been any kind of research regarding the instrument to determine if it is valid, reliable, etc."

"Evaluations may be influenced by the dissatisfaction of a single student or a small group of students."

"More people who are angry would be willing to respond than those who were satisfied."

Low response rates.

About 20% of the respondents noted low response rates concerning student evaluations.

"We only use online evaluations and the response rates are not reliable – many faculty have a 12-20% response rate."

"The need of all students to complete the evaluations."

"Only online are used – most of the results are incomplete and spotty; it takes major effort to get students to do these."

"…we have electronic evaluations for all courses, and typically get a very low response rate. While many assumed that meant only disgruntled students would submit an evaluation that has not proven to be true, neverless, the response rate is low."

"Our department is really focused on detecting patterns in student evaluation information. Unfortunately, the patterns are usually biased on too few comments to be meaningful statistically, and merit is based on the statistically meaningless pattern, for example 2 comments out of 150. We could trust "patterns" more if response rates were higher."

Use of results.

"Inconsistent impact depending upon who is chair of department. Often compare dissimilar courses or have bias toward their favorite pursuits…."

"Using averages to compare my performance to that of someone in another discipline
is like comparing apples to oranges. I value narrative feedback, but the numerical information generated from course surveys provides me with very little meaningful information."

"Students have the tendency to evaluate on isolated incidences rather than entire semester course grades, etc. In turn, many times supervisors dwell on those incidences and do not include the whole picture."

"They need to be used with caution – research does not support student evaluations as a sole source because they are biased in favor of grades."

"Although meant to improve teaching, they invariably become part of an administrative record to reward and punish."

"My concern on use of students' evaluations is faculty manipulation of scores and administrative lack of leadership in evaluation of teaching in general."

Question 3. "What would you suggest to improve the use of student evaluations at your university?" Fifty-four responses were received. Responses were grouped into three areas: timing, online vs. in-class, and advice for improvement. Examples from each area follow.

Timing of evaluation.

"Do them at mid-term, not end of semester."

"Do not release grades until at least 50% of the students' current courses have been evaluated."

"Send automatic emails to students with evaluations inside. Our university sends out an email to students each semester about participation in the online course evaluation."

"Force students to complete the evaluation before their grade can be issued."

Online vs. in-class.

"Do away with them or return to the evaluation being completed in class, not online."

"We had better and more responses using paper and pencil prior to the final exam than we do with the online evaluations."

"They should not be used. Students are not capable of judging an instructor's teaching in just one semester. There are always ways for the instructor to improve – a student survey created by and given to the students by the instructor and for the instructor's use, should be sufficient for improvement.

Advice for improvement.

"I think that student evaluations of faculty should be only 5-10 questions and based on those things that students actually can evaluate. For example, the textbook, the course structure, use of technology, etc."

"We have attempted several forms which place an emphasis on learning, but each has been rejected by the administration. It appears administration is not interested in the improvement of instruction, only a number for evaluation."

"I think evaluations shouldn't be anonymous. If the director of a program could see who was submitting the evaluation (even if it remained anonymous to the course professor), it might be a more fair assessment based on the performance of the student in each class. Taking it a step further, it would be nice if the professor could also evaluate each student for the program directors information so he can compare a student evaluation to a professor evaluation and have both perspectives. This might help to weed out unfair evaluations of a professor and provide good feedback to a professor about why a student feels they did poorly in the class (especially if the student put in the effort and couldn't grasp the concept). This system might actually allow for a line of communication that can improve teaching skills and abilities and reduce negative feedback that is unjustified."

"Ensure that if evals are to be used for a faculty's tenure, promotion, or bonus status there must be a way to validate their data…. Students must be required to use their names! The admin must only be able to see aggregated data, never raw scores. Ratings of required classes and of specialty classes must never be compared. In electives or specialty classes, the students are only in there because they want to be there. In required classes, there are many students taking the course because they are required to do so. This has a significant impact on ratings."

"More emphasis on peer evaluation and minimal emphasis on student evaluation. Students are used to blogging, tweeting and "free [speech] texting," but they are not used to basing their opinions on a real standard of behavior. They want to be lectured at, even though that is the least effective method of teaching/learning."

"I would suggest that Student Government association administer the evaluations in the same manner that they administer voting for SGA officers and the Homecoming Court to increase the completion percentage. I would suggest that comments within the department be synthesized and distributed by the Chair to make sure that the faculty member actually looked at the comments and addressed any real concerns that came out of the evaluations."

"Student evaluations are useful if the faculty makes an effort to use them constructively to improve his/her teaching. Unfortunately, many faculty perceive them as an insult and almost all administrators perceive the evaluations as a "got you" tool. In my opinion the discussion between a faculty and a chair should be more along the lines "let the two of us figure out what can be useful for the faculty in the teaching process." A chair sees all evaluations, so a chair can provide useful insight. Unfortunately, I am not aware that it happens."

Summary and Conclusions

The number of surveys returned with missing data was a limitation of this study. The differences in evaluation forms from institution to institution may account for the omissions. Faculty who used a different evaluation form may have omitted unfamiliar items. Student evaluations of faculty in situations

of higher education appeared to be a standard practice with the majority using online surveys. A number of the respondents in this study preferred paper and pencil student evaluations administered in class citing a poor response rate to online submissions. However, the College of Education faculty was more likely to respond that online evaluations were a viable alternative to the traditional in-class method than were faculty from the College of Arts and Science or "other" college respondents.

Participants in this study agreed with Spencer and Schmelkin (2002) that students were not well informed about the importance and purpose of their evaluation and suggested clear communication was needed. A number of faculty comments were supported by Addison et al. (2006), Aleamoni (1999), and Chambers and Schmitt (2002) concerning a positive relationship between grades either recorded or expected and student evaluations. Several faculty in this study were concerned about grade leniency in order to receive higher student evaluations.

Faculty comments in this study were supported by Wright (2006) who suggested that student evaluations should be confidential and not anonymous making students responsible for their comments concerning faculty. In this study faculty commented that they did not need student names on surveys but administrators should have student names for follow-up and to provide assistance to faculty for improving student learning.

Some variables examined in this study that were not found significant included size of student enrollment and age range of faculty participants. Gender appeared to have a minimal impact with a few notable exceptions. Males and females differed in their views of the stability of student evaluations. Males tended to view student evaluations as more stable than females did. Males and females differed in their views of the utility of student evaluations. Males viewed evaluations as more useful than did females. Males and females differed in their views of whether students had sufficient information to evaluate their teaching. Males tended to credit students with having enough information in contrast to females. In summary, males tended to hold more positive views concerning student evaluations than females.

Academic rank appeared to have a minimal impact on most of the dependent variables; however, there was one notable exception. Full professors and instructors held very different views of how their institutions used evaluation information in making decision with regard to faculty evaluations for tenure, promotion, and merit decisions. Full professors tended to respond that their institutions relied more heavily on student evaluations for these decisions than did instructors.

Tenure status appeared to have a minimal impact on most of the dependent measures; however, there are some notable exceptions. Tenure-track and tenured professors had significantly higher overall scores on the survey than did non-tenured/adjunct professors. This result must be carefully considered in light of the meaning of a total score on this survey. Tenure-track professors were more likely to respond that factors such as class size and class popularity affected student evaluation response data than were non-tenured/adjunct professors. Tenure-track and tenured professors held very different views of how their institutions used evaluation data in making decisions with regard to faculty evaluations for tenure, promotion, and merit decisions from non-tenured/adjunct professors. Tenure-track and tenured professors tended to respond that their institutions relied more heavily on student evaluations for these decisions than did non-tenured/adjunct professors.

Recommendations

Based upon the findings from this study the researchers made the following four recommendations:

1. Because of the limited sample size and Texas location, replicate this study using a national and larger size sample.

2. Hold students responsible for their faculty evaluations by providing information about the use and importance of these evaluations and devising a system where students' names are attached but kept confidential (faculty does not have access) so that administrators can contact students for follow-up interviews and information that becomes useful for improving teaching and learning.

3. Hold administration (department chairs) more responsible for providing supervision and assistance to faculty, particularly new faculty. It may be necessary to conduct occasional walk-throughs and to

interview selected students to obtain useful information for making tenure, promotion, and merit decision using student evaluations.

4. Hold faculty responsible for reading and reacting to students' input. It may be helpful for faculty to conduct their own survey mid-way through the semester to obtain student input to facilitate learning.

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The Right Time and the Right Place: Washington and Montana Adopt Death With Dignity

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Introduction

Competent adults with less than six months to live can obtain legal lethal prescriptions in Oregon. Voters passed the Death With Dignity Act in 1994 and it went into effect in 1997 after a favorable court decision in *Washington v. Glucksberg.* It took eleven years before other states followed suit, albeit through different approaches. In 2008, Washington voters adopted a right to die initiative and a Montana judge ruled that individuals had the right to hasten their deaths under that state's constitution.

Deborah Stone, a political scientist and independent scholar, stated in *Policy Paradox* that adoption "is a constant struggle over the criteria for classification, the boundaries of categories, and the definition of ideals that guide the way people behave" (11). Mark Moore of the Kennedy School of Government in *Creating Public Value* refers to the "rigidity and relentlessness" of right to life groups (123). These groups formed coalitions, raised tremendous amounts of money, and were parties to every legal case. They defeated repeated attempts to pass right to die legislation.

Two interest groups led the fight for Death With Dignity legislation. Eli Stutsman of the National Death With Dignity Center expressed his admiration for Moore's use of analytical techniques (23). Stutsman hired a nationally known polling company to determine the prospects of success for an initiative. They determined that Washingtonians were receptive to the Death With Dignity message.

Kathryn Tucker, legal counsel for Compassion & Choices, knew another state, Montana, was ripe for a legal challenge. She unsuccessfully argued a similar case, *Sampson vs. the State of Alaska* (2001) before the Alaska Supreme court. She worked with local attorneys on a *Montana Law Review* article. Stutsman and Tucker overcame the fervid opposition of right to life groups. As a result of their efforts, two more states adopted Death With Dignity legislation.

Washington (2008)

Stutsman learned from his experience working for a 1991 Washington initiative that people found the notion of lethal injections abhorrent. He made certain that the Oregon and Washington Death With Dignity Acts provided only for lethal prescriptions. Stutsman found a formidable spokesperson for his cause in popular former Governor Booth Gardner (D). Gardner underwent brain surgery during the campaign. Afterwards he observed, "When I go I want to decide" (Ertelt).

Yes on I-1000 Committee - Supporters of the Washington Death With Dignity Act organized a committee in February 2008. Anne Martens, the group's communication director, believed their chances of success were good because of similar demographics in Oregon and Washington. The two states ranked at the bottom of the list of people affiliated with a religion. Revelations of priest abuse of children in both states tarnished the reputation of the Catholic Church. Lawsuits by the victims brought Northwest dioceses to insolvency or the brink of bankruptcy.

The Yes on I-1000 Committee hired two consulting firms to manage a signature gathering campaign that used volunteer and paid signature-gatherers. They collected 100,000 more signatures than the 225,000 necessary to qualify the initiative for the ballot. The Secretary of State certified the initiative for the ballot on 13 August 2008.

Chris Carlson of Spokane, who has Parkinson's disease, chaired the No on Initiative 1000 Coalition. The group's website featured the names of members of the community, elected leaders, physicians, and members of the disability community opposed to I-1000. The coalition condemned its opponents for raising funds outside the state, especially those from the Death With Dignity National Center headed by Stutsman.

The Yes on Initiative 1000 Committee counter-attacked. They pointed to contributions from Archdioceses in Denver, Cincinnati, and Venice, Florida to the No on I-1000 campaign. Martens charged "clearly it's more important to them to impose their religious beliefs on the people of Washington than it is to take care of the victims of abuse in their own states" (Jenkins). Carlson labeled these remarks; "thinly disguised anti-Catholic bigotry" (Durbin A1).

The No on I-1000 Coalition - Dominican Sister Sharon Park of the Western Washington State Catholic Conference explained that state election law permitted churches to distribute educational, but not advocacy materials. The No on I-1000 Coalition paid for two DVDs, brochures, and envelopes to collect funds sent to the 290 parishes of the Archdiocese of Seattle. The DVD "In God's Time" explained the Church's moral and ethical teaching on end of life issues.

Park observed that the priest or pastor might say something during Catholic services (Turner BO1). Several speakers mentioned their intention was to inform parishioner's consciences and not to tell them how to vote. Sister Francine Barber reminded one congregation that "no one, not even the Church," could do that (Homily). Deacon Bill Haines and his wife Gina Washington warned parishioners, "Don't be deceived into thinking this is just a 'choice' issue" (Homily). Father Scott Connolly argued that terms were important. "While they refer to it as 'death with dignity,' it's assisted suicide" (Turner and Walters).

The Coalition Against Assisted Suicide and the No on Assisted Suicide PAC raised $1,310,616,26. The Roman Catholic Church and its affiliates contributed nearly two-thirds of the total. The largest donation was a $275,000 from the New Haven, Connecticut Knights of Columbus. The Seattle Diocese gave $50,000 and the Diocese of Portland, Oregon $5000 (Washington State Public Disclosure Commission).

Alex Morgan, campaign manager for the Yes on I-1000 Committee, noted the ability of his opponents to raise money from archdioceses across the country. He commented, "We are far and away the underdogs in this campaign" (Durbin A1). Despite his assertion, right to die supporters raised more money than their opponents. Compassion & Choices Washington and the Yes on I-1000 Committee raised, $5,517,634.83. Booth Gardner, heir to the Weyerhaeuser Timber fortune and his family, contributed $750,000. The Oregon Death With Dignity fund, the political arm of the Death With Dignity National Center, donated $615,000. Loren Parks, an Oregon businessman, gave $250,000. More than 60 percent of the funds came from outside Washington.

The Campaign - Fletcher, Rowley, Chao, and Riddle Inc., an award winning consulting firm, coordinated media efforts for the Yes on I-1000 Committee. Their message appeared in a number of venues. The editors of the *Seattle Times* wrote, "Death with dignity is a right that should be allowed." A concerned citizen wrote a letter to the *Seattle Times*. "My life does not belong to the state or the church. It does not belong to my neighbors, my parents, and my children or my spouse" (Herman). A webpage developed by Northwest Passage Counseling debunked 54 of the opposition's "lies" (Death With Dignity Webpage).

The Yes on I-1000 Committee aired two television spots and a radio ad in late October aimed at undecided voters. Former governor of Oregon, Barbara Roberts (D), defended Oregon's law in "Getting the Facts Straight" (YouTube). Another television ad featured a physician whose mother legally hastened her death in Oregon (Doctor-Daughter). Despite their lead in a late October poll, proponents feared a last minute media blitz by their opponents.

The No on I-1000 Coalition hired actor Martin Sheen, who portrayed the US President in the television series West Wing, to do a radio and television ad. He argued that I-1000 tells doctors it's OK to give a lethal drug overdose to a seriously ill person, even if they were depressed (Tu). Barbara Wagner, an Oregon cancer patient, asserted in another ad that a survey proved that one-quarter of the patients who died under Oregon's law suffered from depression. She claimed that she received letters from the Oregon

Health plan that stated they would pay for a lethal prescription, but not for drugs for her life-threatening illness. Rheba De Tormay, professor emeritus of the University of Washington School of Nursing, told her story in another ad. She thanked God that her husband lived twenty-eight months after receiving a diagnosis from doctors of having three months to live (No on I-1000 website).

Proponents countered every assertion. The ad that dissected the Martin Sheen commercial showed a black screen after each of Sheen's statements and "Lie!" appeared in white. A voice-over provided the "facts." The narrator noted that, if there was any question of mental competence, the law required referral of the patient for a mental health evaluation. He declared independent studies showed that most patients who requested death with dignity were not depressed (Yes on I-1000 website).

Three former governors and the editors of ten of the state's leading newspapers endorsed the initiative. Washington's governor, Chris Gregoire (D), said that although she personally did not support the measure, she wouldn't actively work against it. Her spokesperson noted that Gregoire believed that this was a personal issue and "Voters in Washington will have to make up their own minds" (La Corte 4B). Opponents predicted, "It's going to be close" (Frankham). Supporters thought they could see a win (The Death With Dignity Report 1).

The Vote - Washington voters approved the Death With Dignity law by a vote of 1,709,768 for and 1,247,121 against (58 to 42 percent) on 4 November 2008 (Washington Secretary of State). Martens observed that it was not the "normal east-west, urban-rural split" usually seen in Washington politics (Colburn). The initiative passed in thirty-one eastern and western counties. It failed in eight conservative central Washington counties in the rich agricultural region along the Columbia River.

Voters in all but two of Washington's counties mailed in their ballots so there were no exit polls. CNN News conducted a survey of 1,233 voters that showed that the profiles of Washington voters matched those of Oregonians who voted on a similar measure in 1994 and 1997. More men favored I-1000 than women (60 percent to 54 percent). Supporters were liberal (80 percent), Democrats (74 percent), who did not identify with any religion (79 percent). Opponents identified themselves as conservative (67 percent), Republicans (65 percent), and Catholic (53 percent) or born again Evangelical (70 percent) (CNN News Exit Poll).

The Yes on I-1000 Committee profited from the leadership monetary contributions of Stutsman and Gardner. The two signature-gathering firms got their message out early, and then mined the lists of signatures for donors. Their focused and responsive media campaign started early and stayed on the offense.

The efforts of the No on I-1000 Committee were underfunded and uncoordinated. Sister Sharon Parks delivered the Catholic vote and the church hierarchy stayed in the background. The DVD "In God's Time" deserved play outside the Catholic community. Doctors Toffler, Stevens, and Bentz from Oregon each had an opinion letter published in the *Seattle Times*, but few local physicians were actively involved in the campaign (Bentz). Disability groups were quiet except for this statement from Not Dead Yet. "It's a mistake for the people of Washington to accept death as a progressive health care policy" (Woodward).

The No on I-1000 Coalition used evidence from a survey by Dr. Linda Ganzini on the prevalence of depression among those who hastened their deaths. Proponents of the Initiative countered this approach with the common sense assertion that yes, terminally ill patients often experience sadness and depression, but they are still capable of making informed decisions.

Carlson believed that money influenced the outcome of the campaign. He argued that the legislature was the proper place for legislation as complicated as the Washington Death With Dignity Act (Frankham). He feared the passage of the initiative was a step toward euthanasia and urged those who opposed the initiative to advocate improved care for those at risk (Iwasaki). The State issued the first statistics on the law six months later. Eleven people hastened their death, less than one-tenth of one percent of all deaths statewide in 2008, a figure that showed that Washingtonians used the law carefully and sparingly (Tibbits).

Leaders from both sides predicted that the approval of I-1000 by Washington voters had consequences for the rest of the nation. Rita Marker, of the International Euthanasia and Assisted Suicide Task Force,

claimed that, "other states would fall like dominoes." A month later another state legalized hastened death.

II. Montana (2008)

A Judicial Branch Approach - Kathryn Tucker, Compassion & Choices legal director, thought litigation in state courts could open the way for patients to access aid in dying. Tucker outlined her case in a 2007 *Montana Law Review* article. She argued Montana courts would recognize an individual's choice to receive aid in dying because the state's constitution guaranteed rights of privacy and dignity well beyond those mentioned in the US Constitution. Montana's Constitution declares, "The dignity of the human being is inviolable" and the right of individual privacy "shall not be infringed without the showing of a compelling state interest" (Tucker 318).

Robert Baxter swore in his affidavit dated 28 June 2008 to the Montana First Judicial Court that he was 75 years of age, a resident of Yellowstone County, and a retired long-haul trucker. He commented that his wife and four children supported him in the goals of the case. Baxter declared he was terminally ill with leukemia and asked the court for "the legal option of being able to die in a peaceful and dignified manner by consuming medication prescribed by my doctor for that purpose" (Baxter 3).

Tucker and Mark S. Connell, a Missoula, Montana attorney, argued the case on 10 October 2007. They represented Baxter, four Montana physicians, and Compassion & Choices. Jennifer M. Anders and Anthony Johnstone represented the state of Montana.

The plaintiffs challenged the constitutionality of homicide laws by the legislature as they applied to physician-assisted suicide. They requested a declaratory judgment that required the State of Montana to allow a "physician to provide aid in dying to a mentally competent, terminally ill adult patient facing a dying process the patient finds intolerable" (*Baxter v. Montana*, Complaint). They asked that the defendants not charge physicians who provided such aid with a crime. Wesley J. Smith, a prominent right to life attorney commented, "the case is certainly no sure thing – either way. But I do know it is likely to be a legal fight to the finish that could eventually grab the attention of the entire world" (Smith).

District Court Judge Dorothy McCarter noted in her decision on 5 December 2008 that the State Constitution reflected Montanans' "abhorrence and distrust of excessive government interference in their personal lives" (*Baxter et al v. Montana*, Decision and Order: 15). It differed from the constitutions of other states because it used the term "inviolable" in its dignity clause (*Baxter et al v. Montana*, Decision and Order: 17). She ruled that a competent terminally ill patient has the constitutional right to die with dignity and that physicians could prescribe such medication without fear of prosecution ("Montana Judge"). McCarter held the legislature responsible for implementing her decision.

Baxter never learned of his victory. He died in his sleep on the day McCarter announced her decision. Attorney General Mike McGrath requested a stay of decision in January 2009. He noted that the state had no safeguards or procedures in place to provide guidance and oversight for physicians. McCarter denied his request. Compassion in Dying sent a letter to Montana physicians. They reassured willing practitioners that it was safe to practice aid in dying and offered them established medical protocols.

McGrath appealed McCarter's decision to the Montana State Supreme Court. Right to die and right to life interest groups filed friend of the court briefs. Bishop George L. Thomas of Helena promised the Church's help in overturning the decision. The Montana Supreme Court ruled on 31 December 2009 that nothing in the state constitution prevented patients from hastening their deaths and gave doctors the right to prescribe lethal medicine. Kathryn Tucker stated that she would have welcomed a broader and more robust constitutional ruling. The court did not guarantee a right to die and stated that the decision for such public policy was up to the people and legislature of Montana.

Conclusion

Eli Stutsman called the campaign in Washington "a wonderful accomplishment," but warned that political opposition remains high in many states ("US Supreme Court Rules"). Events in Washington and Montana increased the possibility, but not the probability, of other states passing such legislation. The Death With Dignity National Center is analyzing demographics, the cost of media advertising, and the results of polling in Arizona, Colorado, Maine, Massachusetts, Nevada, and Wyoming (The Next Steps).

Hawaii and Vermont do not have the initiative process; however, they are also possibilities for success, especially if the Democratic Party controls their legislatures and captures their governorships.

Americans have more options for dying than they did in 1997. Hospice is commonplace. Palliative care is a board certified specialty. Physicians can legally pursue aggressive pain management, even if opiates or barbiturates hasten death. States can pass aid in dying laws. Patients may forgo or discontinue life-sustaining therapies. Voluntarily stopping eating and drinking is accepted as a natural part of the dying process. A panel of the American Medical Association endorsed sedation to the point of unconsciousness (Gross 11). The dying in Oregon, Washington, and Montana, have one more option. They can obtain lethal prescriptions from their physician.

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Family Hierarchy, Family Structure, and Values Transformation

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Introduction

Families in many Asian countries have undergone some structural changes because of globalization and a greater demand for business travel and more than one wage earner among middle class families. What structural changes are experienced in these families? More families need assistance beyond what a nuclear family can provide, especially in child care, supervision, role modeling, child discipline, and socialization.

Being a social animal, a child learns from friends and teachers in school. Adults exchange, share, and adopt values from their friends, colleagues, and people whom they come across at work and in leisure time activities. However, one can assume that the parents might socialize and share values with people whose value systems are relatively different from those people who socialize with their children.

When values conflicts occur in a family, some societies expect the family to exercise its authority to provide a solution to that conflict. Some societies place a greater emphasis on individual rights, those of parents and children alike. A society can change its philosophy in dealing with family matters over time. How much authority a state should have over family matters is not necessarily shared by all. Some groups advocate for children's rights while some groups feel that the family is in a better position than the state to make family related decisions.

These values conflicts dilemmas are further complicated when service providers, such as social workers, are asked to protect children, to assist victims of domestic violence, and to advocate for the rights of the young, the old, people with disabilities, and people who cannot advocate for their own rights. Social workers need to navigate over the many values conflicts in the family, between the family and the state, and among different service providers (such as schools, hospitals, and HMOs), federal and state officials, constituencies from different communities, and different interest groups.

The paper examines the following: (1) How globalization has affected the structure and functioning of some families and whether a parallel observation can be made between families who seek domestic help from outside the family and the new immigrant families that arrange for mutual support from their natural support network; (2) In what ways the changes in structure and functions of the family affect the homeostasis of the family and how these changes affect the relationships, both positive and negative, between parents and children, husbands and wives, and grandparents and grandchildren; (3) Whether, when these changes lead to state intervention, as in a child abuse and neglect case, a domestic violence case, a family mediation case, an adult protective case, a nursing home placement, etc., and family participation is expected and, in many situations, required, all concerned parties have an understanding of the rights and the functions and their expected level of participation. Whether a more effective intervention occurs when all concerned parties have a better understanding of the rights, the functions, and the expected level of their participation?

I. Globalization and Family Functioning

Families around the world have undergone changes for different reasons. One obvious trend is that there are more middle class households that require more than one household income to live comfortably. Business travels place greater demands on some families, especially those in Hong Kong and China, where its GDP has grown at a faster rate than some neighboring countries.

Societies undergo changes through industrialization and urbanization; families undergo changes through immigration and social mobility. Some Chinese families rely on extended family members to share some of the child care responsibility. When both parents are working and weekly travels are becoming a routine for business people and workers, the business of providing domestic assistance and day care services blossoms. As the society becomes more competitive, the demand for more than one wage increases. Many households can no longer rely on one wage earner.

This is especially true for new immigrant families in this country. In the early stage of their settlement, many new immigrant adults need to work at jobs that pay nominal wages but demand long hours. Most of those are not typical nine to five jobs. The hours of restaurant work make it difficult for parents to stay home, cook for their children, tutor their children in academic work, supervise their children with meaningful leisure time activities, or read their children books before bedtime.

Can a modified type of communal arrangement be made where older children are responsible for tutoring the younger children of friends and extended family members? If this is important, supervision is only one function. Most parents would want the older children to serve as role models. It is not uncommon to see a room with children watching Chinese movies or videos.

II. Changes in Family

(i) Domestic Help and Mutual Support

Domestic helpers are not a new group of workers. They can be found in many ancient Chinese literatures including the classic "Dream in the Red Chamber." However, the flow of domestic servants in a place such as Hong Kong from neighboring countries, such as Thailand, the Philippines, etc., has increased over the last few decades. This has led to an interesting change in the family structure. Live-in domestic servants help out in cooking, cleaning, and child care.

How has the sharing of child caring responsibility affected the family relationship, especially the parent-child relationship? Children learn from their parents, their care-givers, their friends, and others who play a part in their upbringing. New immigrant families who settle in places such as San Francisco, Boston, New York, Los Angeles, etc. tend to live in proximity to others who speak their language (especially their own dialects), consume the same food, (especially food from the same region), and share similar traditions and habits.

Are Chinese families performing their functions in the same way as their Western counterparts? There are many functions performed in a family. The new immigrants have a tendency to live close by each other. One reason is that there might be limited areas in which affordable rental properties are available to new immigrant families with fewer resources. Another reason is that close proximity might be a way of sharing family resources as well as family functions such as shared child caring responsibility. Are more Chinese children exposed to multiple care-givers than their American counterparts? How do they relate to those care-givers?

One of the major functions in a family is socialization. Are children who are brought up with other children in a household with multiple care-givers better prepared to socialize on their own than those who have a smaller circle? In some neighborhoods, children are heavily influenced by their extended family members, from grandparents to neighbors. In some communities, children are brought up by their parents. The unitization of families might have changed the relationship between children and their extended family members in urban inner-cities more so than in rural areas. Children in new immigrant families often live in households where there are multiple care-givers. Those children need to learn how to socialize with other children and the care-givers. Some of them learn to provide shared care-giving responsibility to the younger children as they grow older. They play out roles of providing academic tutoring to the younger children, and they are expected to be good role models.

Close proximity has the advantage of looking out for each other, cooking for the other people's children if needed, shopping for each other, and sharing some of the child caring responsibility. Child caring responsibility is a tall order as many new immigrants settle in some economically deprived areas where crime might be more prevalent than in well-to-do areas. Furthermore, many of these new immigrants share the same dream, namely witnessing their own children having the opportunity to earn better wages, to obtain a higher education, and to gain the respect and rights of mainstream Americans.

This child caring responsibility is not likely to be taken lightly by these new immigrants. By the same token, sharing some of the child caring responsibility with a domestic helper from another country with a different values orientation would be a task that would involve careful screening, close monitoring, and quick intervention if parents have a concern.

(ii) Changing Roles and Functions in a Family

Is the division of labor in a Chinese family clearly defined, and are the role distinctions between males and females flexible? One of the major concerns among Chinese parents is the children's educational achievement. Who is responsible for tutoring, mentoring, and encouraging their children in academic performance? Who is responsible for disciplining their children? Academic achievement and the avoidance of socializing with children with behavioral problems are two major concerns. This is especially true for some new immigrant families who live in poverty-ridden areas in inner-cities such as New York Chinatown, where youth gang activities have been well documented in the mass media.

In a family, each member has certain roles to play and certain obligations to fulfill. Are the roles clearly defined for each member? Is there role diffusion? If so, who has the final say? The areas that will be examined in this paper center around the decision-making processes in a family. A family sets norms, establishes guidance for the young, and provides for the old and the sick. If those are some functions that a family performs, one needs to examine how those functions are assigned among its members. Each member has certain primary functions and designated roles to play. Each family decides what roles are to be performed by its members.

One needs to understand that extended family members and friends also play a role in making decisions as there is a tendency for family members to live within close proximity to each other. Family members and friends who share household responsibilities such as caring for the young, which includes cooking, supervision and socialization, might have a bigger say in making decisions on family matters, especially those affecting the children. Some of the children who are socialized together might be related in a way that is unfamiliar to workers of another culture. Some Chinese people in Chinatown go to associations whose members share the same surnames. Some associations have members coming from the same regions. Those are established organizations that can be found in most established Chinatowns in the nation from New York to San Francisco. Many of these organizations play out a mutual help function for new immigrants.

It is not unusual for Chinese parents to desire their children to be bi-lingual and bi-cultural. In many inner cities, Chinese schools are established. What would Chinese parents expect their children to learn from a Chinese school? Is it a question of learning the Chinese language? If so, would children still learn the Chinese language in a class taught in a regular school? Does the Chinese school teach not just the language but through socialization among the participants also serve a function in preserving the values, ideologies, customs, and habits of the Chinese culture?

Family and clan associations are found in many Chinatowns in cities known for early day Chinese settlers, including New York, Boston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. These associations serve the functions of providing socialization activities at times such as Chinese New Year, of giving an identity and a sense of affiliation to those who are somewhat lost in a new place, of rendering mutual support for those who require services, etc. The members share similar values, ideologies, customs, and habits. Societal expectations and norms provide guidance for individual behavior and interaction with others.

(iii) Changes in Values and Relationships

In examining what functions are in the domain of a family and who is responsible for performing those functions, one expects that those issues are defined differently from one culture to another. In a society where individuals place the welfare of the family as a whole above that of themselves, their sense of family affiliation, attachment, obligations, and commitment are expected to be greater than individuals who place individual freedom ahead of family welfare.

Does the client's family function as a unit or does it operate as a collectivity of individuals, each making his/her own decisions? If a client also makes decisions in conjunction with other members, a therapist needs to examine which types of decisions are made in consultation with other significant members.

A society that places heavy emphasis on individualism may perceive family relationships differently from a society that is influenced by the teaching of Confucius, which focuses on interdependence and a harmonious relationship with others in a society. The eagerness to search for one's identify and one's accomplishment might be perceived as secondary to the accomplishment of one's family as a whole. Authors such as Francis Hsu wrote about the influences of traditions, customs, and beliefs of their ancestors on Chinese, mostly those in America. (Francis Hsu's Under the Ancestor's Shadows) Would clients coming from a culture that emphasizes a harmonious relationship with nature and the welfare of one's collectivities perceive family obligations and commitments differently from someone who does not have such an orientation? Would those who believe in family obligations and commitment provide more support to family members/friends who are undergoing a drug addiction rehabilitation program, to family members/friends who suffer from a physical or mental disability, or to family members/friends who need a temporary shelter? Would the same clients who believe in family obligations and commitments feel greater disappointment when they do not get the types of support from their family members/friends?

(iv) Family Adaptation to Changes in Family Structure and Interpersonal Relationships

When a family is getting help with child care, one concern has to be in the area of the relationship between the child and his/her care-givers. It is not unusual for Chinese parents to desire their children to be bi-lingual and bi-cultural. In many inner cities, Chinese schools are established. What would Chinese parents expect their children to learn from a Chinese school? Is it a question of learning the Chinese language? If so, would children still learn the Chinese language in a class taught in a regular school? Does the Chinese school teach not just the language but through socialization among the participants also serve a function in preserving the values, ideologies, customs, and habits of the Chinese culture?

In promoting family involvement in a social service agency in situations involving a child placement, a family member with PTSD, a family member with some physical or psychological condition, a homeless family member, or an elderly family member unable to care for himself/herself while living independently in a community, a worker needs to examine what family functions are in question and whose responsibility it is to perform those functions.

Would new immigrants worry about the influences from schools, from friends, from neighbors, from the other children with whom they do homework, from older children who mentor their academic work, and from the care-givers who may or may not be related to them?

What strategies have been used by parents to monitor, to supervise, and to sanction unacceptable behaviors and attitudes? Literature from those such as Francis Hsu, Pearl Buck, and Rose Hum Lee has alluded to the extensive use of shame and guilt as a way to ensure conformity in some Chinese families. If shame and guilt have been used as a way to control, it implies that both parents and children share what is respected and acceptable. Those are acceptable norms and expected behaviors. One has to assume that all family members understand the expected and acceptable behaviors. Are those expected and acceptable behaviors well documented or are those unwritten rules that are shared by people from the same region?

III. Family Readiness in Participation in the Help-Seeking Process

(i) Understand Their Capacity to be Engaged

In the event that a family is involved in a human service organization, one expects the family to participate in the help-seeking process. The question becomes whether the family is ready to participate in the help-seeking process. What is expected from a family to participate? One common element is that the family needs to be able to discuss the concerns that bring them to the agency, to negotiate a plan where family members can make decisions with inputs from other family members, and to compromise on strategies that might not have been used before by the family. The openness and the willingness to negotiate are important. Furthermore, this is a process that takes place in the presence of outsiders.

There are limits and constraints for the workers who are charged with the responsibility to intervene. Some of these constraints come from the jurisdiction of intervention. Because of specialization of services, a family may have to meet with multiple workers in multiple offices. Each of those workers is charged with performing specific tasks. However, when a new immigrant family comes into contact with a human service organization, one wonders how much this family needs to be socialized so that they

understand the roles and functions of each of the workers, the expected level of participation of their family members, their right to disagree, and the rights of the workers and the agency to intervene.

Female members are often found to approach social service agencies for assistance regardless of the children's academic matters, socialization, etc. If workers have little success in engaging the fathers, should the workers interpret this behavior to be uncooperative? Understanding the functions, the role differentiation, and the power relationships among family members is a first step in developing a culturally sensitive working relationship with the clients and their family members.

There are grey areas to mediate over some family matters. This is particularly important if family participation is voluntary. In a time when human service intervention places greater emphasis on prevention than treatment, family participation is voluntary. How would the worker be able to navigate over family issues without understanding the values and ideologies that affect family functioning, the philosophy behind the state intervention, and the jurisdiction that is vested in the workers?

Chinese slogans such as "disease comes through the mouth and problems come out of the mouth" are an indication that one needs to be prudent in expressing oneself. Another Chinese slogan is "a harmonious family is a self-sufficient family." Those are slogans that emphasize a harmonious relationship among family members and a restraint on expressing one's opinions. If those are values treasured by a Chinese family, a discussion of family matters and relationship issues to an outsider might be problematic.

A discussion with the clients that provides an orientation of the social service agency, the roles of the workers, the expected behavior of the clients, the rationale of family participation, and the areas of focus in the therapeutic sessions would be beneficial to clients and their families. In the absence of such an orientation, many Chinese clients fail to fully participate. Socialization of the clients into their client roles has been advocated.

(ii) Level of Engagement: Who and To What Extent

Children in many Chinese families understand the sacrifice made by their parents, and they understand that they have the educational opportunity and upward mobility that their parents lack. In some studies, the role reversal takes place with the children graduating from some prestigious universities, making mainstream salaries, and assimilating in the mainstream American culture while their parents never possess such opportunities. In the process of becoming assimilated, the children often encounter the good and bad of bi-culturality.

Are Chinese families capable of being engaged in a confrontational style of engagement? Does problem-solving need to be confrontational? What methods have been employed by parents in disciplining their children? What methods have parents used to motivate their children in doing well in school? Chinese parents have been known to use guilt in discipline. The concern for not bringing shame to the family may be a powerful tool in discipline. Would this tool be useful for some but not for others?

On one hand, family members coming from families that have clearly defined roles and functions might suggest that some members would have the power and authority to make decisions on certain family matters. On the other hand, family members coming from families that believe that all members have comparable rights on all family matters might suggest that all members, regardless of age, gender, or educational achievement would have similar problem-solving capacity. In some families, male members are expected to deal with matters outside the family while female members have a bigger say in family matters.

Talk therapists rely on verbal communication to gain an understanding of their clients. One assumption is that clients are capable of and are familiar with discussing their feelings in a manner that both parties can understand. Studies have shown that Chinese clients are not good candidates in a talk therapy as they seldom volunteer information.

One wonders whether talking about one's feelings falls into the category of discursive knowledge. "According to the structuration theory three basic kinds of social knowledge are available to the human factor. The first is termed mutual knowledge – that is, knowledge that people who have been raised in the same socializing community possess in common." (Giddens, 1987; Kondrat, (2002))

One wonders whether Chinese clients rely more on practical knowledge where family members understand their roles, their role expectations, and their positions in the family. Those roles and

obligations are not necessarily discussed or negotiated in the family. If that understanding is implicit in the ways family members conduct themselves, service providers should make an effort to gain an understanding of that knowledge.

In discussing the structural issues of Chinese families, one tends to rely more on the moral rights of the individuals. The moral rights of individuals are often guided by one's obligations and commitments to one's family. "In structuration theory, power is one of the most central variables." (Konrat, 2002:441)

(iii) Learn from Clients: Understand their Viewpoints

Therapists have been questioning for decades about what needs to be done to reach out to multi-problem families who might not share the same viewpoints or perspectives as their talk therapists. Should clients gain a better understanding as to what it would take to become better clients? What makes a good intervention? Who makes such an assessment?

Studies that focused on clients' assessment rather than that of the service providers found that clients felt that treatment success is associated with a trustful relationship with service providers. What makes a trustful relationship? It appears that clients did not identify the knowledge or skills of service providers. Clients appreciate service providers who tailor-make an intervention to meet the specific needs of the clients and their families. These two factors might provide an additional challenge to service providers who provide services to clients with different cultural orientations. A trustful relationship can only be attained if both clients and service providers understand what constitutes a good therapeutic relationship. Service providers who are charged with the task of working with families of different cultural backgrounds must understand the ways tasks are organized, the ways tasks are assigned to different family members, the ways disagreements and conflicts are handled, and the ways family relationships and harmony are maintained.

It appears that clients appreciate efforts made by service workers to gain a better understanding of their needs and those of their families. Clients appreciate that service providers make themselves accessible and treat them as friends rather than as clients. This suggests that clients appreciate the friendship, informality, and a relationship based on trust, respect, and understanding. In other words, clients appreciate the efforts made by service providers to reach out to them and to their families.

Reaching out to clients and to their families requires a basic understanding of the ways clients deal with problems with other family members. Studies indicate that a worker's
"… willingness to help and be with the family; support, encouragement, and listening; allowing opportunity for the full expression of feelings; and provision of concrete services" are important attributes to treatment success (Benvenisti, R. & Yekel, H. (1986); Ribner, D. and Knei-Paz, C. (2002)).

(iv) Establish a Trustful Relationship

Those personal or professional demeanors are as or more important than a worker's knowledge, skills, and expertise. Does that mean that workers working with clients of different cultural orientations should make an effort to understand what matters most to their clients? If the worker-client relationship is a pre-requisite to a successful therapeutic encounter, engaging clients and building a trustful relationship might be the first step. One wonders whether the failure to establish this trustful relationship with clients leads to pre-mature termination of services.

Treatment success has also been found with regard to the therapeutic alliance (Ribner and Knei-Paz, 2002:380). It appears that Chinese clients who approach an agency expect to get concrete services and some direction and guidance. The engagement in talking about one's feelings might be important for the service providers, but would this perspective be shared with their clients? Do Chinese clients feel that they are getting the therapeutic alliance with their service providers? Are they bombarded with their rights as clients, their rights as parents, the rights of their children, the rights of a state intervention, and other rights? Would Chinese clients who fail to understand the roles of the agency, the roles of the workers, and their own roles as clients be able to form a trustful relationship with the service providers and with the agency?

(v) Socialize Clients to Agency's Services

A successful intervention is one in which the clients understand what they are expected to do. It is the responsibility of the clients to gain a better understanding of their roles and the tasks that they need to

perform to make the intervention successful. In order to have a successful encounter, it is the responsibility of the service providers to gain a better understanding of what their clients understand and the level of engagement of their clients and the significant family members. There is a responsibility to facilitate a chance for clients and service providers to establish a trustful relationship in order to minimize misunderstandings and misperceptions with respect to the intervention.

One study indicated that there are structural issues in the service delivery system that have created clients' misconceptions about the agency. "Aging Chinese immigrants reported difficulties accessing services because of communication barriers such as language incompatibility, lack of cultural competence on the part of the service providers, and logistical problems in the service delivery system. These and other factors may elicit negative perceptions of disrespectful, and not useful." (Lai, D. & Chau, S.2007)

The rules of the land are dictated by different communities and neighborhoods. One understands that government intervention into family matters has not been common. "...rules are the structuring properties of various systems." (Cohen, 1987) Rules define how resources should be allocated and relationships arranged. Rules can be procedural or moral. Procedural rules define how something is to be done; moral rules define rights, duties, and obligations." (Gidden, 1987; Konrat, 2002; 442)

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A Second Longitudinal Snapshot of RTI Implementation in Texas Public Elementary Schools

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The response to intervention (RTI) model is being implemented in elementary schools nationwide to reform remediation practices in general education. RTI refers to an array of procedures used to determine if and how students respond to specific changes in instruction. RTI is often used within a problem-solving model to help identify effective instructional strategies and evaluate their effectiveness (Canter, 2006). RTI is conceptualized as a research-based, multitiered system of intervention to (a) prevent the misattribution of specific learning disabilities to students who are struggling academically due inadequate access to effective instruction and (b) facilitate the accurate identification of learning disabilities for students when inadequate instruction has been eliminated as an explanation for failure (Fuchs & Fuchs, 2007).

Tier I is the foundation and contains the core curriculum (both academic and behavioral), which should be effective for 80–85% of the school population. Tier I interventions focus on group interventions for all students in a school and are characterized as preventative and proactive (Speece & Case, 2001; Texas Classroom Teachers Association [TCTA], 2008; Vaughn, Linan-Thompson, & Hickman-Davis, 2003). Tier II interventions serve approximately 15% of students and are targeted group interventions. Students continue to receive Tier I instruction in addition to Tier II interventions. Based on performance data, students move fluidly between Tiers I and II (TCTA, 2008). Tier III serves approximately 5% of students and should include both special education and general education options (TCTA, 2008). The third tier creates intensive instructional interventions to increase an individual student's rate of progress (National Association of State Directors of Special Education, 2006).

The challenges and obstacles faced in the process of RTI implementation vary considerably from school to school, due to different resources, teacher strengths, and levels of administrative involvement (Council for Exceptional Children, 2007; Samuels, 2008). Important considerations for schools considering a school- or district-wide RTI initiative include steps such as taking stock of available resources, carefully mapping out the school schedule to establish any aspects that are inflexible, identifying constraints to the schedule, and filling in a school schedule grid to establish dedicated time and staff for supplemental instruction (Scierka & Silberglitt, 2007). Potential pitfalls of implementing an RTI model can be avoided by viewing RTI as a systems-wide change that will require ongoing professional development and coaching to maintain a sustained RTI focus (Hall, 2009).

Fuchs and Fuchs (2007) identified six major decision areas faced by schools in implementing RTI models: (a) how many tiers of intervention to use, (b) how to identify or target students for preventative intervention, (c) the nature of the preventative intervention, (d) how to classify students' RTI, (e) the nature of the multidisciplinary evaluation preceding a referral to special education, and (f) the function and design of special education programs. Taking into consideration the logistical demands schools face in implementing an RTI program, researchers and commentators have argued that the expertise of special education professionals could play a vital role within the RTI model to effect positive change prior to a student being referred to special education (Canter, 2006; Lynch, Simpson, & Swicegood, 2008; Stephens, Kinnison, Naquin, & Rueter, 2007). In 2006, Canter identified new, expanded RTI roles for

school psychologists within the areas of system design, team collaboration, and individual student needs. Stephens et al. expanded on this research by identifying six roles that could be filled by educational diagnosticians.

The authors of this article have undertaken a 10-year longitudinal research effort in order to understand how Texas elementary schools transition to the very complex RTI model. RTI survey research is being conducted every other year for a decade. In 2008, faculty in the Special Education program at Stephen F. Austin State University surveyed Texas elementary school campuses regarding their RTI practices. From this study, we learned how Texas was beginning to implement the RTI method for identifying and assisting students with learning difficulties in order to improve student achievement. During the Fall 2009 semester, this study was conducted as a follow up with elementary campus Student Assistance Team members in order to assess recent developments in the ongoing process of RTI implementation.

Texas elementary schools aggressively emphasize improving student learning outcomes, so we predict that elementary schools will report more organized and advanced RTI implementation practices than those RTI practices reported during the 2007–2008 school year. Elementary school professionals are expected to be more proficient and confident in their ability to analyze universal screening and progress-monitoring data and make instructional decisions based on the data. We predict that RTI implementation challenges will be related more to the delivery of the RTI program than to the beginning or RTI program start-up issues. Finally, we predict that implementation of an RTI program on elementary campuses will begin to have a positive impact on the quality and quantity of student referrals to special education.

Method

Participants

After obtaining Institutional Review Board approval, we contacted a minimum of 15 Texas public schools districts from each of the 20 Educational Service Center regions in Texas for participation in the study. The individuals targeted for participation in this study were elementary campus Student Assistance Team members who had duties such as analyzing student data and identifying academic weaknesses, developing intervention or tier plans, and monitoring the progress of students at risk of not making adequate yearly progress. The researchers used the Texas Education Agency (TEA) Texas School Directory 2009–2010 to target larger districts within each region (school enrollment of 15,000 or more students for participation in this study). Next, smaller school districts within each region were chosen at random for participation in the study. A total of 160 respondents completed the survey: 43% administrators (principals or assistant principals), 21% teachers (general, special, or English as a second language [ESL]), 27% specialists (RTI coordinator, reading, math, or curriculum), and 9% school counselors. The majority of respondents were female (83%) and Caucasian (75%). Survey participation was obtained from 60 Texas public school districts in 19 of Texas's 20 Education Service Center regions. The largest response rates were from East Texas Education Service Center Regions IV (15%), VI (11%), and VII (9%); Central Texas Education Service Center Region XIII (14%), North Texas Education Service Center Regions X (9%) and XI (9%); and South Texas Education Service Center Region II (9%). Thirty-four percent of the respondents (n = 54) were from a large school district classified as 5A (enrollment of 2,085 or more students in Grades 8–11), and 30% (n = 47) were from a district classified as 4A (980–2,084 students in Grades 8–11). The remainder (n = 58) were from smaller school districts (1A–3A). Sixty-three percent of the respondents were working on elementary campuses that had been implementing an RTI program for 2 or fewer years.

Materials

The 2009–2010 Survey of Elementary Student Assistance Teams on RTI Practices was developed by the authors based upon a review of the literature and research conducted by Mask and McGill (2010). The 90-item, self-administered, online survey was accessed by respondents via an e-mailed web link and was comprised of nine sections, with 39 Likert-scale items ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*), 42 multiple-choice items, and nine open-ended items. Section I consisted of demographic questions (e.g., gender, job title, years of RTI implementation experience). Section II inquired about elementary campus characteristics such as stage of RTI implementation, areas in which an RTI program was being implemented, and the typical planning period before implementing an RTI model. Sections III–

V consisted of items that addressed the practices at each tier of intervention (e.g., curriculum, teacher responsibilities, method for identifying students for lower tiers, approaches for differentiating instruction for culturally and linguistically diverse students). Section VI inquired about the availability of RTI assistance on the campus and the respondent's confidence to complete RTI tasks (e.g., progress monitoring, data analysis, planning and delivering tier lessons). Section VII addressed respondents' RTI training needs (e.g., RTI framework and research-based instructional strategies for reading, mathematics, writing, and behavior). Section VIII consisted of items that addressed the respondent's perceived efficacy of RTI theory and the RTI program being implemented on the campus. Section IX consisted of open-ended questions regarding changes in job responsibilities as a result of implementing an RTI program, least and most favorite tasks associated with implementing an RTI model, and recommendations for improving the RTI process. Seven constructs were created from the Likert-scale survey items. Consistency between survey items within each construct was determined using Cronbach's alpha, as follows: (a) Written RTI Guidelines, .88; (b) RTI Training, .92; (c) RTI Analysis Skills, .76; (d) Time for RTI Tasks, .87; (e) Effectiveness of Tier Practices, .78; (f) Adequacy of RTI Resources, .85; and (g) Available Assistance and Confidence to Complete RTI Tasks, .92.

Data Analysis

We employed a correlational design. Most of the major study variables of interest were addressed by multiple survey items; analysis of the data was facilitated by creating dummy variables to capture each of the constructs being measured in the survey. For example, a dummy variable for the construct of Adequacy of RTI Resources was created by summing a respondent's ratings on all four items related to a campus having adequate RTI training and implementation materials, then dividing by the total number of items summed, or four in this case. Chi-square tests were conducted to determine any significant differences between two dichotomous variables (i.e., % agreement, % disagreement). Significant chi-square findings were further investigated by an independent-samples *t* tests or an analysis of variance (ANOVA). For some *t* test analyses, respondents were combined to create two job title groups (e.g., administrators and nonadministrators). This same method was used to create group comparisons between campuses implementing an RTI model for 2 or fewer years and campuses that had implemented an RTI model for 3 or more years. For some ANOVA, respondents were combined again by job title in order to determine any mean differences among administrators, teachers, and specialists. The Tukey post hoc method was utilized with significance set at .05.

Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated among all major study variables. A series of multiple regression analyses was conducted to assess the extent to which each of the major variables in the study (e.g., Adequacy of RTI Resources), serving as the criterion variable, was influenced by the others (functioning as the independent or predictor variables in the analysis). Assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance appear to be met in the multiple regression analyses. Qualitative methods were utilized for open-ended survey responses.

Results

RTI Model Characteristics

Eighty-six percent of the respondents indicated that their elementary campus was implementing a RTI model with three tiers. The reported areas of RTI implementation included reading (92%), mathematics (83%), and behavior (70%). The most frequently reported planning periods before implementing an RTI model for reading were 1 year (33%), 3 months (14%), and 6 weeks (23%). The reported planning periods for mathematics were comparable. Seventy-five percent of the respondents worked on campuses that administered a universal screening assessment two to three times per school year. The most commonly used standardized reading screening assessments included the Texas Primary Reading Inventory (33%) and benchmarks using released Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills tests (24%). Respondents (50%) also reported the use of benchmarks using released Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills tests in mathematics. The majority of respondents (89%) indicated that progress monitoring occurs between universal screening measures for students with identified deficit skills. When respondents were asked to choose a percentile rank that defined low performance and consideration for Tier II intervention, the majority of respondents (81%) chose percentile ranks in the 20% or below range.

Construct 1: Written RTI Guidelines

The majority of respondents indicated that their campus has written RTI guidelines that specify the roles, responsibilities, and practices at each tier of intervention. Written intervention plans are also being created for students participating in the Tier II and III programs. Specifically, 71% agreed that written guidelines existed on the RTI framework as well as examples of acceptable RTI progress-monitoring data for each tier. Similarly, 72% agreed that written plans were created for each student in Tier II and 80% agreed that such plans were created for each student in Tier III.

An independent-samples *t* test determined significant mean differences between administrators and nonadministrators with regards to whether or not written intervention plans were in place for students in Tier II, $t(134) = -2.60$, $p = \leq .05$. Nonadministrators tended to disagree, whereas administrators reported having these written plans. This same trend continued with nonadministrators disagreeing that there were guidelines and examples of RTI documentation that substantiates a student being identified as a nonresponder, $t(127) = -2.70$, $p = .05$. Open-ended responses also indicated a need for uniform guidelines, forms, and processes. One respondent stated, "We need a *universal* model so everyone can be on the same page and not trying to reinvent the wheel."

Construct 2: RTI Training

The RTI Training construct consisted of eight Likert-scale items that inquired about a respondent benefiting from additional training on the RTI framework, research-based instructional strategies (reading and mathematics), and curriculum-based measurement. On all of the training items in this construct, the majority of respondents (76–87%) agreed that they would benefit for additional training. Agreement was considered responses from *agree a little* to *agree strongly*. Open-ended responses overwhelmingly requested training on all aspects of RTI implementation. One of the most frequently mentioned training areas included research-based instruction for mathematics and reading. One administrator stated, "We need to keep adding to teachers' 'toolbelts' of strategies which are research-based and effective." Another respondent stated, "I would like a 'shopping list' of research-based strategies and interventions that teachers could use."

Construct 3: RTI Analysis Skills

Construct 3 consisted of three Likert-scale items about respondents' possessing the data analysis skills needed throughout the tiers. The majority of respondents (85%) agreed that they possessed the skills to analyze universal screening data and use this information to make instructional decisions. The percent of agreement was comparable for having the skills to analyze progress-monitoring data (88%). The percentage of agreement fell slightly (76%) when respondents were asked about their skill to plan and deliver Tier III instruction and intervention. When respondents were asked how their job duties have changed as a result of implementing RTI, progress monitoring and documentation responsibilities were mentioned repeatedly. One assistant principal stated that RTI implementation has allowed the campus to be proactive rather than reactive. Another respondent stated, "With RTI I have more data to keep up with and more graphs to plot with aimlines." The usefulness of technology for progress monitoring was also a theme in the open-ended responses. Respondents talked about the efficiency of progress-monitoring software programs and being able to hot sync data from the palm pilot to the computer, especially when serving large numbers of students.

Construct 4: Time for RTI Tasks

Specific concerns related to Tier III delivery emerged when respondents were asked about having the time to complete RTI tasks. Only about half (53%) of respondents agreed, even a little, that they have the time and opportunity to plan effective Tier III lessons and create intervention materials. This trend continued with respect to having the time to provide adequate Tier III instruction (see Table 1). Regarding progress monitoring, 67% and 68% of respondents, respectively, reported having time to complete progress monitoring for at-risk students and Tier II students.

[TABLE 1 HERE]

To investigate whether the issues surrounding Tier III delivery were RTI implementation start-up issues rather than long-term issues for campuses, an independent-samples *t* test was conducted for the construct of Time for RTI Tasks to compare respondents who had been implementing RTI for 2 or fewer

years with those reporting 3 or more years of RTI implementation. The mean difference between these groups was not significant, $t(141) = -.233$, $p = .82$. This finding suggests that having adequate time for Tier III intervention is difficult for elementary campuses regardless of the years of RTI implementation. The dilemma schools face regarding Tier III intervention was summed up by a respondent: "The number of students needing Tier III intervention exceeds the interventionist's group limits." Numerous respondents voiced concerns and frustration about not having adequate time for RTI tasks and listed time as one of the biggest challenges related to RTI implementation. A multiple regression analysis revealed that possessing RTI Analysis Skills (Construct 3) was a significant predictor of respondents' indicating that they had Time for RTI Tasks, $\beta[128] = .264$, $p < .01$. This finding supports the need for continued professional development in the RTI framework and specific skills needed for tier intervention.

Construct 5: Effectiveness of Tier Practices

Items in Construct 5 asked respondents about the quality of Tier I–III instruction for the culturally and linguistically diverse students on their campuses; percentage agreement was 76% for Tier I, 79% for Tier II, but only 66% for Tier III. When asked if students they serve were feeling the benefit of the extra tier instruction, agreement by tier was 90% for Tier II and 82% for Tier III.

Again, disagreement resurfaced for Tier III instruction and its adequacy for culturally and linguistically diverse students, with about a third of the respondents disagreeing with this statement. An ANOVA revealed significant mean differences between specialists (RTI, reading, math, and curriculum specialists) and administrators (principals and assistant principals) regarding their view of the effectiveness of Tier I practices for culturally and linguistically diverse students, $f = 8.68$ (2, 140), $p < .001$. Specialists tended to disagree that Tier I practices were effective for their culturally and linguistically diverse students, whereas administrators reported effective Tier I practices. Significant mean difference also existed between teachers (ESL or bilingual, special education, and general education teachers) and administrators regarding their views of the effectiveness of Tier II practices for culturally and linguistically diverse students, $f = 4.56$ (2, 133), $p < .05$. Teachers tended to disagree that the campuses Tier II practices were effective for culturally and linguistically diverse students, whereas administrators tended to report effective Tier II practices. Open-ended responses indicated a clear need for bilingual personnel to help with reading and mathematics interventions as well as the need for bilingual intervention programs and materials.

Construct 6: Adequacy of RTI Resources

The majority of respondents agreed that their campus had adequate RTI materials for Tier II (65%) and III (61%) interventions; however, these percentages were lower than the agreement percentages for all previous constructs. This downward trend in agreement levels continued with questions that addressed having adequate staff on the campus to achieve all major Tier II (57%) and Tier III (52%) program goals.

The open-ended responses regarding the adequacy of RTI resources were inundated with expressions of dissatisfaction with the current staffing levels on the campus. Respondents identified a limited capacity of staff for the implementation of Tiers II and III as one of the biggest challenges related to RTI implementation. A multiple regression analysis showed the construct of Adequacy of RTI Resources was a predictor of the constructs of RTI Analysis Skills (inverse relationship), Time for RTI Tasks, and perceived Effectiveness of Tier Practices (see Table 2).

[TABLE 2 HERE]

Apparently, respondents who reported possessing RTI analysis skills were less convinced of the adequacy of their campuses RTI resources ($p < .01$). Respondents who reported having time to complete RTI tasks also tended to have a positive view on the adequacy of RTI resources on their campus ($p < .001$). Additionally, respondents who reported effective tier practices (for diverse students) and student benefit also tended to believe in the adequacy of RTI resources ($p < .001$).

Construct 7: Assistance Available and Confidence to Complete RTI Tasks

The majority of respondents agreed with each of the questions regarding available assistance and confidence to complete RTI tasks (see Table 3). It was notable that 32% of the respondents disagreed that they receive the assistance they need to feel confident in their ability to complete RTI progress monitoring. An ANOVA revealed significant mean differences among groups (teachers, specialists, and

administrators) regarding their views of available assistance and confidence to complete RTI progress-monitoring tasks, $f = 5.34$ (2, 126), $p = .05$. Teachers tended to disagree that they had assistance available and confidence to complete RTI progress-monitoring tasks, whereas specialists and administrators reported having such assistance and confidence. A multiple regression analysis showed the construct of having assistance available and confidence to complete RTI tasks to be a predictor of each of the major study variables (see Table 4).

[TABLES 3 & 4 HERE]

The data indicated that respondents who reported having RTI assistance available and confidence to complete these tasks also tended to have a positive view of their personal RTI skills and the campus's RTI implementation practices and resources. These results emphasize the importance of having RTI assistance available to elementary educators so they feel confident to complete RTI tasks, which in turn will positively impact the educators' perceptions of other important aspects of RTI implementation.

General Themes

Other significant themes that emerged from analysis of the open-ended survey questions included RTI support from special education personnel (i.e., educational diagnosticians, school psychologists), RTI impact on special education referrals, and collaboration. In the area of RTI support from special education personnel, themes fell into two categories: (a) presence throughout the RTI process and (b) assistance with intervention strategies. In the area of referrals to special education, themes formed into three categories: (a) reduction in number of special education referrals, (b) student growth, and (c) a delay in special education referrals.

Special education support. Respondents very clearly stated that they desired special education support personnel (i.e., educational diagnosticians and school psychologists) to be involved throughout the RTI process. Respondents wanted special education personnel to be familiar with the campuses RTI components and practices. The expertise and support of special education personnel was needed in RTI team meetings. Presence in classroom was also desired so that special education personnel could assist with tier interventions, conduct formal and informal assessments of students, and make recommendations.

Special education referrals. Most respondents readily indicated that implementing an RTI model had reduced the number of student referrals made to special education. Respondents went on to say that children were being remediated without the need for specialized services and that they enjoyed seeing the students gain confidence in their skills. Some of the most favorite tasks reported by respondents were working with students, seeing students make academic gains and thus being removed from the lower tiers.

Conversely, and somewhat disconcertingly, another theme indicated that the implementation of an RTI model had only *delayed* referrals to special education. Some respondents indicated that a commonsense approach to RTI was being ignored and that students suspected of more severe cognitive deficits and speech and language delays were being required to "wait out" the tier processes. Other respondents identified an increase in the number of dyslexia and Section 504 referrals as a result of implementing and RTI model. A cluster of comments suggested that RTI was viewed as a roadblock to special education: "It has stopped ALL referrals," "[special education] department has said that we cannot refer anyone," "We are limited to two referrals per school year," and "It has delayed referrals until the third grade and there have been some students who no longer are suspected of having a disability while others did not get the special education support they needed."

Collaboration. Respondents indicated that RTI implementation has increased teacher collaboration. Collaboration was listed as one of the favorite tasks related to the RTI process. Respondents enjoyed brainstorming interventions, discussing instruction, and working with other teachers to address student needs. Respondents also indicated that professional growth was occurring as a result of these collaborative efforts. One respondent stated, "I love the collaboration and the sense of working together with the team (teachers, specialists, parents) in RTI meetings."

Discussion

Texas elementary school staff report that they are still in the beginning stages of RTI implementation; however, they are very rapidly developing the skills necessary to implement an effective and efficient RTI program. Elementary educators are working steadily to overcome the challenges and obstacles faced by

RTI implementation. The data from the current study indicate progress towards implementing an RTI model across Texas and a willingness to learn from other districts that are further along in this RTI implementation endeavor. Due to this study being Part 2 of a longitudinal study that monitors how Texas elementary schools transition to an RTI model, a comparison between responses from the current RTI study and the 2007–2008 RTI study conducted by Mask and McGill will be immersed throughout this discussion.

RTI Model Characteristics

The implementation of a three-tier RTI model in Texas elementary schools is cited consistently between the current RTI study and Mask and McGill's 2007–2008 RTI study. In 2009–2010 elementary campuses reported RTI implementation in the areas of reading (92%), mathematics (83%), and behavior (70%). These percentages suggest that Texas elementary schools participating in this study are moving towards the widespread use of an RTI model, compared to RTI implementation practices in 2007–2008, when campus members reported lower percentages of implementation of an RTI model in reading (86%), mathematics (54%), and behavior (40%). Seventy-five percent of the respondents in the current study worked on campuses that administered a universal screening assessment two to three times per school year. This finding is identical to the 2007–2008 RTI study (Mask & McGill, 2010). The importance of continued progress monitoring, between universal screening administrations, is apparent by the majority of respondents (67%) indicating that progress monitoring occurs for at-risk students with identified deficit skills. This practice aligns with the findings of Compton, Fuchs, Fuchs, and Bryant (2006) that the number of students who are identified for Tier II, who do not actually need Tier II, can be reduced substantially or even eliminated when progress monitoring continues for at least 5 weeks. The majority (81%) of respondents in the current study defined potential Tier II students as having a universal screening percentile rank of 20% or below. The respondents in the 2007–2008 RTI study were somewhat indecisive about defining low performers; the majority of respondents (86%) indicated that students performing in the 30% or below range on a universal screener were targeted for Tier II intervention.

RTI Written Guidelines

The majority of respondents in the current study agreed that RTI written guidelines were in place on their campus. This is an improvement from the 2007–2008 RTI study, when respondents indicated a need for an RTI framework or model to follow that would clarify and differentiate between tiers in areas such as teacher responsibilities, research-based interventions, growth-rate criteria, and length of time a student participates in each tier (Mask & McGill, 2010). This comparison suggests that by the 2009–2010 school year, Texas elementary schools had made progress towards creating RTI guidelines that clarified the roles and responsibilities at each tier of intervention.

However, administrators (principals and assistant principals) in the current study appear to be much more confident in and have a clearer understanding of their campuses RTI written guidelines (i.e., policies and procedures) than do nonadministrators (teachers and specialists). This disagreement could be due to a lack of fully understanding the guidelines rather than RTI guidelines being nonexistent. Hall (2009) noted providing limited professional development and coaching to staff as a potential RTI pitfall. This issue could be remedied by administrators' conducting periodic staff meetings or grade-level meetings in which they update their elementary staff on the campuses current RTI procedures, followed by the opportunity for teachers and specialists to ask questions. These periodic staff meetings could be enhanced by conducting short, in-class modeling sessions where teachers can see RTI tasks and procedures being implemented and obtain feedback on his or her current RTI practices or documentation. These coupled administrative efforts could alleviate misunderstandings or misconceptions surrounding the RTI guidelines and practices that exist on a campus.

RTI Training

The request for RTI training continues from the 2007–2008 RTI study to the present 2009–2010 RTI study. Meeting the RTI training needs of elementary school professionals will undoubtedly be an ongoing administrative effort. In order to achieve an effective, sustainable RTI implementation plan, administrators may seek to depend more heavily on the skills and training of special education professionals (National Association of School Psychologists, 2006). Some researchers and commentators

have argued that the expertise of special education professionals (i.e., educational diagnosticians and school psychologists) can play a vital role within the RTI model to effect positive change prior to a student being referred to special education (Canter, 2006; Lynch et al., 2008; Stephens et al., 2007). Stephens et al. specifically identified planning, designing, and providing staff training on the RTI process as one of the roles that the school psychologist or educational diagnostician could fulfill.

While respondents in both the current RTI study and the 2007–2008 RTI study requested training on research-based instructional strategies in the areas of reading and mathematics, it is thought that Texas reading initiatives such as the Reading First Teacher Academies and the Texas Reading First Higher Education Collaborative have been instrumental in helping Texas elementary educators develop and refine their skills in reading instruction and intervention. In order to meet the mathematics training and resource needs of its elementary educators, administrators could utilize mathematics resources provided by the TEA. Administrative support significantly improves the likelihood that a new instructional practice or policy will be implemented (National Association of State Directors of Special Education, 2006). Training efforts could begin with TEA's Texas Math Initiative, which focuses on four key areas: diagnosis, intervention, instructional support, and professional development. Kindergarten through Grade 2 diagnostic resources include two mathematics diagnostic tools with materials that are free of charge to Texas schools. For students in Grades 3–12, the initiative supports the Texas Math Diagnostic System, a web-based math skills diagnostic and instructional resource system (TEA, 2007). Other keys areas within the Texas Math Initiative include programs and funding for intensive math instructions for students in Grades K–8 as well as resources and training opportunities for teachers (TEA, 2007).

Administrators also may want to research comprehensive mathematics programs to support regular classroom instruction and progress-monitoring efforts, such as the KeyMath-3 Essential Resources or AIMSweb. The Key Math 3 Essential Resources aligns software test results to prepared lessons that include guided practice and independent materials (KeyMath, 2009). AIMSweb (2009) is a progress-monitoring system based on direct, frequent, and continuous student assessment.

RTI Analysis Skills

In the current RTI study, the majority of respondents indicated that they possess the skills necessary to analyze universal screening and progress-monitoring data and use this information to make instructional decisions. This is another area that reflects progress when compared to the results of the 2007–2008 RTI study, in which respondents specifically requested training in the area of progress monitoring and data interpretation, as well as examples of graphs and acceptable progress-monitoring documentation that could be used in Admission Review and Dismissal committee meetings (Mask & McGill, 2010). This information suggests that by the 2009–2010 school year district personnel were receiving RTI analysis training and felt confident in using these skills to make instructional decisions.

Time for RTI Tasks

Responses from the current RTI study suggest that elementary educators have been able to incorporate into their school schedule the RTI tasks of progress monitoring for Tier I and II students. However, issues with having time in the school schedule for planning and delivering adequate Tier III instruction were evident and not contingent on the years of experience the campus had with RTI implementation. This finding is consistent with the literature; Scierka and Silberglitt (2007) identified the school schedule and its inflexibility in providing additional instructional time for students as one of the most concrete hurdles schools face in implementing RTI. Hall (2009) also identified intervention time as a potential pitfall with RTI implementation and recommended that schools design a daily intervention block time in the master schedule.

Effectiveness of Tier Practices

Overall, respondents reported effective tier practices for culturally and linguistically diverse students. However, when the data were analyzed in more depth, specialists and teachers tended to disagree with administrators regarding the quality of tier instruction for this population of students. Research has indicated many issues and concerns to consider regarding implementation of RTI for all students, and for culturally and linguistically diverse students in particular, because the research on interventions and their

efficacy with these students is limited (Vaughn & Ortiz, 2009; Vaughn & Fuchs, 2003). Vaughn and Ortiz stressed,

> Due to a myriad of issues (e.g., adequacy of first language skills, low literacy in first language and English, lack of adequate instruction in either language, and first language not being shared by other students), there are no formulas or ready guidelines that can be easily provided for the assessment and treatment of reading deficits of English language learners (ELLs). (p. 3)

In order to address the RTI needs of ELL students on a campus, administrators must encourage teachers to seek professional development in order to enhance the teacher's knowledge and skill in working with ELLs. Vaughn and Ortiz stated that the more school personnel

> know about the development of oral language, early literacy, students' home language, contextual considerations, and the cultural background of students, the better informed they will be in making appropriate decisions about interpreting screening and assessment results and in designing appropriate interventions. (p. 3)

It should also be noted that a student whose performance is directly related to limited English proficiency may need a longer term set of interventions that do not include special education (National Association of State Directors of Special Education, 2006).

> Tier III interventions for ELLs need to be provided by a well-trained specialist such as a bilingual educator, an ESL teacher with a strong background in literacy, or a learning disability teacher with a strong background and understanding of the educational needs of ELLs. (Vaughn & Ortiz, 2009, pp. 6–7).

Vaughn and Ortiz also recommended that administrators support the creation of a "problem-solving team with knowledge and experience working with ELLs to facilitate decision making and to design instructional supports" (p. 3).

Adequacy of RTI Resources

Staffing limitations was identified as one of the biggest challenges related to RTI implementation. Respondents in the current RTI study were clearly disillusioned with the staffing demands required for implementing an effective RTI model. A recent study found that Texas school psychologists and educational diagnosticians have a high degree of interest in fostering the success of the RTI initiative. Special education personnel in this study were quite willing to participate in various types of RTI committee work at both the campus and district levels and to assume responsibility for other important RTI tasks; however, the caseload demands of these professionals was a significant impediment to their participation in their schools' RTI program (Mask, 2010). Administrators are encouraged to collaborate with special education directors to determine a way to reduce elementary special education professionals' caseload demands to accommodate this necessary and changing RTI role in the schools (Canter, 2006; Lynch et al., 2008; Stephens et al., 2007).

Assistance Available and Confidence to Complete RTI Tasks

This perception of having available RTI assistance and confidence to complete RTI tasks is paramount for the implementation of a successful RTI program. In this study, this construct had a domino affect on all other major study variables. Due to this effect, administrators must be willing to listen to and consider all innovative and nimble adaptations brainstormed by their elementary campus staff (Mask & McGill, 2010). Administrators are also encouraged to consider a significant, multifaceted administrative assistance agenda in order to meet the needs of personnel. Such an agenda, consistent with the RTI literature (Hall, 2009; Kovaleski & Glew, 2006; Kovaleski, Roble, & Agne, 2009; Kratochwill, Volpiansky, Clements, & Ball, 2007; Scierka & Silberglitt, 2007; Sugai & Horner, 2006; Vaughn & Fuchs, 2003), might include the following four elements:

1. View RTI implementation as a system-wide change that will require reconsideration of staffing, budgetary, and scheduling expectations.

2. Adjust scheduling and budgetary priorities to accommodate professional development training, including both RTI awareness and ongoing coaching regarding the specific roles each staff member will play in the RTI process.

3. Rethink the interactions among the various groups of education professionals on a campus to achieve a new level of cooperation among administrators, general education teachers and staff, and special education specialists and teachers.

4. Organize the master schedule to allow adequate time for tier remediation and opportunities for RTI staff communication and collaboration between and within grade levels.

Summary

Results from this study indicate that Texas elementary schools are making progress towards implementing a sound RTI model. The continued diligence of elementary educators is needed for RTI to have the intended positive impact on the academic performance of students. It is imperative that an elementary school's implementation of the model be conceptualized soundly and that the overall model and each of its components be communicated clearly to all Student Assistance Team members and other campus personnel. Once schools have transitioned wholly into the RTI process and are implementing RTI practices efficiently and effectively, RTI has the potential to meet its conceptual goals of reducing the number of inappropriate referrals to special education and identifying accurately children with a specific learning disability.

Limitations of the Study

Limitations of the study are typical of those associated with survey research. The respondents were Texas elementary Student Assistance Team members, so the results may not generalize to elementary campuses elsewhere. Moreover, responses are the perceptions of those volunteering to participate, which may differ substantially from the perceptions of other elementary campuses within the same district. The highest response rates were from large districts, classified as either being a 4A (30%) with a Grade 8–11 school enrollment of 980–2,084 students or 5A (34%) with a Grade 8–11 school enrollment of 2,085 or more students. Therefore, the results may not be representative of RTI practices in smaller districts.

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Table 1
Percentage of Respondents Agreeing With Survey Items

Item	% agree
Construct 1: Written RTI Guidelines	
Written guidelines on RTI framework (i.e., roles, responsibilities, tier practices)	71
Written intervention plans created for each student in Tier II	72
Written intervention plans created for each student in Tier III	80
Guidelines and examples of acceptable RTI progress-monitoring data (i.e., graphs, documentation) for each tier of intervention	71
Guidelines and examples of RTI documentation that substantiate whether a student is failing to respond to research-based instruction	72
Construct 3: RTI Analysis Skills	
Possess the skills to analyze universal screening data and use this information to make instructional decisions	85
Have the skills to analyze progress-monitoring data	88
Have the skills to plan and deliver Tier III instruction and intervention	76
Construct 4: Time for RTI Tasks	
Complete progress monitoring (in addition to universal screenings) for at-risk students	67
Complete progress monitoring for Tier II students	68
Time and opportunity to plan effective Tier III lessons and create intervention materials based on an analysis of student data	53
Time and opportunity to provide adequate Tier III instruction	51
Construct 5: Effectiveness of Tier Practices	
Quality of Tier I instruction and intervention is adequate for culturally and linguistically diverse students on campus	76
Students feel they are benefiting from the Tier II instruction	90
Quality of Tier II instruction and intervention is adequate for diverse students	79
Students feel they are benefiting from the Tier III instruction	82
Quality of Tier III instruction and intervention is adequate for diverse students	66
Construct 6: Adequacy of RTI Resources	
RTI training materials currently available are adequate to achieve all major Tier II program goals.	65
The staff available on my campus is sufficient to achieve all major Tier II program goals.	57
RTI training materials currently available are adequate to achieve all major Tier III program goals.	61
The staff available on campus is sufficient to achieve all major Tier III program goals.	52
Construct 7: Assistance Available and Confidence to Complete RTI Tasks	
To complete RTI progress-monitoring duties	68
To complete RTI data collection duties	74
To complete RTI data analysis duties	77
To plan and/or deliver Tier II lessons	80
To plan and/or deliver Tier III lessons	70
We work as a team to analyze progress-monitoring data.	86
Confident that in theory, the RTI program can be effective in remediating the academic deficiencies of a substantial number of students	90
Confident that the campus's current implementation of RTI will be effective in remediating the academic deficiencies of a substantial number of students	79
Confident that campus-level administrators are strongly invested in providing sufficient support to facilitate the major goals of the RTI program	91
Confident that district-level administrators are strongly invested in providing sufficient support to facilitate the major goals of the RTI program	81

Note. n = 134–137; for Construct 7, n = 129. Agree = Likert ratings of 4–6, from *agree a little* to *agree strongly*. RTI = response to intervention.

Table 2

Multiple Regression Assessing Perceived Adequacy of Response to Intervention (RTI) Resources as a Predictor of Variables

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β
RTI analysis skills	-.294	.091	-.249**
Time for RTI tasks	.269	.072	.287***
Effectiveness of tier practices	.581	.113	.441***

Note. $n = 128$.

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

Table 3

Percentage of Respondents Agreeing With Construct 7 Items: Assistance Available and Confidence to Complete RTI Tasks

Survey item	% agree
To complete RTI progress-monitoring duties	68
To complete RTI data collection duties	74
To complete RTI data analysis duties	77
To plan and/or deliver Tier II lessons	80
To plan and/or deliver Tier III lessons	70
We work as a team to analyze progress-monitoring data.	86
Confident that in theory, the RTI program can be effective in remediating the academic deficiencies of a substantial number of students	90
Confident that the campus's current implementation of RTI will be effective in remediating the academic deficiencies of a substantial number of students	79
Confident that campus-level administrators are strongly invested in providing sufficient support to facilitate the major goals of the RTI program	91
Confident that district-level administrators are strongly invested in providing sufficient support to facilitate the major goals of the RTI program	81

Note. $n = 129$. Agree = Likert ratings of 4–6, from *agree a little* to *agree strongly*.

Table 4

Multiple Regression Assessing Assistance Available and Confidence to Complete Response to Intervention (RTI) Tasks as a Predictor of Variables

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β
RTI written guidelines	.263	.041	.353***
RTI analysis skills	.165	.061	.176**
Time for RTI tasks	.134	.049	.180**
Effectiveness of tier practices	.214	.081	.204**
Adequacy of RTI resources	.165	.059	.208**
RTI training	.099	.044	.114*

Note. $n = 129$.

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Selling Civil Rights: Social Entrepreneurship and the Klanwatch Project

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The Southern Poverty Law Center has received widespread praise for its high profile judicial victories against Klan and various other white supremacy groups. Popular press accounts have recounted the stories of the plaintiffs who spurred these trials, as well as described the fascinating contours of the legal judgments that were rendered against these extremist groups (Kornbluth, 1987; Schmidt, 1987). Comparatively less, however, has been written about the origins of the SPLC or the internal political dynamics that led to the use of litigation-centered strategies now synonymous with the organization's efforts.

One of the SPLC's earliest projects was an investigative body called Klanwatch, later renamed the Intelligence Project in 1998. Among other roles, Klanwatch developed a stellar reputation for monitoring hate groups, engaging in extensive intelligence work, and publicizing its research to aid law enforcement. The chief chroniclers of Klanwatch's history are both SPLC insiders. One of the Center's co-founders, Morris Dees, has penned a number books about the challenges and rewards of fighting extremist groups (see e.g., Dees & Fiffer 1991); the other is Bill Stanton, a former investigator and director of anti-Klan efforts for the center (Stanton, 1991).

The purpose of this article is to offer a broader academic framework for understanding Klanwatch's early history, focusing on the decade from 1978-1987. Specifically, this article will apply insights from the nascent literature in social entrepreneurship to illuminate how Klanwatch's experiences offer useful lessons for civil rights groups operating in a post civil rights era. This article's description of Klanwatch as a civil rights organization is congruent with the traditional civil rights community's understanding of the organization. Klanwatch's work has been singled out for praise by high profile movement leaders, including Rosa Parks and Julian Bond (Goodwin, 1991). Additionally, the fabled Southern Christian Leadership Conference awarded Dees a "Drum Major for Justice" for his legal work again the Klan (Conconi, 1989).

Social entrepreneurship and civil rights

The study of social entrepreneurship is a fairly new academic enterprise, and many key ideas in the discipline are hotly contested. However, leading scholars in the field do agree on some basic foundational elements. Social entrepreneurship organizations are defined by their attempts to achieve "new and better ways to create social value" as opposed to purely private value
(Dees, Emerson, & Economy, 2002, p. xxx; Sud, VanSandt & Baugous 2009, p.203). An overview of the literature additionally suggests such social improvement should exhibit two characteristics. First, social entrepreneurial goals are large in scale, characterized by ideas that will "eventually expand to break the social equilibrium" (Light, 2009, p.22). Secondly, social entrepreneurial ideas should offer sustainability, or long lasting positive improvement (Sud et al., 2009, p. 203). Or, as Dees, Emerson, and Economy (p. xxxi) argue: "Instead of going for the quick fix, social entrepreneurs look for ways to create lasting improvements." Unsurprisingly, extraordinarily ambitious agendas often characterize these organizations; Light (2009, p. 21) notes that "instead of treating society's distress, social entrepreneurship holds hope for eliminating the distress altogether."

In drawing distinctions between regular entrepreneurship and the social variety, Martin and Osberg's definition (2007, p. 35) of social entrepreneurship has three components:

(1) identifying a stable but inherently unjust equilibrium that causes the exclusion,

> marginalization, or suffering of a segment of humanity that lacks the financial means or political clout to achieve any transformative benefit on its own, (2) identifying an opportunity in this unjust equilibrium, developing a social value proposition, and bringing to bear inspiration, creativity, direct action, courage, and fortitude, thereby challenging the stable state's hegemony; and (3) forging a new, stable equilibrium that releases trapped potential or alleviates the suffering of the targeted group, and through and the creation of a stable ecosystem around the new equilibrium ensuring a better future for the targeted group and even society at large. (p. 35)

The accepted definitions of social entrepreneurship suggest that civil rights organizations would furnish especially fertile fields for analysis. Few would argue with the contention that the civil rights movement in the South transformed that political and social landscape in extraordinarily positive and permanent ways. The highly planned, often meticulously organized attacks on the white power structure of the South (Morris, 1984) met the social entrepreneurial goals of serving highly disadvantaged populations and of forging a new equilibrium.

The use of entrepreneurial principles by civil rights organizations is an important, if understudied, area of civil rights history. Several scholars have asserted that marketing strategies were indispensable ingredients in the struggle for civil rights during the 1960s (Hon, 1997; Murphree, 2003). In her overview of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's efforts to hire individuals with public relations and media skills, Hon (1997, p. 164) argues that the civil rights movement "can be conceptualized as an extended and ultimately effective public relations campaign." But few civil rights leaders publicly claimed that an entrepreneurial ethos was central in the battle for civil rights.

This article contends that both Klanwatch and its creator Morris Dees meet the specifications of the social entrepreneurship framework. Emerging a decade or so after the end of the civil rights movement, Klanwatch's successful efforts to bankrupt white supremacist organizations would certainly pass the "smell test" of an organization that creates social value and alleviates the suffering of the disadvantaged. If Klanwatch is an organization ripe for examination through social entrepreneurship lenses, Morris Dees is the prototype of a social entrepreneur. Numerous characteristics define the successful social entrepreneur, including resourcefulness, a relentless focus, and a willingness to adapt and innovate (Dees et al., 2002). In refining and narrowing his definition of the term, Light (2009) claims that not everyone has the potential to be a social entrepreneur, but that it lends itself to special attitudes and unique skill sets.

Both supporters and opponents of Klanwatch would agree with the description of Dees as "unique." An attorney and an extraordinarily successful businessman, Dees has won a number of awards for his advertising and marketing savvy. Perhaps what makes Klanwatch particularly amenable to the entrepreneurial label is Dee's full-throated defense of marketing civil rights. His prodigious fundraising is grounded in a simple principle: "We run our business like a business. Whether you're selling cakes or causes, it's all the same thing, the same basic process--just good, sound business practice" (Egerton, 1988, p. 15). Dees is not the originator of "selling civil rights", but he is certainly one of its most spectacularly successful examples. And the idea of selling civil rights has brought Dees both effusive praise and widespread opprobrium, a point that comes into sharper focus when one examines the history of Klanwatch.

Klanwatch History

Two events, both originating in Alabama, are essential in understanding Klanwatch's efforts from 1978-1987. The first event occurred in Decatur, the second in Baldwin County, near Mobile. The Decatur case is widely considered the impetus for Klanwatch, and the Mobile case featured the kind of Klan violence that became the organization's raison d'être. A brief overview of both narratives is necessary to get a better sense of the promise and perils of social entrepreneurship.

Before Klanwatch came into existence, the Southern Poverty Law Center had been operating about a decade. Incorporated in 1971 by Dees and Joseph Levin, the Center had undertaken the important, but relatively lower-profile cases involving employment discrimination, public accommodations

desegregation, and prison reform. This would change at the end of the decade, as Dees utilized an event in 1979 to launch a new direction in civil rights.

In May, 1978 Tommy Lee Hines, a 25 year old developmentally disabled African American, was arrested and accused of robbing and raping three white women. At his subsequent trial, Hines was found guilty by a jury and sentenced to 30 years. Members of Decatur's African-American community cried foul, arguing that Hines was incapable of such crimes and that a nervous public had pressured the local police force to hold someone responsible for the crimes (Steele, 2003).

On May 26, 1979, about 60 civil rights marchers commemorated the arrest of Hines by marching in downtown Decatur. A fight ensued between Klan supporters and the marchers, resulting in injuries on both sides. In addition to the arrest of four Klansmen, Curtis Robinson, an African-American who had been watching the march, was arrested for shooting David Kelso, a Klan leader. Robinson pled self-defense, but was indicted for assault with intent to commit murder. A local attorney contacted Dees who agreed to help with the defense.

At his trial a year later, Robinson was given two years probation by an all-white jury.

Dees (Dees & Fiffer, 1991) described himself as being "furious" with the ruling:

> I wasn't ready to let go of the case. On the ride back to Montgomery, I told Bill that we would not only appeal the conviction, we'd find some way to haul the Klan into court for violating the rights of civil rights marchers-- something the federal government should have done from the start. (p. 13)

Dee's epiphany in the moments after Robinson's trial spurred a kind of legal action that would later become the hallmark of the SPLC: the use of civil court to bankrupt Klan organizations and end Klan violence. Protracted damages litigation was central to this process. Dees and a team of attorneys spent years wrangling with the federal government over the details of the Decatur events. After the FBI did not find enough evidence to charge the Klan with conspiracy, the SPLC filed a civil suit against the Invisible Empire and eventually forced the Bureau to re-open the case. It was not until May 1984 that nine Klan members were indicted on various charges arising out of the Decatur incident, and not until 1988 that Klansmen were convicted of conspiracy charges (Stanton, 1991, p. 173). The end of the decade marked the end of the case: in 1989, the civil suits against participating Klan members concluded with settlements that banned the defendants from joining white supremacy groups (Stanton, 1991, p. 250). Perhaps the most unique part of the settlement required four Klansmen to take a class on race relations and prejudice taught by African-American leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a remedy Dees called a "fitting conclusion to nearly ten years of painstaking investigation and arduous litigation." (Dees & Fiffer, 1991, p.335)

More importantly, the Decatur crisis spurred the creation of a burgeoning institutional structure that was ready to act when white supremacists struck. The Decatur case's winding judicial proceedings overlapped with the tragic case of 19-year old African-American Michael Donald. On March 20, 1981, white supremacists Henry Hays and James "Tiger" Knowles, in an effort to demonstrate the power of the Klan, kidnapped, beat and hanged Donald in a rural area outside of Mobile. Local law enforcement did not originally make the connection with the Klan, resulting in a long delay in solving the murder. A federal probe into the murder and eventual grand jury investigation resulted in the arrest of Knowles and Hayes in June 1983. Knowles plead guilty to a felony civil rights violation, while Hayes maintained his innocence (Stanton, 1991, p. 192). Both were found guilty in December 1983. Knowles escaped the death penalty by testifying against Hayes. Hayes died in Alabama's electric chair in 1997, only the second white person in Alabama's history to receive the death sentence for killing an African-American (Stanton, 1991, p. 199).

The staff of the SPLC monitored closely the state's prosecution of Donald's killers and contemplated its own litigation, launching its suit in 1984. Dees's original plan of action was short on details, but he remained relentlessly focused on prosecuting the Klan. In the wake of the state's prosecution, Dees noted: "I didn't know whom we would sue, or exactly what our theory would be, but that really didn't matter. This was the most gruesome racially motivated murder in almost twenty years. We'd find something" (Dees & Fiffer, 1991, p. 214). That "something" turned out to be Dees's use of the theory of

agency. This legal strategy contended that the murderers were acting on behalf of the United Klans of America, and that its officers had instigated the violence against Donald (Stanton, 1991, p. 200). Dees enlisted Beulah Mae Donald, the victim's mother, to be a plaintiff in the suit, and not long after, the case *Beulah Mae Donald at. al. v. United Klans of America. Et al.* found its way on to the docket.

The dénouement in the Donald case proved extraordinarily satisfying for those monitoring its twists and turns. After months of intensive investigative and legal work, an all-white jury returned liability judgments against the UKA, and ordered the organization to pay Beulah Mae Donald $7 million in damages (Stanton, 1991, p. 246). Unable to pay the damages, the UKA turned over its headquarters to Donald in 1987, a story that received widespread national press (Kornbluth, 1987; Schmidt, 1987).

Klanwatch as a Model for Social Entrepreneurs

Applying a social entrepreneurship framework to Klanwatch's history suggests that a number of lessons might be from drawn the organization's efforts in fighting extremist groups.

Recalling Martin and Osberg's definition (2007, p. 35) of social entrepreneurship, the Klanwatch story illuminates all three criteria.

First, it is clear that Dees and his associates at the SPLC identified an "unjust equilibrium" that marginalized or excluded a significant of society, and worked in creative fashion "to alleviate the suffering of that targeted group" (Martin & Osberg, 2007, p. 35). For southern African Americans not far removed from the harsh realities of white supremacy, the results of the SPLC's work from 1979-1987 paid real dividends, not only to the plaintiffs central to the proceedings, but to society at large. Although the Klan was not as powerful as it had been in the 1960s, the Decatur and Mobile events could plausibly be tied to the Klan revival of the late 1970s. David Chalmers (2003, p. 109) suggests that events like Decatur constituted a "fourth era" of Klan revival, one nourished mainly by the economic discontent of poor whites. In short, the late 1970s Klan was still a terroristic and potentially lethal organization.

Secondly, it is clear that Dees and his associates "identified an opportunity in this unjust equilibrium" and engaged in creative direct action. For social entrepreneurs, timing is of utmost importance. Paul Light argues that social entrepreneurial opportunities "arise during specific punctuations, or focused periods in history" (Light 2009, pg. 22). Dees recognized the opportunity in Decatur to prosecute the Klan, and the stark tragedy of the Donald case allowed him to both champion the cause of the organization and to highlight a broader extremist movement.

Naturally, Klanwatch's success required the relentless efforts of the right salesman. Dees's activities are consistent with the characterizations of social entrepreneurs. Social entrepreneurs exhibit a fierce intentionality in their plans to attack social problems, and are aware of the potential repercussions that might follow from disturbing the social equilibrium (Light, 2009).

Dees and his associates likewise exhibited a willingness to "build visions around core ideas." (Dees et al., 2002, p. 4). The encounter in Decatur was utilized to create a larger-scale, grand narrative of the civil rights movement, one that resonated with donors frightened by the possibility of an extremist revival. Dees cleverly utilized language in forging connections between the momentous civil rights struggles of the past with Klanwatch activities. In his book *A Season for Justice* (Dees & Fiffer, 1991, p. 9), Dees suggests that Hines's conviction in Decatur was on a par with the infamous Scottsboro Boys trials of 1931, a theme reinforced by *Time* magazine in a 1978 article. The Donald case needed no civil rights analogies. The grisly details of the murder matched the worst of the state's violence in the civil right era, and subsequently, it made sense for Dees to incorporate Donald's story into Klanwatch's material.

Dees has asserted that the focus on the Klan was a logical extension of his previous efforts at ending employment discrimination (Dees & Fiffer, 1991, p. 14). Images of violent Klan groups, however, clearly created a master frame that resonated very differently with potential donors. Dees's Klan narrative had a large dose of shock value in that it suggested that little changed in the state in the years after racists killed four black girls in Birmingham: Violent racists were still on the loose, and black Alabamians would receive no protection from a judicial system often in cahoots with the perpetrators.

The SPLC's creativity was likewise on display when it applied the agency theory to Klan action in its litigation. Klan groups had infrequently been sued, and being prosecuted under the agency theory was the

first of its kind (Stanton, 1991, p. 200). Furthermore, the resolutions in both the Decatur case and the Donald case had the trappings of a Hollywood movie. The symbolic impact of Klansmen sitting down with civil rights leaders and of an African American female taking over UKA headquarters created irresistibly positive media attention.

Finally, Dees and his associates met social entrepreneurship's third criteria by ensuring a better future for the targeted group and society at large. What distinguishes successful social entrepreneurship from other social service ventures is the scope of the outcomes (Martin & Osberg, 2007, p. 37; Light, 2009, p. 22). The ability to focus on the "big picture" of race relations was present throughout the creation and development of Klanwatch.

The attorneys at the SPLC desired precedent-setting cases, or "the models for new directions in the law" (Egerton, 1998, p. 14). From the beginning, Dees recognized that a simple civil suit on behalf of Curtis Robinson or the Donald family would not create the long-term desired effect of decimating the Klan's infrastructure. Dees was aware that the Klan's indigent defendants would be able to pay little in monetary damages, and even in that best-case scenario, other Klan members would be escape judicial scrutiny (Dees & Fiffer, 1991, p. 218). In the Donald case, the SPLC leaders felt that the crime was "so horrible and so classically Klannish" that it deserved an extraordinarily aggressive prosecution, one that would "root out the evil at its source" (Stanton, 1991, p. 199). Every one of the SPLC's strategic maneuvers reflected an awareness of broader civil rights struggles. Consider *Beulah Mae Donald et al. v. United Klans of America et al.* In addition to seeking ten million dollars in damages, the SPLC added the state and local chapters of the Alabama NAACP as plaintiffs. Dees had invited them to join in on the case in order to make it a class action, a move that enabled the SPLC to obtain a statewide injunction barring all UKA members "from future acts of violence and intimidation against any black person in the state" (Stanton, 1991, p. 204).

The Klanwatch project established another equilibrium as well: it made the SPLC extraordinarily rich, insuring that it would be a major player in any future cases involving white supremacist violence. For social entrepreneurs, a worthwhile strategic service vision pays attention to potential donors and important constituencies (Dees et al., 2002, p.12).

Klanwatch's efforts were undeniably useful in attracting funding; during the decade of the 1980s, donations poured in. Langer (2003, p. 258) tracked the meteoric financial success of the Center, noting that by 1992, the SPLC's assets of 48.1 million "were more than three times both the combined assets of the ACLU Foundation and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational
Fund." Egerton (1998, p.14), too, noted the record-breaking fundraising of the SPLC, and suggested that the amount of money raised through Klanwatch was "probably greater than any left-of-center group has recorded in a comparable period in the history of American philanthropy."

In sum, the creation and development of the Klanwatch project offers a textbook example of how to achieve social entrepreneurial outcomes. The founders of the project, particularly Dees, exhibited foresight, creativity, and a relentless focus on prosecuting the Klan. The novel use of the agency theory established a clear connection between Klan officials and the direct perpetrators of the violence, a legal strategy that proved to be lethal to the white supremacists' livelihood. Klanwatch was also largely responsible for filling the SPLC's coffers: thirteen years after Decatur, the SPLC was one of the richest and most powerful civil rights organizations in the nation.

Klanwatch's Challenges to Social Entrepreneurs

Dees's experiences in managing Klanwatch did not come without significant challenge. This should not be surprising: the literature is clear that the path for social entrepreneurs is not an easy one. Social entrepreneurial organizations often have "more complex set of needs to serve" and face an "antibusiness bias in the social sector" (Dees et al., 2002, p. 270).

The early history of Klanwatch illustrates the complexities of selling civil rights in a post civil-rights era. Klanwatch has received withering criticism from across the political spectrum, and a great deal of it is grounded in popular conceptions of what a civil rights organization should look like. Two interrelated critiques have dogged Klanwatch since its inception. The first is that the project has stressed the "entrepreneurial" over the "social"—in other words, it has been too focused on finances rather than on

broader social change. The second critique involves the difficulty of measuring results in the social sector, and the attendant willingness of the Klanwatch project to inflate the threat of white supremacy. Each of the critiques will be discussed in turn.

The Klanwatch project illustrates that a transparently aggressive public relations strategy risks the charge of being too corporate. Unsurprisingly, Klanwatch's remarkable success at raising money has made Dees an object of jealously among traditional movement organizers (Smothers, 1992). The fundraising and marketing skills that Dees used to sustain Klanwatch often serves as a sore point for Klanwatch's critics. Ken Silverstein's blistering piece in *Harpers* (2000) claimed that Dees was far too focused on fundraising, instead of prioritizing issues that would more meaningfully serve the African-American community. Dees was accused of "peddling memberships in the church of tolerance with all the zeal of a circuit rider passing the collection plate" (Silverstein, 2000, p. 54). Stephen Bright of the Southern Center of Human Rights, has called Dees "a fraud and a con man" who has "milked a lot of very wonderful, well-intentioned people" (Hudson, 2003, para. 4). Even Dees's former associates have taken their shots: Millard Farmer has called Dees "the Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker of the civil rights movement" (Silverstein, 2000, p. 54). The idea driving this criticism is that the hallowed warriors of the civil rights movement occupy a rarefied space that should remain uncorrupted by corporate influence. This is a charge that has been leveled at some of the iconic names of the movement, even the King family itself (Miller, 1999; O'Connell, 2001).

In a similar vein, Klanwatch's service delivery system (e.g. information systems, facilities, locations) has come under close scrutiny. Social entrepreneurship scholars note that an organization's service delivery system "should complement other elements of the strategic service vision and the operating strategy in highly successful strategies" (Dees et al., 2002, p. 15). In the case of the SPLC, the lavish facilities built by Klanwatch fundraising is perceived to be in tension with the organizations high-minded social objectives. The seeming incongruence between the wealth of the Center and is indigent clients has not escaped notice. Nicknamed the "Poverty Palace" and "Southern Affluence Law Center" by its critics, the SPLC has been frequently accused of misallocating its resources (Silverstein, 2000; Hudson, 2003). Perhaps the most damning bout of publicity was a multi-part investigative launched by a local newspaper, *The Montgomery Advertiser* in 1994, which questioned the Center's aggressive fundraising tactics, it management practices, and its commitment to racial diversity. Jim Tharpe, who was the managing editor of the newspaper at that time, was especially critical of how the Mobile case was handled, noting that the Center grew enormously wealthy by sensationalizing the horrible details of the tragedy, including using pictures of Donald's corpse as part of its mail-outs. Tharpe estimates that the SPLC made 9 million dollars from its portrayal of the events surrounding the Donald murder (Tharpe, 1999).

A second major lesson that budding social entrepreneurs might draw from Klanwatch's history is the difficulty of measuring results in the social sector (Dees et al., 2002, p. 271). Making the case for social entrepreneurial success requires clear performance data and victories in the social sphere. At the very least, "measureable surrogates need to be found that serve as reliable indicators of success" (Dees et al., 2002, p. 271).

In the cases that are central to this article, the victories seemed tangible enough. The Decatur and Mobile trials featured dramatic courtroom testimony followed by symbolically satisfying and media friendly verdicts. The Decatur case concluded with Klan restitution and mandated classes taught by the some of the same civil rights leaders they had clashed with a decade earlier. Michael Donald's case concluded with the bankruptcy of the United Klans of America, and the victim's mother taking ownership of a building formerly utilized by the extremists. Such results, couple with an aggressive public relations campaign, attracted thousands of donors to the SPLC.

But how do social entrepreneurs sustain such momentum? The bankruptcy and decimation of Klan groups may have led to a new equilibrium in southern society, but it simultaneously created questions about the very existence of Klanwatch. How powerful *really* was the enemy that the SPLC wanted to vanquish? In countering Dees's narrative, some have suggested that Klan activity in the late 1970s was

the last gasp of a dying organization, not the beginning of a sustained right-wing reactionary movement, and certainly not one that merited the full attention and resources of the SPLC (Silverstein, 2000).

The Decatur case that started it all seems particularly suited to an alternative explanation. Decatur was a fairly progressive town, at least by southern standards, and the evidence was incontrovertible that Curtis Robinson had shot and injured a Klansman. That an all-white southern jury had given Robinson no jail time for committing an act of violence against a Klansman suggested that the political and social context of the early 1980s was vastly different than what it had been during the civil rights era. Interestingly, even some SPLC insiders expressed dissatisfaction at Dee's relentless focus on the Klan, at the expense of other civil rights issues. By 1986, the Center's entire legal staff, excluding Dees, had resigned over worries about the direction of the organization (Stanton, 1991, p. 228).

Hand-in-hand with this critique is the allegation that groups like Klanwatch must resort to increasingly alarmist rhetoric to continue to draw support for its causes. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997, p. 3) argue that Klanwatch belongs in the category of watchdog groups that create a "more militant and dangerous" picture of white supremacist groups than actually exists. Inflating the threat of such groups allows Klanwatch to promote political claims that are consistent with their agenda. (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile, 1997, p. 3).

Conclusion

This article contends that a social entrepreneurship framework sheds a great deal of light on the both the successes and challenges of managing a civil rights organization in a post civil rights era. The activities of Klanwatch in its first decade of existence meet the performance criteria of a successful social entrepreneurship project. An unjust equilibrium did exist in Alabama in the late 1970s: the Klan lacked the resources and personnel of a decade earlier, but it remained powerful enough to terrorize and threaten African-Americans in the state. The creation of Klanwatch was a welcome development for African Americans desirous of preserving the gains of the civil rights movement. In a similar vein, the social goods produced by Klanwatch are undeniable. The bankruptcy of major Klan groups, the punishment of violent white extremists, and the creation of a context that made Klan recruitment more difficult are tangible victories that can be celebrated by all of civilized society. Social entrepreneurs could also learn a great deal from an opportunistic Dees, who used small-scale critical encounters to effect large-scale change. Dees was the right man at the right time: he harnessed a very real, but perhaps ill-defined, energy in support for civil rights, applied sophisticated mobilization and fundraising techniques, and built an enormously rich and successful civil rights organization.

Simultaneously, social entrepreneurs looking for transformative benefits in the area of civil rights will likely bump against a series of unique challenges. Klanwatch's experiences furnish evidence that social entrepreneurs can achieve the normative good of creating sweeping social change, but still faced sustained criticism for their efforts. Much of this stems from the uneasy tension that exists between "social" and "entrepreneurial" in the civil rights realm. Indeed, the SPLC's enormous financial success has been frequently utilized by its critics to charge it as too focused on the entrepreneurial side of the ledger. Dees has been accused of building a financially solvent organization at the expense of addressing the real needs of the minority populations his organization purports to serve. Another related critique centers on the extent to which Dees and other Klanwatch leaders disproportionately inflated the threat of extremism to justify aggressive fundraising strategies.

Regardless of one's predisposition toward the Klanwatch project— whether one defines the cases it spurred as just causes or publicity stunts—social entrepreneurship offers a useful framework through which to view the organization. Applying this framework to other civil rights entities may well illuminate the entrepreneurial strategies necessary to sustain and nourish such organizations.

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The Politics of Graduate School

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The high attrition rates in American graduate schools are detrimental to students, educational institutions, and society. High numbers of graduate students encounter unfathomable challenges throughout the process of earning a terminal degree. A major contributing factor to high attrition rates is faulty student-faculty relationships. Alliances, internal fighting, departmental competition, hidden agendas and conflicts among faculty leave students stranded and unable to successfully complete their degrees. Unsuccessful resolution may cause students not to progress and exit their programs with large loans and feelings of betrayal, disillusionment, devastation, rage, and bitterness. Successful resolution may involve legal interventions and formulations of new committees with new chairpersons. Success in graduate school may be based not only on the academic performance but also on recognition and negotiation of ongoing, and, at times, hostile relationships within the academic setting.

Education is the foundation of democracy and has largely contributed to the United States' strong global position. The bidirectional influence of education and American society is obvious. Education strengthens and improves the quality of life for the population. Society impacts education by prioritizing educational goals and funding. It is the role of the doctoral graduate schools across America to provide research-based education and meet the needs of students and society. The need for Ph.D. graduates will continue to grow as the U.S. competes for limited resources and economic and political power in an increasingly global society. Approximately 1% of the American population holds a doctoral degree (Parent & Lewis, 2005). However, many students find the educational process experience in graduate schools flawed and do not complete the program.

The attrition rate in Ph.D.- granting graduate schools across the U.S. is estimated to be approximately 50% (Council of Graduate Schools, 2008; Gravois, 2007; Parent & Lewis, 2005). In contrast, the attrition rates for students enrolled in medical school residency programs are less than 10% (Zanten, Boulet, McKinley, & Whelan, 2002). "The average cumulative attrition rate for all ABA-approved law schools if 4% academic and 9% other, for a total of 13%" (Margolis, 2009). See Figure 1.

Approximately half of all students admitted to a Ph.D.-granting graduate program in the U.S. exit the program without a terminal degree. In a recent study completed by the Council of Graduate Schools, after 6 years, approximately 77 % of male and female social science students have not completed their Ph.D. In contrast, 62% of the females and 57% of the males in the science, engineering, and mathematical fields have not completed (Council of Graduate Schools, 2008). After 10 years of work, 39 % of male students and 45% of females enrolled in science, engineering, and math have not completed their degrees. In contrast, after 10 years, 48% of male and 51% of female students enrolled in social sciences and humanities have not completed their terminal degrees (Council of Graduate Schools, 2008). The number of American students who completed terminal degrees decreased by more than 8% over the last 5 years (Smallwood, 2004). The Council of Graduate Schools (2008) identified the high attrition rates from graduate schools as the most critical issue in American graduate schools. High attrition rates create negative consequences for students, faculty, universities, and society (Lovitts, 2001). An experience that begins with expectations of challenges, excitement, and anticipation of a successful journey turns into an experience of disillusion, disappointment, loss, and failure.

Although there is a multitude of reasons for high attrition rates in Ph. D. programs, lack of academic ability is not, in most cases, a contributing factor. Students entering a Ph.D. program have been carefully selected and/or recruited and have proven academic abilities. Less than 2% leave because they fail to

meet the academic standards of the program (Lovitts, 2001). Although funding makes program completion easier, money is not a contributing factor to exit programs (Gravois, 2007). Most students have, at the least, minimal resources available to complete the program. In one study (Lovitts, 2001) family pressures were only tertiary reasons for not completing graduate school. Academic factors such as feeling as the graduate program was the wrong choice for their lives and the unanticipated stress of graduate school work that was viewed as purposeless were the major factors given for exiting graduate school. Graduate students stated that they would have stayed in school and resolved family pressures if they had not been so disillusioned by the graduate school. Thus, lack of academic ability, lack of money, and family pressures are not the major contributing factors to the high attrition rates from graduate schools.

Many students cite a lack of support or faulty or conflict-ridden relationships with faculty, advisors, and committee members as the major reason they exited the program as noncompleters (Schmidt, 2008). Faculty-student relationships are pivotal influences in doctoral programs (Hasrati, 2005). Supportive and congenial relationships with faculty are essential criteria for success in graduate school programs (Parent & Lewis, 2005). "The supervisor plays a vital role in the effectiveness of the student-supervisor relationship" (Kearns, Gardiner, & Marshall, 2008, 87). It would be helpful if only faculty who are dedicated to teaching and supporting students and have the time and energy to do so act as advisors, mentors, and committee members.

Faculty members can pave the way for success in graduate school or they can create roadblocks along the way. Their interactions with fellow faculty members and students strongly impact the departmental environment and completion success rate. The politics of academia are exemplified in “faculty divisions or camps, fragile egos, pecking order of faculty, pecking order of disciplines and limited resources” (Parent & Lewis, 2005, 30). Divisions in the faculty result in serious philosophical and theoretical disagreements that are reflected in lack of approval for the others’ students’ research and work. Fragile egos are characterized by defensiveness, self-centeredness, and oversensitivity. The established pecking order of faculty and departments imparts some faculty members and departments with more power than others and those power differentials are readily transferred to students. These political manifestations make it very difficult for faculty to remain objective and treat students fairly.

Because university faculty members feel that the responsibility for completing the programs lies with the students, most faculty members find it very surprising that internal faculty behaviors contribute to high attrition rates. Most faculty and university staff overestimate the student's responsibility for exit (Lovitts, 2001). It might be helpful if faculty and staff realize and accept responsibility for attrition in their departments. For example, doctoral student advisors have a responsibility to be aware of the alliances and conflicts in the department and help students avoid getting caught in the midst of internal fights. It would be a more positive experience if all faculty members treated students fairly, respectfully, and objectively.

High attrition rates are strongly related to the culture of the department and the school (Lovitts, 2001). The nature of graduate school is to question and debunk literature findings. Unfortunately, this questioning attitude may become pervasive throughout the department. Each professor may question the quality of everyone's work, including the student's purposes and goals. One student described this as "posturing" (Lovitts, 2001, 115). Faculty members that willfully take specific philosophical and theoretical stances may not be receptive or supportive of ideas that contradict their position. This results in divisions and theoretical camps within the department, a political manifestation that harms students.

If the cultural environment is cut-throat and overly competitive, there is a lack of trust among faculty, and administrative staff. This uneasiness and mistrust is reflected in the treatment of students. The political atmosphere of the institution and the department are crucial factors in graduate school failure or success and are strongly impacted by the faculty. One student felt the department was "structured to create chaos and confusion" (Lovitts, 2001, 113). Other departments are characterized by conflict along theoretical and/or personalities, thus, students may find themselves "in the midst of the bitter conflict and polarization" (Parent & Lewis, 2005, p.85). Individual personalities and politics may result in confusing and hostile environments for students.

The Dissertation

A unique requirement for graduation from graduate schools is the completion of a dissertation. The dissertation is a monumental research task and paper, requiring many months or years to complete. A crucial factor in the completion of a successful dissertation is the relationship among and supervision from the faculty advisors and committee members (Hasrati, 2005). Even new Ph.D. graduates experienced consistent lack of support and reported that advisors were least available for them during the dissertation writing process (Gravois, 2007) when they were most needed. Political relationships are very influential in the acceptance or rejection of a dissertation. An example of negative political relationships occurred when one dissertation chairman told a student to pay the fees, invite the family, and prepare for hooding and graduation. The completed dissertation was submitted to the committee members and the committee rejected the dissertation. At a private meeting without the student present (the student was instructed to wait in the advisor's office), and after a great deal of discussion about the dissertation draft, one committee member said to tell the student that she will never write a paper good enough for that professor. This is a strong indication that there are bitter disputes about the requirements for an acceptable dissertation played out in the department. There are many other signs that the dissertation experience may not be successful.

In another example, a student had rewritten several drafts and each draft was deemed finished and ready for the committee by the faculty advisor. The committee promptly rejected each draft. After several written appeals requesting time extensions and specific feedback, the advisor and the university dean told the student "earning a Ph.D. is a crapshoot and you just never know how it is going to turn out". Labeling a high-level academic endeavor as a gamble diminishes the importance, the dignity, and respect of the institution and suggests that the university is not worthy of accreditation or the right to bestow doctorate degrees. Academic success should not be a gamble. Academia should be comprised of institutions wherein students seriously study and complete valuable research. There needs to be clearly stated objectives for the program that are communicated to each faculty member. Faculty members are professionally obligated to abide by those objectives. When those objectives are met, the student should receive a degree. Subjective opinions should not interfere in the process. Personalities and politics should not impact the academic success of motivated, bright students. It is helpful if faculty and departments want students to succeed and graduate. This requires a positive attitude and a commitment to student success.

Warning Signs of an Unsuccessful Experience

There are several signs when the political relationships among the advisor, student, and committee members are not supportive and positive. One of those signs may be that the advisor fails to follow through on what he said he would do. For example, when a student is assigned to an advisor and the advisor said that he would select and invite committee members, the advisor inadvertently forgot to invite a committee member. The committee member was offended when overlooked. He sent an unprofessional, sarcastic e-mail to the student and his angry, critical attitude was pervasive throughout the process. A committee member with a fragile ego generally created chaos throughout the process. He refused to attend the proposal meeting while he was on sabbatical. Even though he was in town, he reported that he did not get paid to attend meetings, thus, he would not attend any. After the meeting was over, he criticized the meeting, the proposal, the student, and the other faculty. This problematic situation actually began when the original advisor and several faculty members left the university and reassigned their advisees. The lack of continuity in the process and problematic, egocentric faculty members may contribute to a negative outcome for students and increase attrition rates.

Another warning sign of a negative relationship between the student and the faculty includes an open conflict between the advisor and committee members. If the advisor does not have influence in the committee, and lacks the power to control the committee, the committee members may choose to reject the dissertation completely after they approved the proposal. After a rejected dissertation, one committee member accused the advisor of not fulfilling her advising duties and not reading the drafts. The advisor, in turn, accused the committee member of sexual discrimination against a female, nontraditional student. These accusations occurred in front of the university administration. When those feelings surfaced, the

relationships and the students' successful completion of the program are doomed. Everyone loses in these situations.

Another contributing factor to high attrition rates may be the reorganization of departments within the university. Students may find themselves receiving inconsistent instructions and vague feedback from members of the newly organized department. In some cases, students are left to "guess" what the requirements are and what changes are needed to complete a successful dissertation. If faculty members do not agree on the feedback or the expected changes, the chances of a successful outcome are substantially reduced. If a student must decide whether to follow the directions of one faculty member or the other, one faculty member will always be unsatisfied, angry, and resentful. This creates a no-win situation for a graduate student and the university department and the possibility of exiting the program without successful completion increases.

One of the most problematic areas in academia is the lack of accountability for the professors and the administration. When questioned about accountability issues, one administrator replied that a tenured professor is only accountable to themselves. Obviously, someone's conscience and predisposition to act in a professional manner may be overshadowed by a lack of professionalism, subjectivity, and egocentric attitudes. Accountability must be in place for everyone involved in the process, including those personalities with fragile egos. Lack of accountability strongly contributes to failed dissertations and higher attrition rates.

A Pragmatic Approach

There are several measures that students can take to prevent an unsuccessful graduate school experience. Those measures include the following:

1. Understand that the perspective of graduate school is different than undergraduate colleges. One new graduate advised new students that they do not give doctoral degrees to students, the students have to take it from the faculty (Parent & Lewis, 2005). Most graduate students do not picture themselves as grabbing their degree and running. They picture a reasonable, cooperative venture resulting in a successful granting of their Ph.D. Above all, graduate students expect to be treated fairly.
2. Be proactive. Choose the chairperson and the committee members very carefully. Do not let yourself be conveniently reassigned. Research their alliances and conflicts. If you are aware of philosophical differences, do not select professors with potential conflicts for your chairpersons or committee members. Kearns et al. (2008) found that students that did not have an effective relationship with their advisor were more productive if they found a mentor within the department that substituted as an advisor.
3. Keep all written documentation, including e-mails, throughout the process. They may be very important in any appeals. Follow through with any appeal process. Do not allow any communication to be ignored or lost on someone's desk while the deadlines are missed. State appeals very thoroughly, factually, and clearly. The appeal may be read by other faculty members who were previously unaware of the problems.
4. Whenever possible, have an impartial witness to all meetings. Immediately after meetings, send confirmatory e-mails to each person so that everyone is in agreement about the meeting. If any conflicts arise, immediately notify all involved faculty and administrative officials.
5. Follow all university deadlines and procedures. If a memo is unclear, ask questions and clarify all information. Make sure the clarification is in writing.
6. Develop relationships with the chairs and deans of departments. Discuss your goals with them. Keep them in the communication loop. Identify all progress and roadblocks in the process and keep them informed. If you receive mixed messages from faculty members, immediately seek clarification and resolution in writing. Do not accept superficial reassurance that it will work out. It may not!
7. Develop a "presence" on campus. Self-promotion is part of the academic culture. This is vital and yet it is extremely difficult if the student commutes or has off-campus job and family responsibilities. If the student is naturally quiet and serious, this may be very challenging, but building political alliances increases the chances of a successful dissertation.
8. If a problem cannot be resolved, do not hesitate to ask for new chairpersons or committee members. Show creativity and initiative and find people that will work together to resolve areas of conflict.

9. Do not give up. Continue to persevere to reach the goal. Remain professional in all interactions in the academic environment.

Conclusion

High attrition rates in graduate schools across the United States are detrimental to students, faculty, universities, and society. Ph.D. graduates are sorely needed to maintain our strength in the global community. Given the current global economic environment, the United States cannot afford to lose students from graduate schools for personality and/or political reasons. High attrition rates are strongly related to the culture of the department and school (Lovitts, 2001). Faculty members of university graduate programs must accept responsibility for the political culture of their programs. Parent and Lewis (2005) stress that the trend in education is moving toward accountability at all levels. Accountability in Ph.D.-granting programs is absolutely essential if the completion rate is going to improve (Fahy, Spencer, and Halinski, 2008). All persons involved in the graduate school and dissertation process must be held accountable for their behavior, their choices, and their communication or lack of it with others. Political expressions of power differentials and fragile egos are not acceptable. Talented and motivated students expect and deserve fair and objective treatment when in graduate school. Graduate school is not a "crapshoot" and it should never be considered as such. The United States and the global community desperately need adults with the benefits of a Ph.D. education. The future of our country and world depends on the success of Ph.D. students and most of these students want to successfully graduate. They want the assurance that they have earned their degree fairly without interference from politics and personalities.

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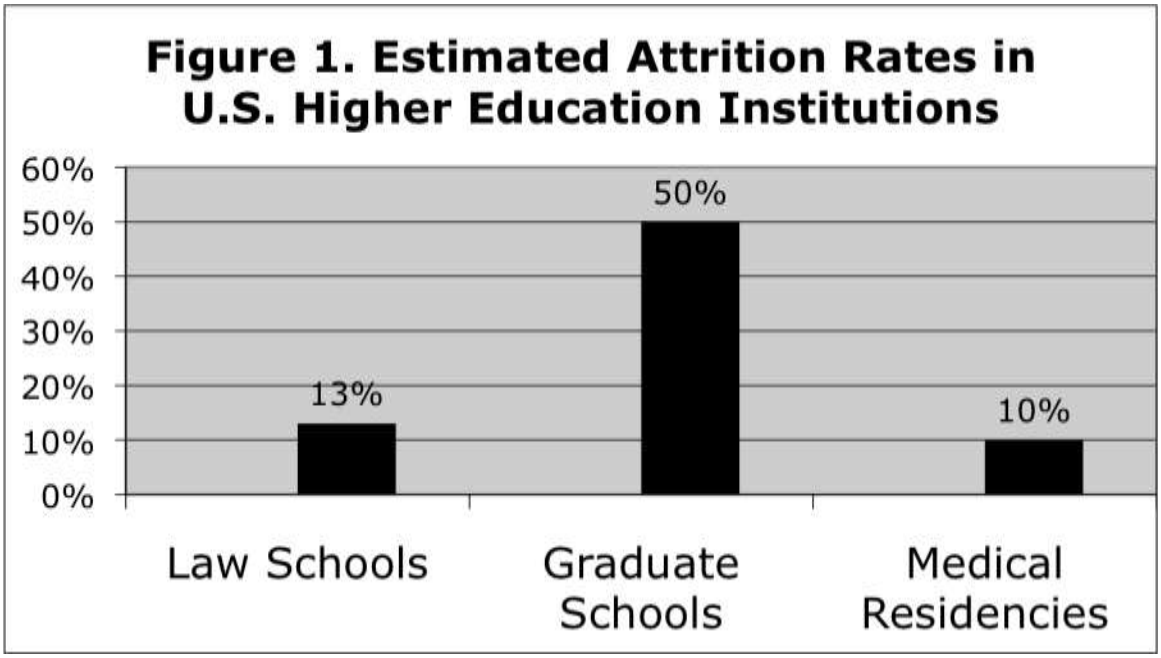
Figure 1. Estimated Attrition Rates in U.S. Higher Education Institutions
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
13%
50%
10%
Law Schools
Graduate Schools
Medical Residencies

Nursing on Screen, Nursing in Class: Assessing Students' Reactions to Film and TV Portrayals of Nurses, Their Profession, and Their Image in Society

Dianna Lipp Rivers
Kenneth Troy Rivers
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In the age of modern media, it is essential for nursing faculty to understand how today's nursing students perceive films and television shows depicting nursing. The primary investigators conducted a pilot research study during the 2006-2007 academic year in conjunction with the elective nursing course that they taught on nurses and nursing in cinema and television. The study's purpose was to obtain the student nurses' reactions to the image of nurses and nursing in films and television programs dating from 1931 to the current time (2006). The significance of the results would be to get a better idea of the effect of dramatic material in the media upon future nurses. The potential uses of this information for nursing faculty members and nursing education personnel in healthcare organizations would be multiple. These uses would include ascertaining which media and which genres have particular effects upon students, as well as finding out what aspects of the films' content (nursing ethics issues, patients' rights, professional responsibilities, and so forth) make an impression, favorable or unfavorable. Even persons interested in the recruitment of prospective nurses could potentially benefit from an idea of what films or television shows would likely have a positive impact. The results could also inform anyone interested in the issue of media defamation of the nursing profession.

In addition, the methodology utilized in this study should be easily applicable to other fields as well. Regardless of the subject matter of a given course, this study could be adapted to determine the effect upon students viewing films pertaining to their field of endeavor or prospective profession.

A number of articles and newsletters (Wood, 2008; AONE, 2006; Rasmussen, 2001a and 2001b; Kalisch and Kalisch, 1982) state the belief that the image of nursing in films can impact a viewer's impression of nursing. For example, Buerhaus reports (Wood, 2008) that persons who watch television series with medical themes are more positive about medicine as a career than those who do not. The American Organization of Nurse Executives (AONE, 2006) reports that the Millicent Geare Edmunds Lecture at the School of Nursing (University of Maryland), focusing on media images of nurses, indicated that many misrepresentations of the nursing profession still prevail today. The author, Rasmussen, points out that because of Nurse Ratched in *One flew over the cuckoo's nest* (1975), many persons still continue to perceive nurses as rigid and sadistic disciplinarians. Nurses are also often seen as sexpots and sometimes as mere handmaidens of the physician in films. The result is that many nurses have complained vehemently about the way they are portrayed in films, convinced that their profession is being slandered and the recruitment of future nurses imperiled. Some television nursing series (e.g., *Nightingales*) and nurse characters (Rick Schroeder's male nurse in *Scrubs*) have been removed from the air following vigorous protests. Kalisch and Kalisch (1982), in their research, see a worsening trend in the media over the years. They point out that in early nurse-detective films, such as the Depression-era movie *Night nurse*, the nurse characters were depicted as having admirable qualities such as successfulness and adventurousness. Kalisch and Kalisch (1982) find, a half-century later, the image of nurses in film to have sunk to an all-time low, corresponding to drops in nursing school enrollments and a public "lack of support of hard-won nurse practice acts…" (p. 153). Huston (2010) points out that even in the popular

series *Grey's anatomy,* "Indeed, it could be argued that the only truly visible nurse on the show has been the one who gave sexually transmitted diseases to the male physicians" (p. 343). Huston (2010) also notes that according to the Center for Nursing Advocacy, virtually all nursing activities on this show are seen as performed by physician characters.

What has been lacking is a study specifically gauging the impression that the image of nurses and nursing in cinema makes upon nursing students. This study was conceived as a pilot designed to show how that void may be filled.

The conceptual framework utilized in the study combines spectator response theory and the nursing process as the guiding frameworks. In the academic field of communications, spectator response theory posits interaction between media and viewer, with the latter creating meaning through reaction to the illusions that constitute the filmic reality (Anderson, 1996). The mental dimension (Casetti, 1999) of the viewers' reactions to the films' narratives is quantifiable in that the viewers can state their interpretation, as expressed in a Likert scale, of what the films convey.

Nursing process theory, formulated as early as 1961 by Orlando, describes a series of phases in the practice of nursing. Nursing process specifies the work of the nurse to include making assessments of the patients' needs or problems, making a nursing diagnosis (analyzing), planning for the patient care, implementing that care and then evaluating the results (Berman, Snyder, Kozier, & Erb, 2008). This dovetails into the cinematic spectator theory in that the viewer of nursing films is called upon to recognize and judge the representation of professional nursing, its processes and its practitioners on the screen.

Methods

Design, Setting, Human Subjects

This study, conducted in a Texas university during the 2006-2007 academic year, used a pretest-posttest design. Two questionnaires were used -- a pre and posttest modified Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1965) (Department of Sociology / University of Maryland, n.d.), and an instructor-developed survey tool given after each of the 18 films and television programs shown. An elective nursing cinema course developed by the primary investigators provided the setting for the study to determine Bachelor of Science upper level nursing students' perceptions of the image of nursing in films and television spanning the years 1931 to the current year (2006). Human Subjects approval was obtained from the Institutional Review Board of the university before the beginning of the course. An information sheet outlining the project was given by the faculty to each of the students enrolled in the course. The students were therein assured that the surveys would be anonymous, that there was no penalty for not participating, and that their grades were not dependent on whether or not they participated. All twelve students in the course voluntarily agreed to participate in the research. To maintain student anonymity, students were asked to write onto each survey a four digit identifying number created by and known only to the individual.

Data Collection and Instruments

The investigators utilized Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale 10-item general measure of esteem because it is the tool that has been used the most extensively to gauge self-esteem and esteem of other entities for over 20 years. The Scale has also been successfully adapted for various types of studies by many researchers.

The students completed the modified Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale questionnaire, taking five to seven minutes, on two occasions: before the first film was shown, and at the end of the course, following the last film shown. The survey participants also completed the investigators' daily survey forms taking five to seven minutes each, following each film.

The investigators' survey was entitled: "Survey About the Portrayal of Nurses and Nursing in Cinema" and consisted of a five-point Likert scale, as did the modified Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. The surveys were self-administered questionnaires including the 11-item modified Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale and the 21-item investigator-developed instrument. Students placed the completed surveys in manila envelopes following each movie shown and at the conclusion of the course. They also completed demographic questions, including information such as their year in the program, gender, city, zip code, and whether seeking a two-year Associate Degree in Nursing (A.D.N.) or a four-year Bachelor of Nursing Science degree (B.S.N). The investigators reviewed the surveys at the end of the course.

Structure

Content validity (Aday, 2006) of the instruments was determined by the expert nurse and cinema investigators, who also reviewed the literature pertaining to nurse cinema. The questions in the instruments measured the following dimensions: (a) the degree of realism of the movies' nursing content; (b) the prevalence of practice and process of nursing in the plots; (c) the importance of nursing to the stories; (d) the prominence of selected traits of the nurse(s); and (e) the survey participants' recommendation of the movie/television show.

The researchers chose the 18 movies and television shows used in the course. They were chosen because they contained substantial nursing content as regards plot and characters. All of these movies and television shows also had notably high popularity and success with the American public upon their original release or broadcast, putting them on equal footing.

The plots of the 18 evaluated films and television episodes were set in eras representing the whole span of nursing's existence from Florence Nightingale to the present. The films/shows also were classified according to the eras in which they were made (e.g., the Great Depression, World War II, early post-war, late 20th century, and 21st century); the medium utilized (e.g., theatrical film, television episodes, and movies made for television); and the genre (e.g., war drama, romance, mystery, propaganda, comedy).

The intervention consisted of class discussions and the writing of compositions. The discussions, each usually about 15 minutes in length, took place in the classroom with faculty present as in a normal class. The compositions were short homework assignments comprising of 2-3 page critiques of the films. These interventions never occurred prior to the completion of the pretest surveys for each movie so as not to influence the students. The titles of the films and television shows are listed in the accompanying Table 1.

Data Analysis

Surveys were analyzed using descriptive statistic measures of frequency and means, and the non-parametric test of chi-square because of the sample size (Polit and Beck, 2004). Pre and posttests were compared with the modified Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale instrument, and all the films were evaluated utilizing the investigator's instrument. Both instruments used a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 being the lowest score (strongly disagree); followed by 2 (disagree); 3 (average, midpoint between agreeing and disagreeing); 4 (agree); and 5 being the highest score (strongly agree). A subscale of positive nurse traits was created comprising eight questions. Cronbach's alpha standardized was used on the interval and nominal data to test for internal consistency. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), version 15 was used for the computations.

Results

Of the 12 students in the study, nine were female, three male. All were B.S.N students living in the region, of typical college age, 11 seniors, and 1 and junior. They were all in the same course. No differences of note were found in the results regarding students' age or sex. The Cronbach's alpha standardized reliability for the modified Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale questionnaire pre and post combined was 0.823 and the investigator-developed questionnaire was 0.897 for the total surveys.

The findings for the modified Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, the pretest prior to showing the films, was 50 % (N=6) of the students with a rating score of either 3 (midpoint or average) and 50% (N=6) with a 4 for the image of nursing as reflected in the films. Upon completion of the film viewing, the discussions and compositions, the direction of the results moved to 81.8 % (N=9) with a score of 4 and 18.2% (2) with a score of 3.

Nursing Content of the Films

The instructor-developed tool provided a number of noteworthy findings following the viewing of the films. First, nursing in the films was deemed more realistic to the era depicted in them (mean of 3.71 score) than to today's nursing (3.09). Second, regarding the prevalence of practice or process of nursing in the plots: hands-on care was determined to have high on-screen frequency (3.87), more than even nursing process (3.57) or nursing management (3.52). Third, the importance in film of nurses or nursing as compared to other disciplines (e.g., doctors, pharmacists) scored 3.60. Fourth, willingness to recommend the films overall to other persons was strong (3.89). There was no significant difference

between the films with Pearson's chi-square statistic, although if using Lambda there was significant difference (p=0.035).

Nurse Traits

When evaluating the traits of nurses as depicted in the films, students had a wide range of reactions. The following nurse traits' prevalence scored as follows: Confident (3.91); Caring (3.88); Competent (3.88); Professional (3.82); most other traits scored between 3.60 and 3.70, including intelligent, critical thinker, and heroic. Also, the statement that nurses were portrayed positively in film scored at 3.65. The statement that the nurse or nurses appeared conforming and obedient received a score of only 3.15; and that the nurse or nurses seemed assertive and risk-taking a 3.73. The subscale of positive nurse traits as compared to hands-on characteristics was significant ($p \leq 0.001$). The subscale of nurses' positive traits versus nurses' activity (nursing practice, nursing process, and nursing management) showed a significant difference ($p \leq 0.001$) with the virtues outscoring activity.

Patients' Rights and Nurses' Rights

Patients' rights and nurses' rights as issues depicted in the content of the films produced the following results (chi-square data). First, the films with strong nursing rights content rated high in popularity (high scores of 5's and 4's). Students' willingness to recommend them was as follows: *Miss Evers' boys* garnered 11 grades of 5 or 4; *The white angel* (about Nightingale) and *Emergency call* each totaled 10; and *Grey's anatomy: Break on through* and *MASH: The nurses* each totaled 9. Second, movies strong on patient's rights scored as follows: *Ms. Evers' boys,* 11; *One flew over the cuckoo's nest,* 7; *Janet Dean: Applegate case,* 6; and *Janet Dean: Garcia case, 6.*

Popularity of Films

In examining the overall popularity of the movies and TV shows, the following was discovered with computed chi-squares at statistically significant levels. Regarding the chronology of when the films were made, it was found that the World War II era and the 21st century tied for first place; the early post-war era films came in third; Great Depression era films placed fourth, the late 20th century fifth, and the 60's-70's Protest Era last ($p \leq 001$). In respect to medium, the television episodes were 23 % more likely than the theatrical movies to get a high grade of 4 or 5 ($p \leq 0.05$). Of the various genres, the mystery films attained 15.5% more high grades than non-mysteries, and scored 3% better than average ($p \leq 0.05$).

Discussion

The students' overall assessment of nursing's image in cinema changed after seeing these films. Upon completion of the course, the majority of students perceived the image of nursing in films to be at a higher level (scoring a 4) than they did prior to the first showing, by a margin of 31.8%. These students had grown up watching movies and televisions shows about nurses, so the simple act of viewing these movies in class would not really explain the change. What was new for them was classroom setting, including the intervention of discussions and compositions, requiring the students to actively think about, analyze, critique, and debate the films.

Comparison of Films

A number of other interesting findings concerning the mean scores revealed themselves in the surveys following each movie. First, it is understandable that students would find modern films to be more realistic in depicting the sort of nursing with which the students are familiar. That is to say, one does not expect movies made in the 1930's (e.g., *Night nurse,* about a Depression-era nurse saving two starving children) to depict nursing such as today's. Still, the students presumed the 1930's movies to be realistic in depicting 1930's nursing, even though they had little basis for that judgment. Second, it is understandable that physical hands-on care in film would receive a higher score than the nursing process since it is more visual and more easily identifiable than the mental process used in assessing, diagnosing, planning and evaluating care. Third, the mediocre score (3.6) given to the importance of nursing or nurses as compared to other medical disciplines in films is attributable particularly to movies such as *You for me* in which the nurse characters seem mostly interested in their evening gowns for the upcoming hospital dance. Conversely, the main physician character in that film was so dedicated that he was doing important medical research at home in his basement laboratory after work. Fourth, in the comparison of the films as

regards which ones to recommend to other persons, there was a significant difference ($p = 0.035$) only in the Lambda chi-square statistic which is sensitive to the nominal data of "strongly agree", "agree", etc.

Nurses' Traits

Next, when the traits of the nurses as depicted in the films are considered, it is noteworthy and perhaps reassuring that nurses in films were most often perceived as confident, caring, competent, professional, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, intelligent, heroic, and as critical thinkers. Although nurses were perceived overall as portrayed positively in films, an exception was nurse Ratched, the "villain" of *One flew over the cuckoo's nest.* Her controversial presence in this Oscar-winning film undoubtedly was a factor in provoking strong emotional reactions, with 25% of students rating the movie at one extreme or the other, giving the film either the highest (5) or lowest (1) rating in terms of willingness to recommend it to others. As regards the questions of whether the nurse in the various films was seen as being conforming and obedient (score of 3.15) or assertive and risk taking (3.73), students tended to prefer the films with the assertive nurses, an indication that conformity seemed to them to be less of a virtue than assertiveness. Although that may be a positive sign, a certain ambiguity is present, however, in the very nature of conformity. That is to say, nurses should be expected to conform to professional and ethical standards, and avoid excessively risky behaviors on the job. For example, in *The white angel*, Florence Nightingale routinely and assertively defies her military superiors, but fires nurses who fail to follow *her* rules. Nightingale regularly takes risks, but not with patients' lives; she defies policies in order to serve her patients more effectively.

Patients' and Nurses' Rights

In considering the content of the films, it can be seen that some of them prominently spotlight patients' rights, and others spotlight nurses' rights. Adding together the scores of 5 and 4's on the question of recommending the film to others, films strong on nurses' rights scored exceptionally high (*The white angel* and the *ER* nurses' revolt episode each scored 10 and the *Grey's anatomy* nurses' strike episode along with the *MASH* nurses uprising episode each scored 9). In stark contrast, most of the shows with strong patients' rights content tended to score substantially lower: *One flew over the cuckoo's nest* a 7; *Janet Dean: Applegate*, 6; *Janet Dean: Garcia case, 6.* This indicates a definite possibility that the student nurse already identifies much more strongly with the caregiver than with the care-receiver. The one film that dealt both with patients' rights and nurses' rights, *Miss Evers' boys,* had a score of 11, indicating that the two sets of rights are not necessarily viewed as incompatible.

Chronology of Films

In terms of the chronology of when the films were made, films of all eras were well received, including some of the oldest. Students did prefer, above almost all others, films of the recent era; that may be because of preference for films in which nurses tend to be depicted as somewhat more strong and complex than in the past, as posited by David Stanley, a nursing researcher at Curtin University of Technology in Perth, Australia (Stanley, 2008; as cited in USA TODAY Staff, 2008). However, movies of the World War II era scored just as highly as modern ones in our study, demonstrating that they resonated well with the current generation. Thus, instructors should be assured that there is apparently no reason to avoid classroom use of older material, even if it was filmed in black and white.

Genres

A wide range of genres were shown, including war stories, comedies, romances, mysteries, and message or propaganda films. All proved to be well regarded, with mysteries having a statistically significant edge. A likely reason for this is that medical diagnosis is essentially a mystery-solving process in and of itself, facilitating the convergence of nurse stories with mystery. In particular, the combination of a strong, dynamically active nurse-detective character and a mystery involving medical ethics made a drama such as *Night nurse* a pronounced favorite, with 7 of 11 students rating it a 4 or 5.

Conclusion

As is always the case, a larger study would have provided greater generalizability. Nevertheless, this pilot study resulted in useful findings including statistically significant results.

Among these findings are the following points. Today's students manifest a strong responsiveness to the media, with television scoring even higher than theatrical movies. Students value the image of the

confident, caring nurse above all others. Their affinity for films with authentic nursing practice shines through in their preference for viewing hands-on care over heroism by a score of 3.87 to 3.67, even though heroism might generally be assumed to be more dramatic. And they were not overly impressed (3.48) with the romantic, sexual nurse of which Hollywood is perpetually enamored. Finally, the students' great enthusiasm for nurses' rights stories and notably lesser enthusiasm for patients' rights stories (except *Miss Evers' boys* which had both types of content) implies attitudes that could strongly impact the profession.

As stated earlier, the existing research literature on nursing media and viewers has not dealt specifically with nursing students. Thus, the findings of this pilot study provide potentially vital information for nursing instructors. The better that instructors understand the likely reactions of students to various kinds of media material, the more effectively they will be able to select films for the classroom and anticipate their usefulness and specific value in different learning situations. A future study on a larger scale should further assist in determining and predicting media utility. Moreover, it is to be hoped that other academic and professional fields will make use of our methodology in order to ascertain how media imagery is affecting students in their own courses or professional training programs.

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Table 1

Films and Television Programs (listed in order of their showing in the course)

Title	Date Of Production
1. *The white angel*	1936
2. *Night nurse*	1931
3. *Emergency call*	1933
4. *So proudly we hail*	1943
5. *Popeye cartoons* (Popeye the nurse, and Olive Oil the nurse)	1953
6. *You for me*	1952
7. *Janet Dean*: *Applegate case* (TV episode)	1954
8. *Janet Dean: Garcia case* (TV episode)	1954
9. *One flew over the cuckoo's nest*	1975
10. *MASH*: *The nurses* (TV episode)	1976
11. *China Beach*: *Afterburner* (TV episode)	1989
12. *Miss Evers' boys*	1996
13. *ER: One can only hope* (TV episode)	Nov. 7, 2002
14. *Pearl Harbor*	2001
15. *JAG*: *Each of us angels* (TV episode)	Feb. 4, 2003
16. *Band of brothers*: *Bastogne* (TV episode)	2001
17. *Scrubs*: *My first step* (TV episode)	Nov. 7, 2002
18. *Grey's anatomy*: *Break on through* (TV episode)	January 29, 2006

Educational Concerns in the 21st Century: Identifying Culturally Relevant Literature for Young Appalachian Children

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"American children of the twenty-first century will need to develop a worldview that appreciates the richness of other cultures at the same time as they preserve and celebrate their uniqueness" (Huck, Kiefer, Hepler, and Hickman, 2004, p. 19).

The words young children first recognize in print are their names and meaningful environmental print such as the names of local businesses and restaurants. In the process of learning to read children who read more become better readers (Anderson, Wilson and Fielding, 1988; Stanovich, 1986). Children who can read, do read; and those who struggle with reading, do not read (Stanovich, 1986). Children whose motivation to read comes from within (a sense of curiosity, involvement or interest in the material and a belief that they can read) spend three times as much time reading outside class than students whose motivation comes from an external source such as incentives (Wigfield and Guthrie, 1997). As children gain experience with print, most often through picture story books, they are motivated to read stories that have text and illustrations they find interesting (Harp and Mayer, 1997; Krapp, Hidi and Renninger, 1992; Renninger, 2000). Interesting stories are those stories that relate to the child's life, personal experience, and have characters like them or with whom they can identify (Purves and Beach, 1972). Interesting stories initially include those stories about which children have background knowledge (Schiefele, 1999). For young readers background knowledge comes from shared experiences of the cultural communities in which they and their families live. Providing young readers with access to interesting books supports their motivation to read.

In addition readers are more likely to comprehend texts they find interesting (Wade, Buxton and Kelly, 1999). Both boys and girls can tackle more difficult reading if the material is of interest (Renninger, 1992). Ken and Yetta Goodman (1978) found that groups of American students who spoke a stable, low-status dialect of English (Downeast, Appalachian white, Rural black and Hawaiian Pidgen) had higher scores on retellings (an assessment of comprehension) when using culturally relevant material. Appalachian scholar, Bill Best (1995), says:

> "Reading and language arts should begin where the children are, in the most literal sense. It is not enough to have Dick and Jane passing through the mountains on their way to Florida from New England. Early readers should contain stories about life as it is lived in the particular areas where the children live" (p. 661).

For young children to see their lives reflected both the texts and illustrations must provide accurate details as well as cultural authenticity (Mo & Shen, 2003). Cultural accuracy focuses on cultural facts (Mo & Shen, 2003) or "authenticating details" (Sims Bishop, 1982). Cultural authenticity focuses on cultural values; "those values, facts and attitudes that members of the culture as a whole would consider worthy of acceptance or belief (Mo & Shen, 2003, p. 201); cannot be defined, but "you know it when you see it" (Sims Bishop, 1982). Today's picture story books portray various aspects of multiculturalism and attempt to honestly reflect either universal experiences, those experiences all people hold in common; or salient shared experiences, those experiences pertaining to a particular group of people based on traditions held over generations or practices developed for survival and solace (Cianciolo, 1997). Texts and illustrations that portray a culture in any other way mislead readers and perpetuate stereotypes.

Appalachian author, Anne Shelby (1999), says:

> "I know how I feel when I hear yet another redneck joke or see yet another tired hillbilly stereotype on a popular television show. I do not know the effect these have on the millions of children in the region who are seeing and hearing the same things, but I worry about it. The stereotypes seem designed to produce confusion, self-doubt, passivity, frustration, anger. This is probably not deliberate. It is probably only thoughtless. Either way, stereotypes are attacks upon the human spirit. They find their mark, and no good comes of it" (p. 160).

Using picture story books that reflect the cultures of the various members of society has a two-pronged advantage. First, when children see their own lives reflected in the literature they read, they can use their personal background knowledge to support the decoding process because vocabulary relates to shared experiences. This is particularly important for students in the process of developing early vocabulary and reading skills, and seems more important to boys than girls (Renniger, 1992). Students bring their past experiences or background knowledge to the stories they read or have read to them. Readers need to have enough information about a subject to begin to organize the content in ways that allow them to ask further questions. Students can ask questions about content they do not understand based on what they do understand. Interest can serve as the scaffold to assist readers as they connect new information to existing information (Renninger, 2000). The literature children have as they are taught to read has an effect on not only learning to read the words, but also learning to read the world (Finn, 1999; Friere, 1970; Heath, 1983; Smith, 1987; Smolinski, 1999). It is especially important to have interesting materials available for young children—material with characters that represent their lives and life themes, novelty, accurate and authentic images and actions. Young children may not be able to identify or think abstractly about their interest because they have not reached that level of development. In developmentally appropriate settings interest leads the development of young children. Therefore the selection of literature for young children is crucial (Pinsent, 1997).

Second, children may be more likely to notice the significant contributions of other cultures when they see significant contributions of their own culture represented in the literature they read. Cross-cultural dialogue, acceptance, and tolerance of differences are built on opportunities to first see one's own life authentically and accurately portrayed in literature (Boyd, 1997; MacPhee, 1997; Neuman, Copple, and Bredekamp, 2000; Strickland and Morrow, 2000). Patricia Cianciolo (1997) says "there should be illustrations that offer each member of each of our diverse cultural groups a fair abundance of models upon which to build a valid and positive self-image" (p. 26).

Appalachian author Gloria Houston writes:

> "One of my goals as a writer for children is to help my young readers to become acquainted with that wonderful [Appalachian] culture and appreciate it. Another of my goals is to provide a mirror for the children of Appalachia to help them to see the beauties of their culture and way of life." (Sizemore, 1999, p. 80).

Appalachian children's literature provides an introduction to the literacy process for young Appalachian children through the use of stories set in real places with specific recognizable cultural content (Teaford, 1998). Jim Wayne Miller (2005) suggests that the "most vigorous literature of the Appalachian region [is] the writing which is an expression *of* the region and not a report *on* it" (p. 5). Senior Appalachian scholar, Bill Best (1995), asserts that "We need to see ourselves reflected back by a looking glass that we ourselves have constructed. For too long, we have seen ourselves pictured like reflections in a fun house at a carnival." (p. 663). Later, Best (1999) adds:

> "Even though Dick and Jane were not like me they did remind me of some of my city cousins. Their language was different, however. None of my cousins were so repetitive when they spoke. I never heard any of them saying: 'Run, Jane, run; Come, Dick, come; Sit, Spot, sit.' I figured that in the city it took twice as many words to get your message across, perhaps because of the increased noise level" (p. 6)

Although Dick and Jane are no longer the chief characters in basal readers, Best's point is clear. Text needs to be authentic and meaningful.

Herbert Kohl (1995) summarizes the life-changing effect of books on children.

> "I believe that what is read in childhood not only leaves an impression behind but also influences the values and shapes the dreams of children. It can provide negative images and stereotypes and cut off hopes and limit aspirations. It can erode self-respect through overt and covert racism or sexism. It can also help young people get beyond family troubles, neighborhood violence, stereotyping and prejudice—all particulars of their lives that they have no control over—and set their imaginations free" (p. 61-62).

Authentically and accurately representing culture in children's literature is not a new field of study. As early as 1939 a young African American boy asked Stella Gentry Sharpe why all his books were about white children (Bader, 1976). Sharpe (1939) wrote *Tobe*, a story about the life of an African American farm family, to address his concern. Illustrations included photographs of young African American children taken by Charles Farrell. In the nineteen sixties a five-year-old African American girl asked why all the children in picture books were white (Larrick, 1965, 1995). Led by the wisdom and candor of children, scholars have investigated the ways in which culture has been represented in literature for children.

Appalachia and Its Culture

Thomas Cahill said, "Like fish who do not know they swim in water, we are seldom aware of the atmosphere of the times through which we move, how strange and singular they are." My current college students, Appalachian teacher candidates, still claim that they have no culture. Pearl Rosenberg (1997), another teacher educator, says many of her mostly white preservice teachers come to see whiteness as an empty cultural space.

Ronald Eller (2000) writes about his first realization that he was from a culture different from the main stream in "Lost and Found in the Promised Land: The Education of a Hillbilly." He considered himself "bi-cultural" because who he was as a person was often kept secret, while who he became to fit in to the mainstream, dominated his actions. Appalachian author George Ella Lyon (2000) believed that she would have to go somewhere else to acquire a culture about which to write.

Defining a group of 20 million people living in 406 counties in 13 states is a complex task. The Appalachian Regional Commission defines Appalachia as the "200,000-square-mile region that follows the spine of the Appalachian Mountains from southern New York to northern Mississippi." Other interesting definitions include the AppLit definition that says Appalachia is "the mountainous regions of Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama; all of the mountain state of West Virginia; and the hilly region of southern Ohio." (http://www.ferrum.edu/applit retrieved 1/20/06). Appalachian writer and Kentucky native Jesse Stuart said, "Appalachia is anywhere there's coal under the ground" (Garrett, 1972-1973).

Over the years scholars have described Appalachia and its people from a variety of perspectives. Bruce Ergood and Bruce Kuhre (1991) in the third edition of *Appalachia: Social context past and present*, document personal characteristics of mountain people cited in multiple studies from 1898 to 1972. George Vincent, a sociologist from Chicago, described Appalachians as having close family ties and a strong sense of individualism and independence in his 1898 work titled "The Retarded Frontier". Added to those characteristics over the years is clannishness implying that families interact mostly with each other and not the larger world. Another characteristic attributed to Appalachian people is fatalism which is described as the sense that one's life situation cannot be changed. In addition living in close harmony with nature finds a place among the descriptors of Appalachian people. Ergood and Kuhre's list of characteristics that describe Appalachians includes the following, in order of most frequently cited: Independence, Religious Fundamentalism, Strong Family Ties, Life in Harmony with Nature, Fatalism, Traditionalism, Honor, Fearlessness, Allegiance, Suspicion of Government and Born Trader. Many of these descriptors carry a negative or backward connotation to the world outside Appalachia.

Reminiscent of *The Brownies' Book,* W.E.B. DuBois' effort to reframe common stereotypical images and positively portray African American values (Johnson-Feelings, 1996), Dr. Loyal Jones responded to the negative stereotypes perpetuated about Appalachia and described the common values used to portray Appalachian people from a positive perspective. To the list identified in the literature he added affirmative values observed from living in, leaving from, and returning to Appalachia. Photographs by

Warren Bruner were added and the book was published by the Jesse Stuart Foundation for the purpose of providing "Appalachian children a positive view of their culture, because of the negative images that many students hold of themselves and the region: (Jones, 1994, p. 7). Jones' Appalachian Values are described in Table 1.

Looking for Culturally Relevant Books

Depending on the scope of the study and the interest of the researcher, some or all of the following delimitations established by this researcher may be appropriate for similar studies.

1. A master list of books was created by reviewing the *Bulletin from the Center for Children's Books*, *The Horn Book Guide*, The Library of Congress and a document specific to the study *Realistic Appalachian Picture Books: A bibliography* compiled by Tina L. Hanlon and Judy A. Teaford available at http://www.ferrum.edu/applit, a website dedicated to providing resources for readers and teachers of Appalachian literature for children and young adults.
2. All books analyzed were considered children's realistic fiction picture books. Holiday books and books of a historic nature were included if the characters visiting the past were depicted realistically. Fantasy and concept books were not reviewed. Realistic fiction is a genre that includes fictional stories about events that occur in our natural, physical, everyday world. Illustrations and text in picture books are considered to be of equal importance because both artist and author must sustain children's interest, carry the story line and consider plot and character development through subtle changes in expression and mood (personal communication, McMath, 2006).
3. All books were set or could have been set in Appalachia. Books referenced some aspect of the Appalachian culture, or they were free of references that would deny a connection with the Appalachian culture.
4. All books were published between 2000 and 2004.
5. Authors and illustrators included native Appalachians and others.
6. The Appalachian values used for this study were those defined by Loyal Jones. (Determining an authoritative source of values can be one of the most difficult aspects of a study.)

Procedures

Content analysis was the methodology employed in this study. The instrument used to collect data was adapted by the researcher to reflect the specific purpose of this research (Berelson, 1952; Holsti, 1969; Krippendorff, 2004) using materials from previous content analyses investigating cultural values in children's literature (Alexander, 1987; Ergood, 1991; Katz and Braly, 1933; Liu, 1993). Appalachian values as described by Loyal Jones (1994) were operationally defined by the researcher.

A total of 1857 incidences of positive incidences of positive Appalachian values were identified by reviewers including 904 in text and 953 in pictures. Totals of the data from all 52 books can be seen in Table 1. The value (in bold) or the descriptor is located in the first column. The second column contains the total number of times that descriptor was identified in the text (T) by reviewers. The third column indicates the percentage of the 1857 incidences represented by each descriptor. The fourth column contains the total number of times that descriptor was identified in the pictures (P) by reviewers. The fifth column indicates the percentage of the 1857 incidences represented by each descriptor. In column six the total number of incidences of a particular detail can be found, and column seven contains the corresponding percentage. Column eight contains the total number of incidences documented for a particular value, and column nine records the corresponding percentage.

Summary

Fifty-two picture books were examined with the purpose of discovering to what extent and in what ways the text and the illustrations in children's realistic fiction picture books set in Appalachia authentically and accurately represented positive Appalachian values. If each page of each book had included a representation of just one value in either text or illustration, the collection of books would have documented 1664 values. When all fifty-two books had been evaluated a mere 1857 incidents of values in text and pictures had been identified. One value, Patriotism, was identified only one time.

Children's realistic fiction picture books that authentically and accurately represent positive Appalachian values do exist. However, books clearly set in Appalachia were not as numerous as expected. Some books were specifically set in Appalachia and mentioned the region by name. Others were not limited to an Appalachian setting, but still contained references to values Appalachian children might recognize by sight or sound in text or pictures. If as Harris (1990) suggested "children prefer literary works with subject matter related to their personal experiences…engage more with materials related to their personal experiences and…seek out works with which they can identify or which contain characters whose experience reflect their own" (p. 552), then it makes sense that teachers and parents would provide the opportunity for children to choose among these books.

There may be room for more children's realistic fiction picture books set in Appalachia. Authors, illustrators and publishers could take a deeper look at the culture. The value of Independence, Self-reliance and Pride, recognized by the detail "reliance on oneself," was represented twice as many times as the next most popular value Sense of Beauty and detail " rich stories and colorful language". Other values and details could be intentionally included and explored in future stories.

Additional Findings

Looking at the accuracy of details such as food, names, speech, dress, economic status, occupations, housing, transportation, diversity and geography proved to be enlightening. For example, the anecdotal references to dress provided the following information. While two-thirds of the stories featured characters in realistic dress, six are dressed in functional or work clothes. One-third of the illustrations of dress included stereotypical images including nineteen characters in bib overalls. Only one of the stories in which reviewers decided characters were dressed stereotypically did not include bibs. The text never mentioned bibs. The illustrator contributed that idea from his or her background knowledge. Authors' and illustrators' background knowledge varies based on personal experience and/or research. The picture book format relies on both text and pictures to tell the stories. Therefore it also may be prudent for authors, illustrators, reviewers and editors to talk together with representatives of today's Appalachian communities to insure accuracy. As Judy Teaford (1998) suggested, books set in real places are less likely to perpetuate stereotypes.

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Table 1:
Story Report Data Totals

Appalachian Values	**Total T**	**%T**	**Total P**	**%P**	**Total Detail**	**% Detail**	**Total Value**	**% Value**
Religion							185	9.8%
Life is in the deity's hands	39	2.1%	30	1.6%	69	3.6%		
Believers are expected to live a good life	36	1.9%	48	2.5%	84	4.4%		
Religious activities are integral to the community	17	.9%	15	.8%	32	1.7%		
Independence, Self-reliance and Pride							630	33.3%
Reliance on oneself and family (including but not limited to sewing, gardening, providing entertainment, mending, working on vehicles)	294	15.5%	331	17.5%	625	33.0%		
Declining help from others	4	.2%	1	.1%	5	.3%		
Neighborliness							177	9.4%
Inviting visitors for a meal	27	1.4%	29	1.5%	56	3.0%		
Helping the community	39	2.1%	28	1.5%	67	3.5%		
Talking and waving to everyone including strangers	30	1.6%	24	1.3%	54	2.9%		
Familism							333	17.6%
Making family connections (Who are you related to?)	85	4.5%	72	3.8%	157	8.3%		
Living in close proximity to family	72	3.8%	104	5.5%	176	9.3%		
Personalism							58	3.1%
Getting along with others is more important than being right	9	.5%	9	.5%	18	1.0%		

Tolerance of differences	2	.1%	2	.1%	4	.2%		
Humility, Modesty							17	.9%
Putting on airs	2	.1%	2	.1%	4	.2%		
Being ridiculed for putting on airs	2	.1%	4	.2%	6	.3%		
Giving others credit and backing away from the spotlight	3	.2%	4	.2%	7	.4%		
Love of Place							136	7.2%
Learning where a person is from	40	2.1%	56	3.0%	9	5.1%		
Character wants to stay home	7	.4%	10	.5%	17	.9%		
Character wants to return home	10	.5%	13	.7%	23	1.2%		
Patriotism							1	.1%
Participation in politics (elections, campaigns)	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Military service	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Parades and displays of patriotic symbols	0	0	1	.1%	1	.1%		
Sense of Beauty							350	18.5%
Creation of beautiful crafts	40	2.1%	33	1.7%	73	3.9%		
Heart-felt music	34	1.8%	32	1.7%	66	3.5%		
Rich stories and colorful phrases/ language	109	5.8%	102	5.4%	211	11.1%		
Sense of Humor							6	.3%
Used to display modesty	1	.1%	0	0	1	.1%		
Used to cope with hard times	2	.1%	3	.2%	5	.3%		

Table 2 lists the values with the number of incidences as ranked by the reviewers.

Table 2
Values Ranking

Rank	Incidences	Value
1	630	Independence, Self-reliance and Pride
2	350	Sense of Beauty
3	333	Familism
4	185	Religion
5	177	Neighborliness
6	136	Love of Place
7	22	Personalism
8	17	Humility
9	6	Sense of Humor
10	1	Patriotism

Table 3 ranks the descriptors or details from the most represented in the stories to the least represented in the stories.

Table 3
Descriptors Ranking

Rank	Incidences	Descriptors
1	625	Reliance on oneself
2	211	Rich stories and colorful language
3	176	Living close to family
4	157	Who are you related to?
5	96	Learning where a person is from
6	84	Believers are expected to live a good life
7	73	Creation of beautiful crafts
8	69	Life is in the deity's hands
9	67	Helping the community
10	66	Heart-felt music
11	56	Inviting visitors for a meal
12	54	Talking and waving to everyone including strangers
13	40	Tolerance of differences
14	32	Religious activities are integral to the community
15	23	Character wants to return home
16	18	Getting along with others
17	17	Character wants to stay home
18	7	Giving others credit
19	6	Being ridiculed for putting on airs
20	5	Declining help from others
21	5	Humor used to cope with hard times
22	4	Putting on airs
23	1	Humor used to display modesty
24	1	Displays of patriotic symbols
25	0	Participating in politics
26	0	Military service

Through the Looking Lens:
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From first glance, the films *The Lives of Others*, *Pan's Labyrinth* and *Amores Perros* have nothing in common. The story and scene structures—linear and subdivided through auditory and visual elements in the *Lives of Others*, full-circle and split between the imagined and real in *Pan's Labyrinth*, and fragmented into three perspectives loosely linked by a car crash in *Amores Perros*—all contrast from one another. Each film incorporates a unique setting in 1984 Totalitarian East Germany, 1940s Post-Civil War Spain, and modern day Mexico, respectively. The protagonists of each film differ in age, nationality, and class background. Even the cinematography and camera direction of each film varies, as *Amores Perros'* visually jarring, moving camera angles and grainy, raw cinematography stand apart from *The Lives of Others'* focused camera direction and muted colors. *Pan's Labyrinth* blends magical and realistic elements, while *Amores Perros* and *The Lives of Others* meticulously construct realistic interpretations of events. Yet even as both fixate on Realism, *The Lives of Others* appears like a moving picture from a history book with its mixture of grays and greens, whereas *Amores Perros* seemingly mimics a documentary.

Despite these differences, however, Henckel von Donnersmark's depiction of the institutionalization of the individual in totalitarian Germany, Del Torro's blend of imagination and realism to portray the political landscape of Spain, and Innaritu's depiction of Mexico as a collection of broken fragments points to a larger cultural discussion about politics' affects on the construction of individual psychology and perception. Considering that all of the histories represented involve, at one time or another, failed or realized military regimes or dictatorships, moreover, all three of these films uproot a subterranean discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of militaristic political unity. *The Lives of Others*, *Pan's Labyrinth*, and *Amores Perros* thus explore the consequences of militaristic politics on the personal identity, destiny, and larger cultural consciousness/worldview.

The *Lives of Others* commentates on the ways in which totalitarianism amputates the individual from their humanity to the point that their identity becomes commodified in inanimate objects such as headphones or walls. The film depicts each character as a space by auditorally and visually framing each character's world and perspective into separate compartments in the first half of the film. When the *Lives of Others*' black title screen first appears, the sounds of muttered, background chattering immediately frame Wiesler's headspace as a surveillance man. As the film progresses into his conversation with his colleague in the theatre, the heightened volume of minute background noises distract from his discussion, almost to the point of obscuring it entirely. His home environment, with its sparse decorum and sterile appearance, reeks of a repressed coldness that the film augments through its implementation of harsh, pale blue and white lighting. His work space above Georg's apartment, a Spartan setup surrounded by dehydrated wood and dilapidated walls drenched in harsh, white sunlight similarly portrays Wiesler as a man lacking fulfillment or connection. Even the texture of his clothes, rigidly form fitting, abrasive and stiff in their appearance, captures his general disconnection. All of these auditory and visual elements thus contrast with Georg's environment in which jazz and ligado classical music, and warm, cozy lighting illuminate his home, and speak to a richness and abundance that the scarcity of Wiesler's environment lacks. Dressed in warm textures like velvet, silk, and soft cloth, moreover, Georg, through both his environment and dress, stands as a man of fulfillment and personal security.

By dividing these two men auditorilly and visually, the film not only establishes the division between the artist and the Stasi that was so prevalent in East Germany at the time, but also relays the ways in which totalitarian Germany stapled individual identities to extrinsic objects or elements until the identity became an objective, institutionalized artifact or space. Even Georg, for all of his personal abundance and sense of fulfillment, begins perceiving himself more as an artist specifically because of this spatial division between the artists and the Stasi, as he begins to define himself in the "us" (the artist) against "them" (the Stasi). At the end of the film, for instance, when the Berlin Wall has fallen, Minister Hempf observes that Georg had not written any new material. Thus as the spatial divisions close, and the political oppression fades, even Georg loses a sense of his core identity. Ironically, Karl Marx discusses this process, as he hypothesizes that a person's acceptance of the dominant social class', or in this case political regime's, ideology formulates a "false consciousness" that controls a person's self-perception and identification with others[i]. His theory on worker alienation, although more of a criticism of capitalism than totalitarian regimes, indirectly correlates and illuminates much of Wiesler's psychology. Marx theorized that alienation stems from being "cut off from the full value of work, and others, by performing discrete functional roles"[ii]. Wiesler, an observer rendered incapable of disconnecting from his work life, thus progresses from merely utilizing his surveillance equipment to monitor his enemies, to actually tying his identity to them, as his headphones begin to frame and cripple his perception and experience of the world and even himself. In fact, his only way to experience himself, to see the realities of his own existence, is through the sounds and conversations he hears through his headphones. Much in the way that an infant grows to understand their physicality by observing their mothers' physique in the Lacanian mirror stage, Wiesler, a man already personally fragmented and lacking in an almost infantilized helplessness, consequently uses the Totalitarian surveillance to gain a complete understanding of himself and his relationship in the world[iii].

Wiesler's headphones also function as the Freudian equivalent to dreams, as they allow him to vicariously experience the love and autonomy of the artistic world at enough distance to protect his core identity, but at a close enough proximity to allow him to experience these fantasies. In Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams,* he asserts, in the summation of Charles E. Bressler, that the conscious represses desires that would otherwise produce feelings of self-loathing or anger into the unconscious, which then redirects and molds these desires into "softened and socially accepted" images and symbols in order to slowly, but safely, allow these desires to seep into the conscious[iv]. As Weisler listens to Christa plead to Georg, "just hold me", for instance, he crawls into the same fetal position as her, and later attempts to recreate and experience this love with a prostitute. Indeed, the film's utilization of the same theme song in Wiesler and Georg's environments for the first time directly following this scene certainly suggests Wiesler's growing infatuation and sympathy with his subjects.

Yet the fact that Wiesler and Georg can only communicate through non-verbal, non-interactive ways speaks to the deep-seeded, un-repairable alienation that existed between human beings in this totalitarian environment. Even as the sounds Wiesler hears temporarily changes him, he still remains institutionalized at the end of the film, as he continues to work in a governmental position as a postman denoted to him by the Stasi controlled government. Thus, just as the walls of a prison may expand for more cells, Wiesler's identity moves from a rigidly commodified entity to a slightly more open, but never the less institutionalized one.

Pan's Labyrinth elaborates on this discussion of politics' affects on the individual by capturing the ways in which the political oppression of Franco's militaristic regime in 1940s Spain informs the imagination, and helps formulate a political, specifically revolutionary, consciousness that shapes one's destiny. Rather than merely capturing the militaristic institutionalization of the individual, *Pan's Labyrinth* explores how the individual grows into a certain political mindset from the time of childhood in reaction to, rather than in conjunction with, political oppression, which ultimately animates his or her actions. In essence, the film stands as a political coming-of-age story. The film's protagonist, Ofelia, a curious, growing girl who originally uses her imagination to escape anxieties of her mother's pregnancy and eventual birth, eventually confronts not only those personal anxieties, but also the ominous political future of Spain upon her introduction to her "real father", the Faun, and journey to complete his three

tasks. It is important to note, that *Pan's Labyrinth*, in its Magic Realistic context, does not seek to establish the imaginary as fantasy world separate from reality, as in *The Lord of The Rings*, but to mold the two into a believable juxtaposition[v]. The film does so by utilizing the perspective of a child, who commonly would perceive the world in such a way. In fact, Magic Realism and the first half of *Pan's Labyrinth* certainly mirrors Althusser's notion of ideology where ideas are "an imaginary relation to real conditions"[vi]. Just as ideology is "the imaginary version, the represented version, the stories we tell ourselves about our relation to the real world" to "keep ourselves from the pain of alienation" in a capitalist society, Ofelia's magically real world initially serves as a means to safely, but obscurely, process her political reality[vii]. Her stories are not mere fantasies, or lies, but indirect representations of real truths, especially as both perspectives, the imagined and real, continuously parallel one another.

As Ofelia encounters a fog that slowly poisons an old tree, and "grows fat" off of its nutrients, she becomes indirectly acquainted with the dangers of Franco's regime, as the dying tree progressively begins to parallel the crumbling political state of post- civil war Spain. At first excited by these discoveries, her word shifts from an "imaginary relation to real conditions" to a horrific, nightmarish embodiment of Spain's political landscape that directly, rather than subtly, uproots the injustice and violence of Franco's Spain as she foresees both the death of her mother, and her countrymen in the blood-drenched pages of the Faun's book, and encounters a baby-gobbling monster. Just as *a Modest Proposal's* advocacy of baby eating metaphorically captured the British's cultural consumption of the Irish, Del Torro's monster certainly alludes to a similar inter-cultural gobbling of Franco's enemies, and through its viciousness, exposes Ofelia to the horrors of murder. As she loses her comrades, the fairies, in her battle with the monster because of her decision to indulge in the monster's fruit, she additionally experiences the same loss that the maid, her mother and other characters in the film experienced more fully in the murders of loved ones who contradicted Franco's politics in the Civil War. After this experience, a transition occurs where Ofelia grows to attach meaning and draw connections between her experiences in her imaginary and real worlds as these experiences begin to shape a separate revolutionary consciousness based in the willingness to "spill her blood for the blood of an innocent."

Yet even though the film takes place in Spain, Ofelia's newfound revolutionary consciousness evokes more Latin and Central American political tropes than Spanish ideologies. Del Torro's Mexican heritage coupled with his usage of Magic Realism, a style that, while created and defined in Germany by Post-Expressionist painters and art critics such as Franz Roh, grew to larger significance in the Central and Latin American arts through writers such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez in his *100 Years of Solitude* beginning in the late 1940s, seems to point to a subterranean discussion of Latin and Central American politics[viii]. Magic Realism, in addition, grew to such popularity in these countries because it helped shape a unique Latin and Central American artistic voice, one that stood apart from the European, particularly Spanish, style[ix]. In addition, Magic Realism's boom in popularity occurred at the same time as the US neo-imperial military involvements countries such as Guatemala in 1954 and Brazil in 1964, as well as the Cuban Revolution of 1959, and largely marked a desire to "decolonize language"[x]. The style's believable juxtaposition of mystical beliefs echoing those of indigenous cultures with European ways of life pertains more to Central and South America's history, since the indigenous are both a significant contributor to the culture through festivals such as The Day of the Dead, and ostracized from the modern society by both Latinos and Europeans seeking to modernize or industrialize Central and Latin American countries[xi]. Ofelia's mother, submitting to Franco's political ideals, and her stepfather, an embodiment of those same principles, both condemn her so-called fairy tales and imaginative perspectives as "garbage" throughout the film. Indeed, as Ofelia's stepfather throws the baby shaped, mystical root for her mother's healing into the fire, his actions parallel those of the European colonizers in Central and South America. The Labyrinth, spiraling down into the earth, certainly evokes an indigenous-conscious political ideology in Ofelia that, because of the militaristic crushing of the natural, native culture, results in an ill-fated destiny. Ofelia's return to her "real" father, one deeply rooted in Central and Latin American folklore and the earth, her emotional connection with her original father who was killed by Franco's men, and her resentment of her stepfather, an exaggerated representation of the very industrialization and militarism that sought to wipe out the indigenous culture, certainly mirrors the modern Central and South American

inter-cultural conflict, where society is continuously divided into indigenous/European and socialist/communist binaries. Her inability to live out her revolutionary ideals, and Del Torro's positioning of those ideals into the fantasy realm, certainly asserts the inability for these often opposing political and cultural perspectives to truly live in harmony.

The competing father figures in *Pan's Labyrinth*, one tied to the indigenous, one tied to Franco's resistance, and the final tied to Franco's industrialized, militaristic regime, as well as the conflict between the past and present traditions point to the birth of a political fragmentation that has shaped the Central and Latin American political system, particularly in the modern-day Mexico of *Amores Perros.* If *Pan's Labyrinth* is the birth of the Hispanic revolutionary consciousness, *Amores Perros* is the reality of it in action. After decades of military and guerilla uprisings, economic crises like those in 1980s and 1990s, European colonization, political corruption, the earthquake of 1985, kidnappings of businessmen, assassinations of politicians from the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), and American cultural invasion, Mexico City is an embodiment of the splintered Central and Latin American identity[xii]. Certainly, the film's moving camera angles and raunchy cinematography capture this fragmented reality. Like Franco's Spain in *Pan's Labyrinth*, the Mexico City of *Amores Perros* captures a society caught in the middle of a political and cultural transition from the past to the future. Posters of nude women wearing KISS masks, MC Escher and *Scream* T-shirts, and a stolen Walkman are all juxtaposed with traditional Mexican Catholic statues. Octavio, a representation of the modern lower class, Valeria, an allusion to the cultural importation of upper-crust, Spanish-European life, Daniel, a middle-class man, and El Chivo, a former Guerilla, all represent class and cultural embodiments of the past, present, and potential future. Photographs in the film serve as "a memory prop for a nostalgic past which no longer exists", where characters long for a reconciliation that they will inevitably never gain in the present, represented most poignantly when El Chivo cuts pictures of himself and places them on his daughter's photographs as if to bring himself back into her life[xiii]. Daniel, after having an affair, gazes at his family in the office, while Valeria, his maimed mistress, stares at the old poster of herself, and longs to repossess her former beauty. A photo of Octavio and Ramiro, two brothers who grow apart due to jealously and betrayal, echoes their previous camaraderie. These and other examples point to a similar cynicism expressed in *Pan's Labyrinth*: just as Ofelia only realizes her revolutionary consciousness in her imagination, the characters in *Amores Perros* never fully attain resolution with a past that has robbed them of a full present. Interestingly, the closing of *Amores Perros* with the dedication "for we are also what we have lost", echoes *Pan's Labyrinth*'s assertion that "it is in the pain that we find the meaning of life. It is a grace we lose when we are born. It is because of this absence that the space he [God] occupies in us remains affirmed".

Like Ofelia, modern Mexico faces many competing political "fathers", and in doing so, fails to gain any structure, a reality that *Amores Perros* elaborates on through its portrayal of the dysfunctional family unit, particularly those lacking a strong patriarchy, the traditional basis for order. Octavio betrays his brother to run away with his sister-in-law, owners coddle their dogs more than their lovers or family, El Chivo abandons his family for a political cause, Daniel cheats on his wife with a Spanish model, and mothers become alcoholics or tolerate the abuse of their daughter-in-law. Unlike in the *Lives of Others*, where space is oppressively, but neatly divided into compartments, *Amores Perros* depicts Mexico City as a violent, fragmented battle for dominance where people relate to and learn more from their dogs than one another.

The film thus captures the ways in which this cutthroat competition and mix of past and present traditions results in a fragmented, alienated worldview. Much like in *The Lives of Others*, the characters of the film are represented as subdivided, opposing forces. When Chivo leaves to murder a businessman, for instance, the film separates both his and his victim's mental and physical worlds by utilizing white noise and Asian techno music respectively to contrast the lush, vibrant world of the victim in the restaurant with Chivo's numb, paralyzed mental environment. Later, he reads about the businessman's murder in the paper, discovers his wife's death through an advertisement, awkwardly invades his daughter's home and studies her through photographs, takes photographs of himself, and studies them in a similar manner to the way he studies the photos of his victims. Similarly, the volume of the song

"Corazon" increases in Valeria's car, and separates her from the exterior environment, as if to auditorilly capture her comfort within her world and identity, a reality the film highlights as the simplicity of the lyrics mirrors the conditions of her life in that moment.

These characters, alienated from both their and others' humanity can only see the truth about themselves and their relationships through their animals, much like Wiesler with his headphones. After Valeria's accident, for instance, she clings to Ritchie for support as he increasingly comes to represent her past self before the accident. Upon his disappearance, however, her desperate search for him in addition to the urgent sounds of whimpering below the floor, uproot her own identity crisis, as the possibility of his death mirrors the possibility of her career as a model ending. As the scrambling below the floor causes tensions between her and Daniel, moreover, Ritchie additionally uproots the weakness of their relationship, one based solely on her beauty. After her amputation, the beaten and broken body of Ritchie forces her to realize the unforeseeable nature of her dreams in terms of her career and relationship with Daniel. In a similar manner, Cofi forces Chivo to witness the horrific nature of murder, and challenges him to re-evaluate and re-prioritize his life.

This parallel between animals and humans grows especially significant when considering political structures, especially in comparison with the other two films. The *Lives of Others*, an exploration of the institutionalization of the individual in Totalitarian East German society, *Pan's Labyrinth*, the story of a young girl's birth into a revolutionary consciousness as a result of Franco's repressive regime, and *Amores Perros*, a discussion of the implications of this consciousness on modern, chaotic Mexico certainly raise questions about politics' shaping of the individual, as well as the benefits and disadvantages of political unity. Based upon this analysis, it certainly seems that the individual, commonly believed to be an autonomous entity in America, is forever bound and molded by his or her environment. Wiesler's identity, restricted by Totalitarianism becomes a commodified entity that never fully regains his true humanity apart from the institution. Ofelia's destiny is forever changed as she loses her life while attempting to fight Franco's regime. The characters of *Amores Perros* remain alienated from themselves, one another, and their cultural past and present in a fragmented, broken Mexico. The most difficult reality to process in these situations is that neither rigid nor loose political structures serve any benefit. Wiesler and the characters of *Amores Perros* are as equally alienated; Ofelia's newfound revolutionary consciousness never becomes fully realized. Yet within this nihilism, all three films certainly show the fight, even if futile, to regain a humanity, a salvation, beyond these negative circumstances. El Chivo tries to reconnect with his daughter, Ofelia fights for her beliefs, and Wiesler temporarily escapes his institutionalization to save Georg's life. While small defeats, these examples certainly illuminate a hope for a better future, one in which a person's humanity may escape the chains of the institution, however structured or broken.

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[i] Charles Bressler, *Literary Criticism: an Introduction to Theory and Practice, 4th Ed,(* New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2007), 152.

[ii] Bressler, *Literary Criticism,* 153.

[iii] Bressler, 153.

[iv] Bressler, 148

[v] Luis Leal. "Magical Realism in Spanish American Literature". *Magical Realism: Theory, History, and Community*. Zamora, Lois Parkinson and Wendy B. Faris, eds. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 121

[vi] Mary Klages. "Louis Althusser's Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," http://www.colorado.edu/English/courses/ENGL2012Klages/1997althusser.html , 2001, 2.

[vii] Klages, "Louis Althusser's Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 2.

[viii] Hart, Stephen M. and Wen-chin Ouyang. *A Companion to Magic Realism*. (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2001), 1-2.

[ix] Robert Stam. *Literature through Film: Realism, Magic and the Art of Adaptation*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005), 315

[x] Stam, *Literature through Film: Realism, Magic and the Art of Adaptation,* 315-316

[xi] Stam, 318-319.

[xii] Anna Reid. "It's a Dog's Life: Amores Perros". http://www.theglobalsite.ac.uk/review/202reid.htm, 1

[xiii] Reid, "It's a Dog's Life: Amores Perros," 3.